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THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF

Sexual Behaviour

VOLUME

TWO

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EDITED BY

ALBERT ELLIS, Ph. D. AND ALBERT ABARBANEL, Ph. D.

Sexual Behaviour

LONDON
WILLIAM HEINEMANN: MEDICAL BOOKS: LTD.

VOLUME TWO

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Hazratganj, LUCKNOW

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Judaism and Sex

IN CONSIDERING Judaism's attitudes and teachings on any subject, one must constantly bear in mind that one is not dealing with any sort of monolithic Organized Church or even with a "religion" or a "Faith" in the sense of an established creed or formal set of beliefs. Rather must we understand Judaism as a religious civilization, a religiously oriented culture, the traditional way of life of a particular ethnic group. As such, Judaism is organic and dynamic, the product of an organic evolutionary development that has taken place over more than four thousand years, in most parts of the globe, and in dynamic interaction with many different cultures. One will therefore find official and authoritative statements and practices in traditional Jewish sources which are often mutually contradictory. Thus, Dr. Abraham Cronbach, in a brilliant paper on "Jewish Attitudes Towards War and Peace," which he presented before the Central Conference of American Rabbis just prior to the outbreak of World War II, demonstrated that if one assumed a five-point attitude scale, ranging from the most enthusiastic glorification of war at one extreme to the complete rejection of war for any cause at the other extreme, one could find good traditional Jewish sanction for any given position along this continuum. And substantially the same is true in the area of sex attitudes and practices.

General Attitudes

Let us, for example, posit such a five-point scale of attitudes toward sex, ranging from pansexualism and the complete absence of all social controls or inhibitions at one end to compulsive sexual abstinence and the complete rejection of sexuality at the other. The mid-point would probably then be represented by a rational, scientific attitude toward sex and an ethical type of self-control. About halfway between this mid-point and the first extreme we might define the compulsive sort of sexual freedom that is to be found in certain cultures where social pressures are exerted toward certain stereotyped forms of sexual expression. And about halfway between the mid-point and the other extreme of sexual abstinence and the rejection of sexuality, we might find an equally compulsive sexual moderation, where social pressures have been exerted to inhibit the sexual drive and channelize it narrowly into certain approved and equally stereotyped patterns, with a negative rather than a positive valence. We shall then find some Jewish authorities favoring each one of these points.

But the preponderance of Jewish authority and practice would lean somewhat toward the right of center, in the direction of greater social control and a negative valuation of most forms of sexual behavior outside of marital coitus. Without implying any actual statistical formulation of such data, we may represent the Jewish position by something like the skewed curve in Fig. 1.

True enough, one would not find any endorsement of unbridled sexual freedom. But one does find a pansexual statement such as that in the Talmud: "Were it not for the Evil Impulse [a term that usually carries the connotation of sex drive or libido] no man would build a house or marry a woman or engage in any occupation" (*Midrash Rabbah*, Genesis, chapter 9 and elsewhere). Similarly, the Zohar

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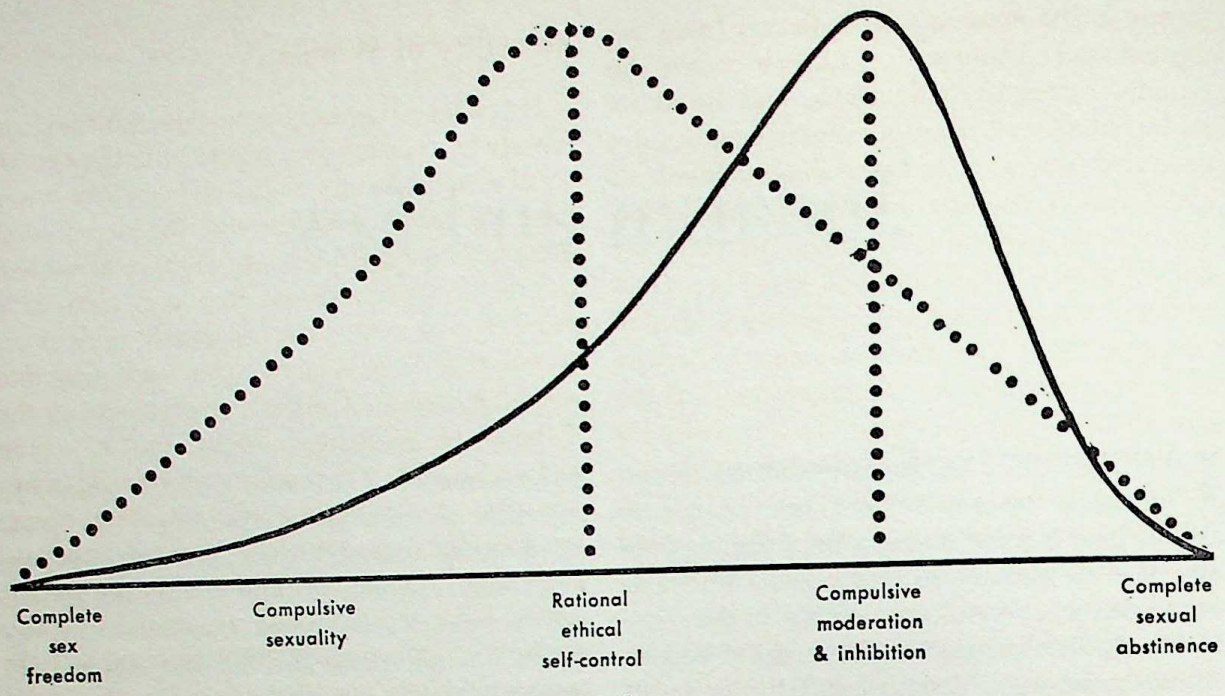

FIG. 1

proclaimed that wisdom will not come to the virgin.

What we have termed "compulsive sexuality" is at least to some extent implied in the rabbinic observation that the first commandment in the Bible is: "Be fruitful and multiply" (Genesis 1:28). At the same time, one must needs search far in traditional Jewish sources for anything resembling the completely negative attitude toward sex expressed by Paul in the New Testament: "It is well for a man not to touch a woman" and then his grudging concession: "It is better to marry than to burn" (I Corinthians 7). Nor would Jewish tradition anywhere support St. Augustine's statement: "The act of generation is sin itself and determines the transmission *ipso facto* of the sin to the new creature." But nevertheless, a widely accepted Jewish principle is: "Sanctify thyself through that which is permitted you," which is usually interpreted to mean that the good Jew will set himself a higher (super-halachic) ethical standard than the Jewish religious law itself would impose upon him, going "beyond the letter of the law."

Further demonstrating the contradictory character of much of the material with which we are dealing is the statement by the great physician, philosopher, and Talmudist, Moses Maimonides: "We ought to limit sexual intercourse altogether, hold it in contempt, and desire it only rarely. . . . The act is too base to be performed except when needed" (*Guide for the Perplexed,* III, 49). And against this we have the statement by the almost equally renowned Nachmanides: "It is not true, as our rabbi and master [Maimonides] asserted in his *Guide for the Perplexed,* praising Aristotle for teaching that the sexual urge is a source of shame to us. God forbid that the truth should be in accordance with the teachings of the Greek! . . . The act of sexual union is holy and pure. . . . The Lord created all things in accordance with His wisdom, and whatever He created cannot possibly be shameful or ugly. . . . When a man is in union with his wife in a spirit of holiness and purity, the Divine Presence is with them."

We have already indicated that, generally speaking, the traditional Jewish attitude toward sex has been more positive than negative. True enough, peripheral and extremist Jewish sects, such as the Essenes, may at times have preached asceticism and practiced continence. And the apocryphal *Wisdom of Solomon* (3:13-14) similarly extolled the denial of sex: "Happy is the barren that is undefiled, she who hath not conceived in transgression. . . . And

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happy is the eunuch who hath . . . [not] imagined wicked things. . . ." But *per contra*, the equally extremist Sabbataians and Frankists endorsed all sorts of sexual excesses as divinely ordained measures for hastening the advent of the Messiah. And the cabalistic *Zohar* adopted the sexual relationship as the paradigm for the relationship between God and Man. Generally speaking, normative Judaism frankly accepted sexuality as a normal aspect of healthy life and, even more, as an endowment of the Creator, which it is a virtue to enjoy and a sin to deny oneself. Typical of the Jewish opposition to such asceticism is the teaching that "in the World-to-Come every man will be called to account for all the legitimate pleasures which he has not enjoyed."

As regards the direct control of sexual conduct, the late Dr. Louis Epstein, probably the outstanding authority on Jewish sex law and custom, pointed out that "there is a distinct lack of preaching on sex matters among the Hebrews of the pre-exilic period." The very earliest material in the Bible presents us with a very simple code of sex behavior. In the Second Commonwealth, after the return from the Babylonian Exile, this changed radically. There developed a considerable body of moralistic preachments. Sex mores became extremely restrictive, although there is some evidence suggesting that the actual conduct of large segments of the population did not at all accord with the ideals held forth by the authorities.

The Talmud, however, is again somewhat more accepting of sex and more permissive in regard to sex practices. In the Middle Ages, standards became more strict again, although one wonders once more whether this applies as much to the behavior of the masses of the people as it does to the preachments of the moralists, whose fulminations are likely to be vigorous in direct proportion to the laxity of behavior. At any rate, in our own time there would seem to be a somewhat opposite reaction, in that the sex attitudes of Jewish laymen and rabbis alike would appear to be extremely liberal, although there is some ground for surmising that sex morality among Jews may be more stable than among the population in general.

Sexuality of Women

It is interesting to note that Jewish tradition has always given full recognition to the sexuality of women. In fact, there has been a tendency from the Bible down through the later Jewish literature to regard the sexual drive in women as greater, more constant, and more aggressive than that in men. One frequently finds it asserted that it is women who lead men into sexual misconduct. And one provision in the Talmud, for instance, would permit a woman to be alone with two men (who would chaperone one another), but would prohibit a man from being alone with two women (because they might seduce him into lewdness). As Dr. David Mace indicates in his magnificent study of *Hebrew Marriage* (1953), the Bible cites numerous examples of women who took the initiative in sexual misdemeanors.

Thus, Lot's daughters plied him with liquor and then went to bed with him in turn, in order that they might have children (Genesis 19: 30-38). Potiphar's wife was the aggressor in the unfortunate episode with Joseph (Genesis 39: 7-18). And, for that matter, it was Eve who led Adam astray in regard to the eating of the "forbidden fruit," which is usually interpreted as symbolic of sexual knowledge. And her "curse" as a consequence was that she would be possessed by sexual craving for her husband (Genesis 3). Not related to any misconduct, but similarly representing frank sexuality on the part of both women involved is the story of the bargaining between Rachel and Leah for sex rights to their husband, Jacob (Genesis 30: 14-16). Also, as Mace points out, a wife might be punished for wrongdoing by being excluded from sexual relations with her husband, as David punished Michal (II Samuel 6:30-23).

Both Biblical and later Talmudic law make specific provisions for adequate satisfaction of a wife's (and even a concubine's) sexual "needs." For example, a husband was cautioned against embarking on a long journey without first having intercourse with his wife. And, similarly, he was required to have relations with her again as soon as possible after his return. The Talmud also provided that, given polygamy, a man should not marry more than

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four wives, so that he might distribute weekly sex relations equally among them and give each of them sexual satisfaction at least once a month. This rule was later taken over into Islam.

In several places the Talmud offers as a prescription for the begetting of sons the suggestion that the husband might earn this much-coveted reward by seeing to it that his wife was fully satisfied in intercourse before he himself reached his own climax. Said one of the rabbis: "Any man whose wife asks him for sexual relations will have sons like whom there were none [ever before]."

Nudity and Dress

The ambivalent attitude in sex matters is evidenced in the area of nudity and dress. Looking at the Bible objectively, one would gather that there was considerable freedom of dress, and that nudity and partial exposure of the human body were not infrequent. Something of this sort was involved in the quarrel between David and Michal, to which we have already alluded. Michal, having been brought up as a princess, was more finicky in these matters than her plebeian husband, David. But many other passages in the Bible also refer to nakedness as shameful. However, as Epstein suggests, it was apparently not so much obscene as humiliating, a nice distinction but quite probably a valid one.

In Mishnaic times, men and women sometimes bathed together in the nude. In Talmudic times, however, this was unknown, although male slaves sometimes attended women and female slaves sometimes attended men in the bathhouses. Both men and women also permitted themselves to be partially or completely naked when working or relaxing indoors. On the other hand, the wife of one of the rabbis of the Talmud reports as especially commendable on her husband's part: "When he has relations with me, he uncovers a handsbreadth and immediately covers it again." But then again, the Talmud also cites an opinion that a man may divorce his wife if she insists on wearing night clothes while they are having sex relations. However, during the Middle Ages, emphasis on modesty became extremely rigorous, and this continued until modern times.

Segregation of Sexes

Similarly, when we consider the segregation of the sexes, which has been marked among Jews in recent centuries, including our own, we find that men and women in early Biblical times mingled freely with one another. After the Babylonian Exile, women were required to stay out of sight, but this isolation of women was apparently alleviated in Talmudic times. However, in almost modern times (in the eighteenth century), the famous Elijah Gaon of Vilna held, in a notable "ethical will" addressed to his children, that it is better for women to pray at home rather than to appear publicly in the synagogue. During the Middle Ages, the authorities expressed their disapproval of mixed dancing and singing, but the masses apparently persisted in these practices. Even today, however, rigidly Orthodox Jews will not participate in mixed dancing. And the Chassidim, who emphasize the joyous element in worship and have cultivated singing and dancing as religious expressions, restrict this to the men.

Generally speaking, intimacies between the two sexes seem to have been discouraged throughout Jewish history, particularly in post-Biblical times. The *Ethics of the Fathers,* in the Mishna, prohibited "small talk" between men and women. And other contemporary writings went so far as to prohibit even touching a woman other than one's wife—an avoidance that is still today strictly observed by many pious Jews. Maimonides held that winking at a woman or gesturing to her playfully or admiring her beauty or smelling her perfume were all sinful acts, punishable by flogging. There were restrictions on kissing even one's close relatives, such as one's daughter or sister.

On the other hand, at various times in Jewish history these restrictions were considerably relaxed for engaged couples. Thus, it is reported that in Mishnaic times in Judea engaged couples might actually cohabit, although in Galilee during the same period they might not. Later Jewish practice, particularly in Baby-

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lonia, generally followed the stricter pattern. But in some parts of Europe—especially in Roumania, for example—during the Middle Ages, the more lenient pattern prevailed. And there are reports that in Sicily and southern Italy "most brides came to the nuptials in the full bloom of pregnancy."

Sexual Deviations

One might think that such rigid segregation of the sexes would have led to widespread homosexuality and other sexual aberrations. These seem to have been singularly absent from Jewish life, however. True enough, they are frequently referred to in the Bible. But they are usually attributed to other, neighboring peoples or are referred to as "foreign" importations, which are to be eradicated. The very name "sodomy," which is even today applied both to male homosexuality and to sexual intercourse with animals, is derived from the Biblical city of Sodom, which was destroyed in Abraham's time, according to the Bible story, because of these and other immoral practices (Genesis 18-19). And in the Book of Judges (chapters 19-20) it is reported that the other Israelite tribes made war upon the tribe of Benjamin and destroyed the city of Gibeah because the Gibeonites had attempted a homosexual assault on a traveling Levite and had murdered his concubine in a multiple rape.

Furthermore, we know from the Book of Kings and from the denunciations of the prophets that both male and female prostitutes were at times attached to the Temple in Jerusalem and to various local shrines. And we may assume from the stringent Biblical laws against homosexuality and bestiality, which were capital offenses, that these practices were certainly not unknown to the Hebrews in Bible times. Nevertheless, the repression of these practices was apparently so effective that we find the Talmud asserting: "A Jew is not to be suspected of pederasty or bestiality" (Kiddushin 82a). On the other hand, the Talmud prohibits a widow's keeping a pet dog, for fear of the suspicion of sexual abuse (Abodah Zarah 22b; Baba Metziah 71a), and in later times both Maimonides and Karo advised against unchaperoned association between young males (Yad I.B. 22, 2; Eben Ha-Ezer 24, 1). The law was much less strict, however, regarding females, placing it on the level of decency rather than of actual legality.

Masturbation

Masturbation is not referred to in the Bible. The term "Onanism," which has sometimes been applied to it, refers to a misinterpretation of Genesis 38:9, which actually referred to the practice of withdrawal as a contraceptive technique. Masturbation was rigidly interdicted throughout the later Jewish tradition, however.

In view of the modern recognition that this is a well-nigh universal practice, especially among young males, one wonders how effective the prohibition could have been in actual fact. And the detailed precautions against the practice that are prescribed in the Talmud and elsewhere lead one to suspect that it must have represented a very difficult problem of social control. But one Talmudic authority, at least, regarded masturbation as a capital crime (Niddah 13a). And the Zohar, in the Middle Ages, judged it to be the most reprehensible sin. As a precaution against masturbation, it was forbidden for a man to hold his penis even while urinating, except in the case of a married man whose wife was readily available for intercourse. Even an involuntary seminal emission rendered the individual ritually unclean and required a ritual bath for purification (Leviticus 15:16-17; Deuteronomy 23:10-12). However, according to the Bible the same apparently applied to normal sex relations (Leviticus 15:18), and even sexual thoughts were generally regarded as impure, although probably unavoidable.

Sexual Morality

Modesty and reticence are highly regarded virtues in Jewish tradition. The Talmud states: "Gehenna is made deep for the man who speaks lewdly and for him who listens to it and is silent" (Shabbat 33a). Nevertheless, none of this was considered incompatible with considerable frankness in discussion of sex matters. Girls

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were introduced early to the phenomenon of birth in the home. Very young boys were taught the Biblical passages dealing with the levitical laws of sex purity, and as they grew up they studied the many passages in the Talmud and in the *Shulchan Aruch* that deal with laws of marriage, divorce, and all aspects of sex relations.

Religious rituals such as circumcision could not but convey an attitude of the acceptance of sexuality as a normal part of life, even if we disregard the modern psychoanalytical interpretation of such rites as primarily functioning to legitimize sexual performance (the price having been paid) and decontaminate it of the guilt and anxiety with which it is primitively associated. And a religious observance such as the reading of the "Song of Songs" on Passover, even though it was interpreted allegorically, made sexual passion very clear and vivid to the young hearer.

It is interesting to note, however, that there has apparently never been any Jewish pornography. Although "the absence of evidence cannot be taken as evidence of absence," there seems to be no mention of the subject at all in Jewish law or literature. Possibly, the frank acceptance of sex and its essential healthiness left little room for prurience or the "return of the repressed" which pornography represents.

On the other hand, this high standard of sexual morality almost never went to the extreme of endorsing celibacy. Even the Jewish mystics and ascetics of the Middle Ages, although profoundly influenced by prevailing Christian patterns, did not discontinue regular marital relations. Nor has Jewish law ever actually interdicted sexual relations between unmarried persons.

Virginity in a bride was highly prized, of course. And numerous Jewish ethical teachings extolled premarital chastity for both young women and young men. But no penalty was imposed for violation of this ideal, and we must again clearly differentiate, as is so often necessary in the study of Jewish law and teaching, between moral precepts and legal prohibitions. Generally speaking, Judaism has maintained social control far more effectively by moral admonition and persuasion than by actual laws, which have usually been rather liberal and which have further been interpreted and applied very leniently.

By the same token, children born either in or out of wedlock were fully legitimate in every respect. Bastardy referred only to the offspring of unions that would not have been permissible in marriage, such as incestuous or adulterous relations, or relations between a member of the priestly caste and a divorcee.

Incest and Adultery

Various degrees of consanguinity are described as incestuous in the Bible and in later Jewish law, and incest was considered one of the few sins or crimes that a Jew might not commit even under threat of death. Adultery was another such offense. But adultery, in Jewish law, applied only to the sex relations of a married woman with a man other than her husband. It was only in the late Middle Ages that it became possible for a wife to sue for a divorce because of her husband's infidelity. In earlier times, of course, polygamy was accepted, although it was probably never widespread among Jews. But it is related of at least two of the rabbis of the Talmud that, on visits to new communities in the performance of their duties, they would contract new marriages, which they would terminate by divorce before returning to their permanent wives at home. The system of concubinage was also well known in Biblical times and continued down even into the Middle Ages. Also, the less formal, legally unsecured status of "mistress" was not unknown in Jewish life to almost modern times.

Prostitution

Prostitution has been recognized in Jewish tradition from very earliest times. Although generally not approved and frequently condemned, it has perhaps, at times, actually been officially sanctioned by certain Jewish communities. Epstein, for example, reports on a number of rabbinic *responsa* of the Middle Ages in which some of the Jewish communities, especially in Italy, were considering setting up their own brothels to prevent young Jewish men from risking the death penalty that the Church

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had prescribed for any Jew who visited a brothel of Christian women. It should be noted, however, that the rabbinic authorities rejected this expedient. The Bible, of course, has many allusions to prostitution,—as in the story of Judah and Tamar, where it is treated quite matter-of-factly (Genesis 38)—and in the Talmud one of the rabbis is described as having habitually frequented prostitutes (Abodah Zarah 17a). On the other hand, the Talmud also tells the story of one young scholar who committed suicide out of shame because a courtesan happened to pick up and display to his companions a pair of phylacteries he had mislaid (Berachot 23a).

Rape and Seduction

Rape and seduction are likewise mentioned in both Biblical and later Jewish law. One thinks immediately, for example, of the cases of Dinah, the daughter of Jacob (Genesis 34), and of Tamar, the daughter of King David (II Samuel 13). Less aggravated—in fact, semilegal—but involving many more persons, of course, is the incident (described in Judges 21:16 ff.) of the Benjaminites and the maidens of Shiloh, which parallels closely the Roman legend of the Rape of the Sabine Women.

That the Hebrews engaged in the general practice of ravishing women captured in war is quite probable. But some attempt to meliorate this barbaric practice, without actually abolishing it, is found in Deuteronomy 22:10-14: "It shall be, if thou have no [further] delight in her, that thou shalt let her go whither she will; but thou shalt not sell her for money, nor reduce her to servitude, because thou hast humbled her."

Although it would appear that originally no distinction was made between seduction and rape, since emphasis was placed on the destruction of the girl's virginity, later Biblical law does set up such a distinction, apparently—although Epstein questions this. At any rate, the Talmud does clearly distinguish between the two. But the Talmud leans in the direction of leniency, pointing out that even in the case of rape the initial moral resentment on the part of the woman may gradually turn into an inward, instinctual consent (Ketuboth 51b). Similarly, even artificial defloration seems to have been practiced on occasion in Talmudic times, although not officially approved.

Marriage

The chief safeguard of sexual morality, practiced almost throughout Jewish history, was that of early marriage. Eighteen was considered a maximal age for young men, and one who delayed marriage much beyond that age might be called to account before the elders of the community. Dowries and other provisions for parental support of the young couple made early marriage financially feasible. And the organized Jewish community frequently took over this responsibility when the parents themselves could not meet it.

Within marriage, there was apparently considerable sexual freedom, although not without numerous attempts at regulation. Leaning in the direction of what we have termed "compulsive sexuality" are the injunctions regarding frequency of intercourse. Thus, basing itself on the Biblical injunction (in Exodus 21:10), "her conjugal rights he shall not diminish," the law proceeds to specify that "each man is obliged to perform his marital duty according to his strength and according to his occupation. Gentlemen of leisure should perform their marital obligation every night. Laborers who are employed in the city where they reside should perform their duty twice weekly, but if they are employed in another city, once a week. Donkey-drivers [should have marital relations] once a week; camel-drivers, once in thirty days; sailors, once in six months. As for scholars, it is obligatory for them to have intercourse once a week, and it is customary for this to be on Friday nights" (*Shulchan Aruch*, Eben Ha-Ezer, 76:1).

It is worth noting that Jewish law prescribed the continuance of normal sexual relations throughout the duration of pregnancy and during the nursing period. In regard to the former, the rabbis said: "During the first three months of pregnancy, intercourse is harmful both to the woman and to the foetus; during the three middle months, it is harmful for the mother but beneficial to the child; and during the last three months, it is good for both the mother and the

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child, for because of this the child will come out clean and fast" (Niddah 31a).

Although some rabbinical authorities at various times recommended that coitus should be performed rapidly and with a minimum of by-play, others were much more liberal in their attitude in this regard. Certainly the "Song of Songs" in the Bible, the "Book of Proverbs," and other Biblical references are extremely frank and free in their sexual expressions. And in the Talmud we find a most interesting story involving two of the rabbis: "Rav Kahana once went in and hid under Rab's bed. He heard him chatting [with his wife] and joking and doing as he required. He said to him: 'One would think that [you] had never tasted of this dish before!' [Rab] said to him: 'Kahana, is that you there? Get out! It's rude!' Then [Kahana] replied: 'It is a matter of Torah, and I need to learn'" (Berachoroth 62a). Apparently, there was to be no false modesty when it came to a matter of scientific inquiry.

The Talmud also recommends that a couple should not separate too quickly after coitus. And going even further, another interesting Talmudic story tells of a woman who came to the famous Rabbi Judah ha-Nassi, the editor of the Mishna, with the complaint that her husband insisted upon certain irregular sex practices in his relations with her. The Rabbi declared that this was perfectly proper. And a parallel story is told of Rab.

True enough, one of the rabbis asserted that children are born lame because their parents use various positions in intercourse; that they are born dumb because their parents practice the genital kiss; that they are born deaf because the parents converse during intercourse; that they are born blind because the parents look upon one another's nakedness (Nedarim 20b). But the other rabbis participating in that particular discussion stoutly maintained that this was just one man's opinion and that "a man may do whatever he pleases with his wife."

Similarly, in the sixteenth century, Rabbi Joseph Karo, the author of the *Shulchan Aruch*, recommended great restraint during intercourse (Eben Ha-Ezer 25:2).

But Rabbi Moses Isserles, representing contemporary northern European opinion and practice, in commenting on this passage, asserted: "It is permissible for a man to do with his wife whatever he wishes. He may have intercourse at any time that he wishes, and he may kiss any part of her body that he wishes, and he may mount her in the usual manner or in an unusual manner.... But although all these things are permissible, one who sanctifies himself by [avoiding] that which is permitted him is considered holy." Here again we encounter that "super-halachic" (extralegal) standard of morality that may actually have characterized Jewish practice to a far greater extent than the legal permissiveness.

Contraception and Sterilization

Some of the variations of coital position were resorted to as attempts at contraception. Here again different Jewish authorities at different times in Jewish history have differed in their opinions. We have already seen in the Bible that the "sin of Onan" was his practice of withdrawal as an attempt at contraception (Genesis 38:9). And some later authorities used this as a paradigm for their condemnation of contraception.

More likely, however, Onan's offense was his refusal to beget offspring who would bear his brother's name in accordance with the law of the levirate, rather than the mere attempt to prevent conception. True enough, the rabbis interpreted any attempt at contraception on the part of the man as a violation of the Biblical commandment, "Be fruitful and multiply" (Genesis 1:28). But in contrast with the Roman Catholic position, even abstinence would constitute a sin from this standpoint.

During the Middle Ages, perhaps as a consequence of the decimation of the Jewish population, any attempt at contraception, by man or woman, was considered sinful, and is still so considered by many Orthodox Jewish authorities. But the Talmud and certain later authorities apparently did permit contraception by the woman, who was not considered to be bound by the Biblical commandment. And contraception (such as by use of a sponge) was even made mandatory in certain cases where the health of the mother or the welfare of a previous child might be involved. In fact, even the man was permitted to practice coitus interruptus (which was usually forbidden) to avoid impregnating a nursing mother. And in the

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latter part of the eighteenth century a Turkish rabbi permitted contraception (or perhaps demanded it) in the case of a woman who became extremely nervous or almost insane during pregnancy. (The reason that one frequently finds oneself in doubt as to whether a particular Jewish authority intended to demand a certain procedure or merely to declare it permissible is that the imperfect tense in Hebrew is used to convey either meaning, so that only the context may indicate whether the translation ought to be "may" or "should.")

On the other hand, the Jewish attitude never considered the function of intercourse to be for procreation only. It was obligatory even after the woman's menopause or in case the wife was congenitally sterile or wombless.

Artificial sterilization of the male was considered a sin punishable by flogging. But the Talmud reports that the wife of one of the rabbis drank a potion which was believed to produce sterility because she suffered great pain in childbirth, and this was apparently considered quite acceptable. One of the medieval Jewish authorities justified sterilization of a woman whose previous children had become moral delinquents.

Abortion

As regards induced abortion, there is a paucity of data available. The Bible itself does not mention it at all, although Mace suggests (following Gray) that the drinking of "Sotah-water" by the woman suspected of adultery may have been intended to produce abortion rather than immediate death. One might argue that therapeutic abortion, at least, would not be considered objectionable, since the embryo was considered a part of the mother (like a limb), and not a separate entity. Even a child that does not survive as long as a month after birth is considered by Jewish law for some purposes to be an abortus, and not a legal personality. Although Josephus reported that Jewish women who induced abortions were severely punished, this may have represented only the Sadducean position, when they were in power, not that of the Pharisees, whose teachings eventually became dominant in Jewish tradition. At any rate, Maimonides (in the twelfth century) specifically stated that, if a woman cannot give birth, the fetus may be destroyed by medicine or by hand. But he limited this permission to cases where the infant's head had not already emerged. In this, Maimonides was following Talmudic law, and his statement was in turn incorporated into the *Shulchan Aruch*. The only point at issue was clearly at what time the fetus might be considered to represent an independent human being.

Later authorities varied greatly in their opinions, from a strongly negative stand to an extremely permissive one. In modern times, for example, the late Sephardic Chief Rabbi in Palestine permitted an abortion in the case of a woman who was threatened with permanent deafness if she went through with the pregnancy. And a great authority of the eighteenth century permitted an abortion even in the case of a woman who had become pregnant as the result of an adulterous relationship. Again, therefore, we are confronted with a variety of attitudes along the linear continuum we postulated, ranging from the extremely negative to something just short of a completely permissive stand, with the majority opinion somewhat to the right of center.

Eugenics

Jewish tradition was also acutely conscious of the concept of eugenics. For instance, the Midrash, attempting to justify Abraham's apparent parochialism in insisting that a wife for his son Isaac be brought from his own native land (Genesis 34:3-4), comments: "Even if the wheat of your own clime does not appear to be of the best, its seeds will prove more productive than others not suitable to that particular soil" (*Midrash Rabbah*, Genesis 59, 8). And the Talmud advised that an extremely tall man should not marry an extremely tall woman, lest the children be gawky; nor should an extremely short man marry an extremely short woman, lest their children be midgets (Bechoroth 45b).

Another of the rabbis advised that a young man should never marry a girl before he knows all about her immediate family, especially about her brothers, for "sons usually inherit the traits of their mother's brothers" (Baba Bathra 110a). Jewish law actually forbade one to marry into a family with hereditary taints (Yebamoth 64a). Such restrictions applied not

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only to physical traits, but to mental and spiritual traits as well. Thus, a scholar was cautioned against marriage with the daughter of an illiterate, and the daughter of a scholar was not to marry an illiterate man (Kiddushin 49b).

In summary, then, it is extremely difficult to generalize about Jewish sex attitudes and sex practices. The picture that emerges, however, seems to lean in the direction of a frank, nonpuritanical attitude of acceptance of sex, accompanied by a rather rigid, self-imposed discipline of sexual restraint.

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RABBI SAMUEL GLASNER

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Language and Sex

IN SPITE of the fact that there have been many studies of the two topics of language and sex, there has been, apparently, no single treatment of the linguistic aspects of sex as a whole. Indeed, neither the tremendous card index in the reference division of The New York Public Library, which contains more than 10,500,000 cards, nor the library of the Institute for Sex Research at Indiana University, founded by the late Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey, which is acquiring the largest collection of books in the world dealing with sex, has any entry under either "Language and Sex" or "Sex and Language."

The present study attempts to fill that lacuna. In preparing it, I was often asked such questions as, "But what *is* the connection between 'language and sex'—I don't know what you mean. . . ." In theory this relationship (with the exception of such obvious concepts as masculine, feminine, and neuter, which are omitted from the present study as they are dealt with in the standard linguistic reference works) is a very intangible one, and as such is practically unknown. How can the language we speak have anything to do with physical love? Strange as it may seem, sex, which enters into and/or dominates to such an astonishing degree so many aspects of the woof and warp of life, is also intimately connected with language.

The Ear as a Sex Symbol

For many centuries there has been an established relationship between the ear and the female sex organs. Thus, analysts—especially those of the early German-speaking school—have written about "*das Ohr als Vulvasymbol*," particularly in dream interpretation. Subsequently, cases were noted in which the ear was substituted for the vagina in masturbation (Gugitz, 1931).

This connection between the ear and the female sex organs is much more widespread and historical than is generally realized. As early as four thousand years ago the Egyptians cut the ears off adulteresses as punishment. In Burma young girls in the 12-to-14-year-old group were initiated into puberty rites in which their ears were bored—a symbol that they were entering the period of (latent) womanhood. Certain famous cultural and religious heroes were either conceived through or born from the ear (hence the medieval Latin hymn, "*Virgo Maria, Mater Christi, quae per aurum concepisti*"). Also to be noted is the fact that such divergent figures as Gargantua and Buddha were both said to have been born from the ear. A further indication of this symbolic relationship is found in the Jugoslav folk tale entitled "*Usi meggu nogama*," which literally means "The Ears Between the Legs," referring to the vulva. As is well known in psychoanalytical literature, the analogue of this symbolism is the tongue, which has a definite penile significance.

Sex and the Alphabet

Noting Sperber's (1912) interesting but now little-discussed essay on "The Influence of Sex-

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ual Motives on the Origin and Development of Language," let us examine two examples of the relationship between sex and the alphabet. Scholars are at odds as to which culture "invented" writing—the Sumerians or the Egyptians; in any case this monumental step took place some five thousands of years ago among these people. In Sumerian (Kramer, 1944), the cuneiform designation (Fig. 1, below) is read *munus*, "woman." It is directly derived in three stages (from Fig. 2, Fig. 3, Fig. 4), from *sal*, "pudenda," (Fig. 5, below).

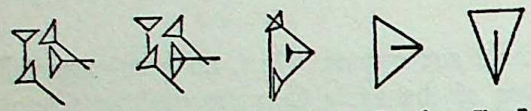

Fig. 1 Fig. 2 Fig. 3 Fig. 4 Fig. 5

Etymology of the English Word "Sex"

For a word whose meaning has caused such an infinity of pleasure, grief, trouble, pain, ecstasy, and suffering, it is remarkable that so little is known about the etymology of "sex." It apparently first appeared in English in 1382 in Wyclif's translation of the Bible—"Of alle thingis hauynge sowle of ony flehs, two thow shalt brynge into the ark, that maal sex and femaal lyuen with thee." The present sense of "sex," as it is understood in this *Encyclopedia*, was first used, interestingly enough, by John Donne, who also wrote, incidentally, "For Godsake hold your tongue and let me love" in "The Primrose" from his "Songs and Sonnets" (1631): "Be more than woman, shee should she would get above/All thought of sexe. . . ."

The *Oxford English Dictionary* derives "sex" from the Latin *sexus*, which means little more than the distinction between male and female: *sexus virilis, sexus muliebris*. Beyond that, nothing else seems to be known about the original meaning(s) of the term; according to Ernout-Meillet (1951), "la formation de sexus n'est pas claire."

Etymology and Phonology of a Familiar Word

Speaking of cuneiform writing, it is interesting to note that the first part of the word, *cuneus*, ("wedge") is not related to the popular term of "powerful sexuality" (Partridge, 1951) for the female organ.

The etymology of this word is obscure: Middle English *queynte* ("Full privily he caught her by the queynte," Chaucer, *The Miller's Tale*, A 3276, 1383); also Middle English *cunte*, from Old Norse *kunta*, whence modern French *con*; Italian *conno* (*cunno*)—not used as often, however, as *fica*; and Spanish *cono*, *cona* are all derived from the Latin *cunnus*, cognate with Greek κυσοσ, *kusos* and κυσθοσ, *kusthos*, Welsh *cwthr* (recturm, vulva), Persian *kūn* (buttocks), Sanskrit *cushi* (ditch), etc.

According to the most authoritative dictionaries (Ernout and Meillet, 1951; Walde and Hofmann, 1938–1954), there appears to be no etymological relationship between *cunnus* and *cuneus*. In spite of the fact that the leading authorities (Grose and Partridge, 1931; Read, 1935, etc.) equate the Latin *cunnus* with the Greek *connos*, this author has found no etymological connection. The well-known work by Liddell and Scott (1953), the standard scholarly works by Boisacq (1938) and Hofmann (1949), and the technical studies by Vorberg (1932) do not mention it under "*k*," although Liddell and Scott do list κοννοσ, *konnos* ("a kind of trinket," "the beard") and cite the phrase κοννομ θριου, *konnou thrion* ("pebble of a trinket," "something worthless.") (Cf., incidentally, *connerie*, discussed later.) Vorberg concludes (pp. 130-131) that the etymology of *cunnus* is obscure and "*das Wort bietet also Gelegenheiten zu Haarspaltereien und Streitigkeiten der Sprachgelehrten.*" It must thus be stated that any κοννοσ, *konnos*, in ancient Greek cannot scientifically be shown to be related to the Latin *cunnus*, whence the European words and our own English-American term are derived.

The appearance of the final unvoiced alveolar-dental stop, "t," has not been recorded historically. Its presence is interesting and brings up again the *sehr, sehr heikle Frage* of whether there can be, actually, any meaningful emotional validity in the phonics of the words in a language. In five of the basic sexual terms in the English language in the middle of the twentieth century there is an unvoiced velar stop—in other words, a "k" sound.

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Proponents of the "genius of the language" theory argue that there must be something significant in the fact that there is present in every one of these words this striking homophony—a phenomenon that is almost surely caused by analogy or coincidence. Furthermore, they might base their argument upon the theory that the presence of this plosive "k" in these terms can be equated with the vocalized dynamics of intercourse. It would be interesting to study comparable terms from hundreds, if not thousands, of languages and dialects and attempt to correlate the phonetics of sex terms with aspects of sexual activity.

The Condum Mystery

One of the most absurd manifestations of linguistic taboos imaginable has to do with the word "condom," or "condum," as it is also written. It has none of the stigma of the four-letter words nor is it in any way "obscene," "low," or "immoral." No one seems to know its etymon. Ostensibly there was a certain Colonel Condom in an English regiment in the 1660's who is said to have invented or somehow created this prophylactic device, which received much praise from such leading rakes of the day as the Earls of Dorset, Rochester, and Roscommon. It first seems to have appeared in Daniel Turner's *Syphilis,* London, 1717; apparently at that time it was a respectable word. Subsequently in the eighteenth century it fell into ill-reputation and was written with asterisks—"c****ms."

It has since remained in more or less ill-repute. Neither Webster's unabridged *New International Dictionary* nor Funk & Wagnalls' *New Standard Dictionary* even mention it. Most remarkable of all is that the *Oxford English Dictionary,* which admits a number of the tabooed terms in its twelve volumes, does not refer to it at all.

The history of these devices, which have been both extolled and condemned, is narrated in detail by Himes (1936), who reproduces a number of the handbills that played such an important part in the "condum squabbles" of those days. Interestingly enough, the term is not used in England as frequently as the expression "French letter," while the French designate these objects as *redingotes anglaises.*

Erotic Vocabularies

A fundamental aspect of language and sex is erotic vocabularies. Apparently all languages have certain specific terms that are socially taboo. How these particular expressions have acquired their unique place in the various languages is a curious and illogical phenomenon that has not been well studied.

It is not known which language has the largest erotic vocabulary. Bloch (1933) reported that in sixteenth-century French "there were more than three hundred words" for sexual activity. He also observed that "English is said to be first" regarding such lexicons, followed by German. This is a guess, however; Bloch did not pretend to be a philologist, and besides, the subject is little known in general. All told, the references at the end of this article, which are based on three of the largest and most important collections of sex literature in the United States—the Institute for Sex Research, the New York Academy of Medicine, and the New York Public Library—include only fourteen book-length studies in five languages—Classical Greek, Latin, English, French, and German (Bavarian).

Whether English has the largest erotic vocabuary or not, it has been the most extensively studied, specifically in the nine-volume work of Farmer and Henley (1890–1904) and the even more exhaustive investigation of Cary (1900–1920), which is, literally, unique. Henry N. Cary was a member of the Chicago College of Physicians and Surgeons, which was later incorporated into the University of Chicago. His hobby, in the first decades of the century, was collecting philological erotica. Eventually his unrivaled collection found its way into the Institute for Sex Research, where it was typewritten in 1947–1948. Only two copies exist (the original was insured for $1200.00) and the verbal lengths to which the English-speaking mind has gone to describe what is designated by the three unimpressive phonemes of "sex"

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stagger the imagination. Among the memorabilia of Cary's study is a list of synonyms for copulation—a total of twenty-nine pages, ranging, alphabetically, from "acme of delight" to "work," and including "fadoodle," "feather bed jig," "rootle," and "rumbusticate."

In English there is an expression "to cream off"; in French it is, neatly reversed—*écremer*, meaning "to milk," "to cause ejaculation." Although English is one of the most expressive of all languages, it does remain, from a creative viewpoint, more or less static. One cannot play with the English language as one can with other languages—German, for example, or Italian and French.

Erotolalia

One of the most singular aspects of the entire language-and-sex relationship concerns the use of tabooed sexual terms during, or in connection with, intercourse. The range of this verbalized eroticism may be said to have three stages: (1) an instinctive distaste—even disgust—over such "vulgar" words that tends to negate the erotic effects desired; (2) a neutral reaction, according to which the terms are neither stimulative nor unpleasant; and (3) a definite craving to hear, use, and generally experience such terms as an important aspect of sexual excitement and gratification.

The literature on this subject is scant, scattered, and probably tendentious. For some fifty years psychiatrists, analysts, and others concerned have been using the term "coprolalia" and its analogues *Koprolalia, coprolalie, coprolalia,* etc., to refer to "obscene language." But what does "obscene" really mean? Etymologically, obscene comes from the Latin *ob*—"over" and *caenum*—"filth, dirt." Since it appears that the concept of "filth" is first material, then moral, such terms as "coprolalia," including as they do, by extension, purely sexual matters as opposed to excretory terminology (the stem κοπρος, *copros*—"dung" refers exclusively to excretory matters), it would appear that this term is too broad.

Accordingly, I would like to propose a much more pertinent expression: "erotolalia" from the Greek *eroto*—pertaining to lovemaking"—plus *lalia*—"talk, chatter." In addition to being philologically scientific, it might be said to have a certain onomatopoetic aptness with its two alveolar-dental lateral *l* sounds, which followers of such philologists as Karl Vossler and Hugo Schuchardt would probably regard, without scientific proof, as significant through association—*l*ewd, *l*ustful, *l*ascivious, *l*echerous, *l*ickerish, *l*ibidinous, vo*l*uptuous, etc.

In this connection an interesting linguistic phenomenon is noted regarding the terms fe*l*latio and cunni*l*inctus. As will be seen, both incorporate an alveolar-dental lateral *l*. In these two forms of sexual activity licking plays an important part. And we find that the sound this word begins with—*l*—is present in almost all of its Indo-European analogues. Thus: Sanskrit *lih*, Greek λειχω *leicho*, modern Greek γλειχω, *gleicho*, Gothic *-laigōn*, Old High German *leccōn*, Middle High German and Modern German *lecken* (the term "*auflecken*" is the vernacular for this kind of oral eroticism), Dutch *likken*, Old English *liccian*, Middle English *licke*, Old Norse *sleikja*, Swedish *slicka*, Danish *slikke*, Latin *lingere*, French *lécher*, Italian *leccare*, Spanish *lamer*, Portuguese *lamber*, Rumanian *linge*, Lithuanian *laizyti*, Lettish *laizit*, Old Church Slavic *lizati*, Serbo-Croatian *lizati*, Polish *lizác*, Russian *lizat*, Old Irish *ligim*, Modern Irish *lighim*, Welsh *llyfu*, and Modern Breton *lipat*. The implications would appear to be obvious.

Not only did the older German-speaking specialists designate "vulgar, obscene language" as an out-and-out form of "coprolalia," they also designated its users as *Wordsadisten* and *verbale Exhibitionisten*. This would seem to be an unthinking overgeneralization. Had they perhaps been more particular in specifying the more important categories, so to speak, in this complicated semasiologico-sexual differentiation, they would probably have, as I have done, equated "erotolalia" with *verbalisierte Wollüstigkeiten*—the pertinent German equivalent of the English—or perhaps *verbale Wollust* which also well describe this form of vocal loveplay. In French it is known as *foutre par l'oreille*.

Although neither of the Kinsey studies made

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any mention of erotolalia, it appears to be a much more widespread—and thus, more important—sexual phenomenon than is generally realized. In one of the erotic classics, *The Lives of Gallant Ladies* by Pierre de Brantôme, there is a special chapter devoted to "Of Lovers' Speech," containing such observations as:

I have heard it said by many great knights and gallant gentlemen who have lain with great ladies, that they have found them a hundred times more dissolute and lewd in speech than common women and such. Wherein they use much art, inasmuch as it is impossible for a man, however vigorous, forever to druge and labour; but when he comes to repose and relaxation, it will please him and prick his desire when his lady diverts him with wanton tales and lewd and merry words so much that, though Venus sleep the soundest sleep in the world she will abruptly awake. Even as some ladies, discoursing with their lovers in public, whether in the chambers of Queens and Princesses and the like, will of a truth bewitch them with their dainty selective talk, till they are as wrought-up as if a-bed together; while we who look on imagine their conversation to be quite other.

For this reason Mark Anthony so loved Cleopatra, preferring her before his own wife Octavia, who was a past mistress of graceful phrases and elegant conversation, with her wanton and alluring ways, that Anthony forgot all else in his love of her. . . .

For when she, i.e., the mistress of M. du Bellay, is once alone with her lover, every gallant dame is willing enough to be free-spoken and to say what she pleases, so much the better to excite his desires.

I have heard many a tale told of those who have been favoured of fair ladies of high birth, or who have been curious to overhear them in talk a-bed with others, wherein they were said to be no less free and wanton in their speech than any courtesan of their acquaintance; but one may indeed wonder that since these ladies were so well accustomed to entertain their husbands with wanton words and phrases, and dissolute talk, even to making freely their most secret parts without any glossing over, yet when they are conversing in company with others they never once forget themselves nor let slip even one of these loose words. It must therefore be conceded that they are well skilled in the arts of self-command and dissimulation, since there is naught for prancing and curvetting [the frisky leaping motion of a horse] like the tongue of a fine lady or a whore. . . .

In short, wanton speech has great efficacy in the game of love, and where it is not the pleasure is not complete. . . . For certain it is that a fair lady endowed with fair speech has a double joy to bestow.

The literature, especially as cited by Menckeen (1938–1948) and Read (1934, 1935), is quite extensive, but there seems to be little specific agreement regarding the etiology of such desires. What is it in one person's background that makes her, and sometimes him, reject with varying degrees of emotion the use of such terms, while another person with a similar cultural background finds them sexually very stimulating? True, they are "forbidden," as Menckeen calls them; true, too, that taboos in themselves, no matter whether they are or are not actually valid and appealing, automatically offer a challenge. Also, what is it about these words that is distasteful or stimulating? Is it their sounds? The way they look on the printed page? Their primordial meaning—the sheer earthiness of them? The entire subject is indeed obscure and irrational in the extreme.

Gilles de la Tourette's Syndrome

This is a neuropsychiatric condition characterized by two and sometimes three principal features: (1) multiple or generalized motor tics (during which, at onset, the *orbicularis oculi* or some other part of the facial muscle is alone affected, then the neck and upper extremities, and sometimes subsequently the entire body musculature); (2) compulsive vocal sounds (including various respiratory noises through the buccal and/or nasal orifice, uncontrollable explosive utterances of a meaningless, coprolalic, and erotolalic nature); and in some cases (3) various echo-phenomena (echolalia, echokinesis, echominia, and, less frequently, echopraxia). Despite the fact that many kinds of therapy have been employed, this syndrome appears to be virtually incurable (Mazur, 1953).

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The Arbitrary Phonology of "Obscenity"

It is interesting to note the cogent observations of Helen Brown Norden, who in the thirties achieved a certain fame and/or notoriety with her article in *Esquire* Magazine, "Latins are Lousy Lovers":

> I have never been able to understand why you can use some words and not others, because after all, words are nothing but a collection of vowels and consonants, and it seems sort of silly that you can use one set and it is considered polite, but if you use another set which means exactly the same as the first and which brings the same picture to mind you are considered a bum.

From the purist point of view, the Legman edition of *The Limerick* is certainly one of the most "obscene" books ever compiled, as practically every limerick is characterized by hypervivid "vulgar" and scatological concepts and expressions. To a person who could read English, but who did not know the "forbidden" words, the book would probably seem to be merely a collection of quaint, interestingly rhyming verses with a number of "nonsense-words." Yet, to the native speaker of English, the material is exceedingly graphic, often very witty, and to some, at least, erotically exciting. Why?

Erotic Sounds

Considering the importance of the aural organs in arousal and sexual play, one is not surprised to find that this phenomenon is extensively treated in the erotological—one is tempted to use the word—cosmologies, with their fantastic astrological, chronological, and physiological computations which are the *Anangaranga*—"The Stage of Bodyless One" of Kalyānamalla, and the *Kāmasūtra*—"The Rule of Love" by Vātsyāyana. Chapter VII of the latter catalogues the various kinds of sounds appropriate to the striking which is a part of Indian love-making:

> The sound Hin
> The thundering sound
> The cooing sound
> The weeping sound
> The sound Phut
> The sound Phat
> The sound Sut
> The sound Plat.

This incredible "phonology" is elaborated as follows:

> While the woman is engaged in congress, the space between the breasts should be struck with the back of the hand, slowly, at first, and then proportionately to the increasing excitement until the end.
>
> At this time the sound Hin and others may be made, alternately or optionally, according to habit. The man, making the sound Phat, strikes the woman on the head, with the fingers of the hand a little contracted. In this case, the appropriate sounds are the cooing sound, the sound Phat, and the sound Phut in the interior of the mouth, and at the end of congress the sighing and weeping sounds. The sound Phat is an imitation of the sound of a bamboo being split, while the sound Phut is like the sound made by something falling into water. At all times when kissing and such like things are begun, the woman should give a reply with a hissing sound. During the excitement when the woman is not accustomed to striking, she continually utters words of prohibition, sufficiency, or desire of liberation, as well as the words "father," "mother," intermingled with the sighing, weeping and thundering sounds.

Vātsyāyana adds this very pertinent footnote:

> Men who are well acquainted with the art of love are well aware how often one woman differs from another in her sighs and sounds during the time of congress. Some like to be talked to in the most loving way, others in the most lustful way. Some women enjoy themselves with closed eyes in silence, others make a great noise over it, and some almost faint away. The great art is to ascertain what gives them the greatest pleasure and what specialties they like best.

Erotic Articulations

Surprisingly enough, there is almost no literature on the various sounds, as opposed to erot-

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olalia, which occur during intercourse with the exception of the following somewhat fanciful remarks by Dutt, who comments:

> Erotic articulations are the results either of the strikes or of the quick advance of the sexual pleasures reaching its climax in the *orgasm*. These articulations are of many kinds. But the articulations which follow the feeling of extreme joy due to the sexual union are of eight kinds and they are known as *viruta* or *murmurs*. Besides these there are seven kinds of interjectory sounds which are naturally expressed during *coitus*. These sounds resemble sometimes the nasal sound *"hing"* or the rumbling sound *"hong"* or the cooing of a dove or the moaning or weeping or the sound of high and deep breathing or the clicking sound of the tongue or such other noises which express feelings of extreme pleasure though outwardly denoting pain or annoyance. . . .
>
> The love-cries of certain birds, such as the quail, the wild goose, the duck, the snipe, the turtle-dove, the cockatoo and the cuckoo, are well-known and such cries, when they are imitated by the partners in sexual communion, have a great psychological and physiological effect upon them. Of course such cries of the birds naturally come to the throat of the partners engaged in sexual congress, but even if they are executed deliberately during *coitus*, they have the desired effect of stimulating the sexual desire and pleasure of both the partners.

However whimsical this may be, it does raise an interesting question to the comparative linguist, especially the phonologist and/or the phonemicist: Is there any constant pattern of "erotic articulation" in the world's languages and dialects? Among English-American speakers it seems that the front-rounded vowel "O" is the most typical and perhaps the most eloquent articulation of sexual ecstasy, followed by the open-front vowel "Ah." It would be interesting to know what are the usual articulations during orgasm of speakers of languages characterized by consonantal clusters such as Aranta, a central Australian tongue, Avar in the Caucasus, Samoyedic, and Hungarian.

Even more interesting would be to listen to the erotalalia and erotic articulations of speakers of the Khoin languages—those of the Hottentots and Bushmen of southwest Africa. These languages are characterized by a series of "clicks"—dental, alveolar, cerebral, or alveolar-lateral and lateral; furthermore, each of the "clicks" can be uttered voiced, unvoiced, or nasal. To the non-Khoin listener these "clicks" are unusual in the extreme and sound like some fantastic tongue-clicking game during even a calm discussion.

Erotographomania

In addition to erotolalia there is also a sexual-linguistic phenomenon known as "erotographomania," a morbid desire to see written words of the four-letter type. This appears especially to be true in sexual relations between two lovers, in which one or both of the partners, usually the male, derives intense delight in reading such personal erotic writings. Also in this category come sexual diaries that provide excitement both for the person who writes one of them and the one to whom it is written.

Erotic Onomatology

Among the innumerable books written about physical love certainly one of the most perfervidly enthusiastic is the world-famous *Perfumed Garden* by Sheik Nafzawi, written around 1550 at the court of the Bey of Tunis. In it the Muslim erotologist presents an elaborate onomatological catalog of designations for the genitalia which is fanciful in its wry humor. Thus for the male:

al-tannān—"The Bell-Ringer"
al-khayyāt—"The Tailor"
al-ʿawwām—"The Swimmer"
al-bakkāʾī—"The Weeper"
al-makshūf—"The Revealed One"
abu luʿāb—"The Father of Spit"
al-shalbak—"The Splasher"
al-hammāsh—"The Exciter"

For the female:

abu turtūr (hood, pointed cap)—"The Crowned One"
al-qunfud—"The Hedge Hog"
al-fashfāsh—"The Watering Pot"

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al-ghurbal—"The Sieve"
al-mulki—"The Duellist"
al-'addad—"The Biter"
al-zunbūr—"The Wasp"
al-naffākh—"The Pufferess"

Shakespeare and Sex

Any discussion of language and sex would have to include the observations on this subject made by the person who, if he did really write the works attributed to him, is considered the greatest of all writers—William Shakespeare.

In a singularly perceptive analysis of the interrelationship of the sexual drive and the (literary) creative urge, Eric Partridge has presented a detailed analysis of "Shakespeare's Bawdy"—in other words, an account of Shakespeare's descriptions of sex. To Partridge, Shakespeare's portrayal of sex is overwhelmingly great. The reader's attention is called to the following remarks, and he is asked to form his own opinion.

In contrast to, say, such writers as the ancient Greeks Athenaeus and Alciphron, who appreciated the beauty of the female buttocks and wrote appealingly about them (cf., respectively, *The Deipnosophists* [xii. 554 C-E] and *Letters of Courtesans* [iv, 14.3–5]), Shakespeare gives us merely "bum," "buttocks," "ass," and "posterior." Since, according to Partridge, the female organ represents to Shakespeare a kind of ineffable suprasexual, mystical adytum, one would certainly expect some of the Bard's noted imagery regarding this fundamental aspect of womanhood. However, one is greatly disappointed, for what is inspired about the terms that Shakespeare uses, such as "cliff," "corner," "crack," "den," "eye," "gate," "hole," "the lock," "plum," "pond," "ring," "secret parts," and "tail"?

Regarding the male organ, Shakespeare is equally unprovocative—"carrot," "instrument," "organ," "stump," "thing," "tool," and "yard." Concerning the act of coitus itself we may again be disappointed, for what is eloquent about such terms as "act," "action," "amorous rite," "bout," "business," "conversation," "copulation," "deed," "encounter," and "fornication,"—words known to all the groundlings who witnessed his plays?

Despite the fact that Partridge seems vastly impressed by Shakespeare's sexual language, is there really any mark of genius in the use of such terms as "attempt," "come to one's bed," "entice," "above (someone's) bed," "corrupt," "get a maidenhead," "seduce," "undertake," "woo," and "wrong"? Indeed, one searches vainly for some of the Bard's usual matchless imagery when one reads his allusions to love-making. Despite the fact that there are here and there a few imaginative terms—"fill a bottle with a tin-dish," whatever that may really mean, and "hang one's bugle in an invisible baldric," Shakespeare's vocabulary describing the love act, which should, it would seem, have provoked the poet to sublime efforts, is disappointingly limited and uninspired, as witness such dull, everyday expressions as "fit," "go," "have," "hit it," "jump," "know," "lay down," "make," "mount," "possess," "ride," "sink in," "take."

Indeed, despite Partridge's enthusiastic book, one is forced to conclude that the language-straining imagery that is so characteristic of Shakespeare in regard to practically every human emotion is, oddly enough, singularly lacking in his descriptions of physical love.

An English Linguistic-Sexual Phenomenon—the Limerick

The particular genre of humorous verse represented by the limerick is said to have had its origin in the barrack songs of soldiers in Limerick, Ireland, around 1700. The most famous writer of limericks was, of course, Edward Lear, who made this verse of five anapaest lines popular with his *Book of Nonsense* in 1846. Although his verses were witty poems suitable for any drawing-room conversation, the great popularity of the limerick was acquired toward the end of the nineteenth century by its use as a medium for expressing the most fundamental urges and concepts, in the most "obscene" fashion possible.

An interesting aspect of these verses is that they are principally written in English—as Douglas (1928) says: "A self-respecting Englishman would consider his life ill-spent had he not tried to add at least one limerick of his

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own personal composition to the national stock." The novelist also comments upon the fact that limericks are virtually meaningless to the Frenchman and the Spaniard. Because of the fundamental "obscenity" of limericks they have mostly been issued in fugitive, privately printed collections. Finally, however, the most celebrated were published by Legman (1953) in a stately, scholarly edition complete with seventeen hundred examples, notes, variants, and an index.

The Linguistic Artistry of John Cleland

In contrast to the "direct" obscenity of limericks or the Henry Miller school, which makes a point of bombarding the reader with countless "four-letter words," is the manner of presentation found in the *Memoirs of Fanny Hill* (1747 or 1748) by John Cleland.

This book is a minor literary masterpiece. The *Memoirs of Fanny Hill* are remarkable for their lack of anything resembling "obscenities." Yet, in spite of all its artlessness, Cleland has accomplished his purpose in writing a book that is "sexier" than many other attempts in the same genre which make a specialty of their outspoken sexuality. For the record, the author of *Fanny Hill* was hauled before the Privy Council after its publication. The Council decided, it is said, not to arrest the author but to bestow a pension of £100 a year on him, on the conditon that he gave up writing similar material. This he did and lived on amid his large library of philological books, dying at the stately age of eighty-two.

Ausonius and His Brilliant "Cento Nuptualis"

Another linguistic tour de force is the "Cento Nuptualis" by the Latin poet Ausonius. In the days when Ausonius lived (310–395 A.D.), Virgil was considered to be one of the greatest of all authors and as such was more or less sacrosanct. What Ausonius did—he says, at the command of the "*sanctus imperator Valentianus*"—was to go through the entire corpus of Virgil's writings and select enough familiar phrases to make up a poem which he called "Cento Nuptualis"—"A Nuptial Patchwork." He stitched this linguistic patchwork together with such extraordinary wit that the reader who is accustomed to the majestic, plangent lines of Virgil is startled—and charmed—to see these phrases, which in context were so dignified, incorporated very much *out* of context into a very "obscene" poem describing what is frequently known as "connubial bliss."

The Sexuality of Lunar Terminology

Superficially considered, there would hardly seem to be any connection, linguistically speaking, between sex and the moon other than that of the usual folklore imagery. Actually, however, there is a very significant relationship, in Indo-European languages at least, as will be seen from the following words for "moon" and "month": Old Church Slavic *měsęcĭ* ("moon," principally "month"); Old Persian *māh* ("month"); Tocharian B *mem* ("moon") and *meñe* ("month"); Gothic *mēna* ("moon"), *mēnōms* ("month"); English "moon" from Middle English "mone," from Old English *mōna*, akin to Greek *μηνη*, *mene* ("moon"), *men* ("month") and Latin *mensis* ("month"). The word "moon," accordingly, is derived from an assumed Proto-Indo-European form *mēnes-*, *mēn(n)s-* ("moon" and "month"), presumably from *mē-* ("measure"). Thus the three concepts, "moon," "month," and "measure" are related, with the sexual connection being seen in the etymon of "menses" (Latin *mensis*—"month," with the moon's orbital circumnavigation of the earth in twenty-seven and one-third days corresponding almost exactly to the menstrual cycle of some twenty-eight days).

The Erotic Terminology of Gastronomy

The influence that sex has exerted over the vocabulary of foods and eating in general is far greater than is generally realized. Thus, and interestingly enough, there are at least two words in the English vocabulary of cooking terms whose semantic history has a definite sex-

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ual connotation. These are *"stew"* with an earlier meaning of "brothel," and *"vanilla,"* which is derived from the Latin word *"vagina."* Whereas in these words, the sexual meaning appeared before the term was used in connection with food, the semantic background of the word "tart" (with the meaning of "loose woman") is the opposite. Just as we have transferred the term "honey" from the table delicacy into a term of affection, "tart," referring of course to a small pie or pastry, was first applied to a young woman as a term of endearment, next to young women who were sexually desirable, then to women who were careless in their morals, and finally—more recently—to women of the street.

In practically every language, including both the famous "cultural" languages of great nations and the lesser-known tongues of primitive races and tribes, there are many terms for food—often fruit—that are used with a definite sexual reference. Needless to say, these words appear more often in folk usage than among more sophisticated groups. Thus, as representative examples in American English we have *nuts, banana,* and *wiener* or "hot dog"—all with obvious meanings.

Oral eroticism also finds frequent expression in references to the loved one's lips in terms of food, as in Demetrius' words to Helen in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (III. 2, 139):

> O how ripe in show
> Thy lips, these kissing cherries, tempting grow!

or as in this passage from Philip Massinger's *The Picture* (I, 1), in which Corsica addresses Hilario:

> Love, how he melts! I cannot blame my lady's
> Unwillingness to part with such *marmalade* lips.

or, again, as in Molière's farce, *Le mariage forcé,* in this compliment by the aging Sganarelle to the young Dorimène: *Vos lèvres appetizsantes*—"your appetizing lips." And finally, as in these lines of profound food-sex identification from Robert Herrick's "Kisses":

> Give me the food that satisfies a Guest:
> Kisses are but dry banquets to a Feast.

As an interesting example of how words come and go at different periods in the development of the language, I would like to cite the first three verses of a poem originally published in 1683 entitled "From Twelve Years Old I Oft Have Been Told" (Farmer [1893], Vol. ii, 91):

> From twelve years old, I oft have been told,
> A Pudding it was a delicate bit;
> I can Remember my Mother has said,
> What a Delight she had to be fed
> *With a Pudding.*
>
> Thirteen being past, I longed for to taste,
> What Nature or Art could make it so sweet;
> For many gay Lasses, about my age,
> Perpetually speak on't, that puts me in a rage
> *For a Pudding.*
>
> Now at Fifteen, I often have seen,
> Most Maids to admire it so;
> That their Humor and Pride is to say,
> O what a Delight they Have for to play
> *With a Pudding.*

The word "Pudding" here obviously refers to the male organ, and one might wonder why this term was used, as a pudding seems a very strange symbol for the penis. The explanation lies in the fact that the word pudding was first used to refer to the stomach or entrails of a sheep or ox stuffed with suet, meat, oatmeal, etc., very much like the Scotch haggis today. Later it was used in reference to certain kinds of sausages, and still later to the male organ.

In "A New Year Gift," a poem that appeared in 1661, sent to a "Fair Lady" accompanying some fruit and vegetables, it is the potato that appears as the male organ:

> The next in order you shall have
> A large Potato, and a brave:
> It must be roasted in the fire
> That Cupid kindled with desire.
> The roasting it will mickle [a lot] cost;
> It will bast itself when it is roast,
> It needs no sugar, nor no spice
> 'T will please a Stomach n'er so nice.

While some form of the sausage appears to be the most popular synonym for the penis, it is names of fruits that are most commonly used

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in folk parlance to designate the female organs. In many cultures the apple is a symbol of the female breasts—as, for example, with the jocular Greek poet, Paulus Silentarius: "If, my pet, you gave me these two apples as tokens of your breasts, I bless you for your great kindness. But if your gift does not go beyond the apples, you wrong me by refusing to quench the fierce fire you lit."

In the "Hill Song" of the early Portuguese dramatist, Gil Vicente, "Hum amigo que eu havia,/Mancanas d'ouro m'envia"—"I had a friend who sent me golden apples," it again appears, this time as a token of love.

In Classical Arabic literature we find many similar references to the so-called forbidden fruit, as in these lines by an unknown ninth-century poet:

The apple, which I received from the hand
Of the most charming, gazelle-like maiden,
Which she had plucked herself from a branch
That was as supple as her own body.
And sweet it was to place my hand upon it
As though it was the breast of the one who gave it.
Pure was the fragrance of the apple,
Like the breath of the giver.
One could see the color of her cheek on it,
And I thought I was tasting her lips
When I began to eat the apple.

In English literature too, the apple is often used in a sexual connection. One of the earliest passages is buried away in the *Ancren Riwle*, the famous handbook for nuns written around 1200, in which the prioress sternly admonishes three prim young anchoresses venturing forth into the wicked world against the dire evils of the fruit.

> "thes eppel, leove sustren, bitocneth
> alle the thing lust falleth to
> delit of sunne."
> *("This apple, dear Sisters, is a token of everything that arouses lust and sensual delights.")*

The Italians use the word *fica* ("fig") for the vulva, an appellation which is also present in the French *figue* (in Old French *abricot* was used especially in reference to young girls) and in Classical Sanskrit, as for example in the line, "A fig of delight," from a tribute to a woman by the great poet Amaru. The Greeks used *sukon* ("fig") to refer to both male and female organs, as in *The Peace* of Aristophanes (11.1344-1349):

> Now live splendidly together
> Free from adversity.
> Pick [your] figs
> May his be large and hard,
> May hers be sweet!

Other food terms that were transferred to the feminine pudenda were κογχη—*kogche* ("mussel") and, with unusual imagination for the Greeks, κλιβανος—*klibanos* ("baking pot"). An entire book could be written on the many and sometimes astonishing designations for the vulva, but we should note that in Japanese it is called *momo* ("peach"), in German, *Pflaume* ("plum"), and in English, with a contrasting dearth of terms, *cherry*, which of course refers specifically to the hymen. There are, in addition, other terms in low English usage, as, for example, "bearded oyster."

In addition to "Honey" and "Honey Chile," there are a number of other endearing terms in English that originally referred to foods but have subsequently come to be used in speaking affectionately of persons of the opposite sex. Among them are "Sugar," "Sweetie Pie," "cookie"—usually in reference to attractive young girls—and even "dish," as in "She's a mighty nice dish." The current use of the word "cookie" as a term of endearment corresponds exactly to the first transference of reference of the word "tart," and it would be interesting to follow the future semantic development of the term to see if it too will acquire a definite sexual meaning.

In other languages, of course, this same process takes place. It might be noted that in contrast to most other Indo-European languages, the Slavic tongues show a lack of affectionate terms based on foods. Their expressions of endearment, usually formed by the addition of a diminutive suffix, stem rather from the animal and mineral kingdoms. In French, for example, there is *ma petite crotte*—"my little candy." In

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Spanish affectionate expressions are *almiyar* ("sugar syrup") and *melocotón* ("peach"—but cf. its more specific connotation in Japanese above).

In Cuban Spanish an interesting semantic development has taken place in connection with the word *papaya*. Originally it referred to the fruit and was the only term employed. In the course of its history it also came to be applied to the female organ.

It was not long, however, before the Cubans became so intrigued with this second meaning that the word took on exclusively sexual connotations. Thus today *papaya* in Cuba has become synonymous with the female organs, and is a "low" term unpermissible in society. Accordingly another term for the fruit had to be created, and one now speaks decorously of the *fruta bomba*—the "bomb-fruit"!

Still another linguistic aspect of the relationship between food and sex is to be found in the transference of oral terms to the female sex organs. These include: (1) scientific expressions as *labia* ("lip") and *vagina dentata* ("toothed vagina"), a psychiatric term used in reference to masculine castration fantasies, and (2) folk-parlance, as in the Walloon expression *boque sin dints* ("toothless mouth"), which forms an interesting corollary to *vagina dentata*.

Although two technical articles (Blau, 1943; Kenner, 1945) have been devoted to popular terms for the clitoris, or rather to an apparent lack of folk designations, neither includes any designations having an oral reference. In view of the similarity, both physiological and symbolic, between the female oral and sex organs, it is surprising that there are so few known Indo-European nicknames for the clitoris—the "little tongue": the Walloon *linwette*, the German *Schamzünglein* ("little shame-tongue"), and the Danish *skamtunge*, with the same meaning, without, however, the diminutive connotation.

In conclusion, let us note that our word "appetite" (German *Appetit*, French *appetit*, Italian *appetito*, Spanish *apetito*, etc.) probably had originally a sexual connotation. It comes from Old French *apetit*, from Latin *appetitus* ("desire toward"), from *appetere*, from *ad*—"to" plus *petere* (cognate with *im-petus*—"impetus")—"seek," "hunt," in other words "to direct oneself toward a place." In its early history, the word also had the meaning of "attack" or "approach with violence" (cf. the Greek term for appetite, ορεχις—*orexis*, cognate with the infinitive ορεγειν—*oregein*, "to stretch out toward something"), terms which would of course be an apt description of violent sexual passion, both in the initial "attack" and also in the orgasmic climax.

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DUNCAN MACDOUGALD, JR.

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Latin America, Sex Life in

THE romantic sex symbol for Latin America is the dark-eyed señorita and guitar-playing caballero. Although balcony courtship was formerly practiced by Mexican middle-class groups, it has vanished—except in Hollywood.

The sex pattern is as varied as the climate: from the tropical to the deep-freeze of Antarctica and the high Andes, with the paradises in between. Climate and altitude have much to do with dress, metabolism, and sex habits, and the patterns vary in all twenty republics. City life, rural life, religion, social status—all are factors. In innumerable ways, too, the European, Indian, African, and Oriental races have contributed to sex mores. The mixed races (mestizos, mulattoes), with pure Indians and Negroes, comprising three-fourths of the population and dominating most of the continent politically, have, during the five centuries of New World occupation, developed their own peculiar sex customs.

Indian

Of a population of 180,000,000 (1956 estimate), probably 20,000,000 Indians still speak their native tongues—nearly a hundred—and 5,000 dialects. Guaraní prevails in Paraguay, not the official Spanish. In the Andes Quechua, Aimará, and Coya tongues prevail, except in cities. Maya and Nahuatl (Aztec) are spoken by millions in México and Central America. Primitive nomads, seafaring Alcalufs, head-hunter Jíbaros of inner Ecuador, and urbanized and civilized Indians speak varied languages. Individual Indians, incidentally, have scaled the highest ranks of local society.

The complexities of Indian sex life have been extensively studied by anthropologists and are revealed by regional novelists: Heriberto Frías and Manuel A Azuela (México); Manuel Chavarría Flores and Carlos Samoya Chinchilla (Guatemala); Jorge Icaza and Humberto Salvador (Ecuador); Clorinda Matto and López Albújar (Perú). Numerous Chilean novelists have written about Araucanos.

Special Aztec deities looked after sex activities: diseases, orgies, continence, love, matrimony. Love prayers were addressed to Xochiquetzal, goddess of love and flowers. Xocotín (Sour Foot) was the goddess of the four sexual perversions. During religious fasts, all sex intercourse was forbidden; punishment could be death. No stigma was attached to homosexuals, lesbians, or nymphomaniacs; or to recognized "wantons," sometimes taken along on hunting trips (as among present-day Sherantes and other South Americans). The Aztecs made gold statuettes of various forms of copulation, including male sodomy.

Premarital Sex Life

Among modern Nahuas, premarital promiscuity is prevalent but in more isolated communities taboos are rigid and virginity is prized.

In some Zapotec villages in the Oaxaca sierras, all women except old ladies are kept inside the house whenever a stranger enters the com-

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munity. Among other Zapotecs, unmarried girls —and even married women—are offered as hospitality to overnight guests, as they are among South American peoples (the Urubamba River Machiguengas). Girls of the Tehuantepec area (southeast México) are scarcely marriageable until they have had sex experience and are more desired if they have had illegitimate children, thereby proving their fecundity.

In the Quechua (Perú) harvest festivals, the boys are sparrow hawks, the girls, doves. Any babies that result are due to the *ñuapos*, ancestral spirits, always present in human form. In Cajamarca there is much horseplay between the sexes. A boy lifts up a girl's skirt, slaps her leg, and says, "Give me that leg." A girl lifts up a boy's shirt, slaps his kidneys, and says, "Give me that rump."

Among Chaco Indians, premarital promiscuity is the rule and is unusually prevalent among the Mato Grosso Bororos. Young girls are abducted into the men's clubs for mass orgies. Small naked girls approach strangers with their fingers in their sexual organs. Among Pilcomayos and Bermejos of the upper Chaco, the girl always takes the initiative. She grabs the belt of a boy or dances intimately behind him, and they go off to a nearby field for intercourse. Among the Brazilian Tupinambas, girls are promiscuous, but must be virgins to marry a chief. Boys can have sexual intercourse only after they have captured and killed two prisoners.

The Achaguas and Pirichús of Venezuela maintain houses of vestal virgins who are used sexually by the priests. In Cuzco, the Ñustas, the cloistered virgins of the old Inca Empire, had to be of noble blood; elsewhere, the most beautiful girls were chosen. Only the Inca and high nobles had sexual access to them. Sometimes girls were removed for concubinage.

Sherante and Apinayé girls of the Amazón are carefully guarded by a female relative until married. A Sherante youth who indulges in premarital relations is expelled from the bachelor's house and cut off from community activities. A boy can marry only after he has been initiated into the sixth (full adult) bachelor house. The Brazilian Gés have numerous bachelor houses: prepuberty, puberty, adult. When a boy has his first intercourse, all the boys of his house are given new ornate penis sheaths and taken into an adult club.

Puberty Rites

Most groups (rarely in México, except for the primitive Lacandones) have intricate puberty rites for both sexes, the girls at first menstruation. Isolation may last only a few weeks, although wealthier parents maintain it for years. Frequently the girl's head is shaved. She is considered ripe for matrimony when her hair has grown back to chin length. But among the Warraú of the Orinoco delta, girls' heads are shaved at each menstruation, beads and white feathers are pasted to their scalps, and they are used by older men during the period. Older women initiate young boys. Also, among Colombian Capagas and Icas, older men initiate the girls. In many places the chief, medicine man, or priest has the right of first night with the bride.

Some puberty rites, celebrated by prolonged dance fiestas with feasting, drinking, dancing, and sometimes mock battles, involve terrible ordeals. In many instances all pubic hair is yanked out. In some Amazón tribes, some form of these ordeals begin at the age of 2. Among the Paraguayan Gayaqui and the Brazilian Tupinamba, at the first menses the girl is gouged in the back, breasts, and stomach with a sharp animal tooth or fish tooth and ash is rubbed into the wounds for a permanent tattooing. Both boys and girls are often subjected to fire-ant stings. Among the Amazón Piros, the girl is whipped, naked, with stinging nettles in front of boys to whet their desires.

Male and female circumcision or subincision, widely practiced, calls for feasting and dancing, sometimes lasting a whole month. When a girl reaches 9 or 10, a skilled old woman gets her drunk, then cuts off the clitoris and labia. Hemorrhage is stopped by herbs and clay. The women performing the operation must eat no meat, only broth and bananas, for two months previous to the operation. Among the Peruvian Iquitos, the operation is performed in the presence of the men in full war regalia: feathers, paint, and spears.

Upper Ucayali River tribes in Perú (the

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Pishta, and many Quechuas) practice premarital deflowering at the first menses or shortly before marriage. The bloodied sharp-edged bamboo or glass knife (among Amazón Panóans, a clay penis) is sometimes given to the groom. Often he, or witnesses for him, observes the operation.

Courtship and Betrothal

Forms of courtship, bride-asking (*warmitapacoy* in Quechua), and betrothal are varied. Often marriage is arranged by parents at birth or in early childhood with exchanges of gifts, as among Chaco groups. Among the Zorcas (Cauca Valley, Colombia), betrothed infants sleep together in the girl's home. First intercourse takes place at first menstruation. A house is built for the couple, and in due time the wedding feast is celebrated. Among Pebans (Amazón), a man often raises a girl-child until she is ready for marriage. When parents arrange marriage after puberty, few tribes require the girl to marry a man distasteful to her. Today, for the most part, girls have free choice, although the families enter into negotiations for bride purchase, or dowry (a rarity). Among some Nahuas and South Americans, arrangements may be made by professional matchmakers, head man, or the priest (Catholic).

The Arecima girls (and those of other groups) do all the courting. In Pisac (Perú) girls go to the hills, pick *panti* flowers, and prepare food. The boys show up at about ten at night, playing flutes. The girl gives her bouquet to the boy she likes best. They sing and dance huaynos, and the girls whip the boys on the calves, hips, and buttocks as they dance. At dawn they dance and sing their way back to their ayllus, or clans. In other Andean communities, the boy hides near the girl's house and plays a charango, or flute. Either the dogs are set on him or the girl sings back. In later, intimate moments, they do not kiss but rub chins.

Among Nahuas, Talpanecs, and other Mexican groups, as well as in Central and South America, pretended or actual rape is part of courtship. Near the river, the boy jumps out of the bushes, smashes the water jar on the girl's head, drenching her, and tries to tear off her clothes. Her companions defend her with sticks, stones, hair-pulling and nail-scratching. If he is driven off, he is a chicken-hearted no-good. If he succeeds in stealing her clothes, her father and brothers go after him armed, threatening to kill him on sight. The boy sneaks a load of wood to their door, or ties a goat, sheep, or burro at the gate. If the gift is taken in, his family (parents, grandparents, aunts, uncles, in-laws) call en masse on the girl's parents, who pretend to be furious but who finally consider the family honor restored by payment of a marriage purchase.

Among Chilean Araucanos (as in many places), even if marriage arrangements have been made, the bridegroom must abduct the bride. All her relatives, male and female, put up a rough-and-tumble resistance. He gallops off with her to a hut in the woods. After some days, the couple take her mother a propitiary meal. The bride-price is paid and a four- to six-day wedding feast is celebrated, with specially composed ballads, the sacrifice of a young llama, dancing, feasting, and drinking of chicha (beer) and brandy.

Flight before or at the wedding, by either the bride or the groom, or both, is frequent. The guests bring them back forcibly amid much hilarity. Bride flight is typical of Amazon Ipurima marriages.

Bargaining for the bride is not always smooth. Each side utters bitter criticisms of the other's candidate. Although such remarks are expected, sometimes tempers grow short and a free-for-all brawl may break out.

The Peruvian anthropologist, J. G. Samanez, gives a detailed account of marriage bargaining, *yacapacuey* (*La Crónica*, Lima, October 30, 1916): The boy goes with his entire family in the early hours of the morning to the girl's house. The mother, already prepared, sings out:

"Who looks over my fence at such an ungodly hour?"

The boy: "The exhausted lover, no longer able to sleep, seeks the pigeon of his dreams."

Q. What merit does he have to ask for her?

A. He is young, hard-working, courageous.

Q. What does he own?

A. Land, cattle, and strong arms for work.

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Q. What does he bring?

A. His family is here with the burro laden with food and amber chicha.

After further song, toward daybreak the visitors are welcomed in, food is laid out, drinking begins, and negotiations start.

In other villages, as Hildebrando Castro relates, the boy alone first calls on the father with a bottle of sugar-cane brandy, a *huatrchuco* (bright wool sash), and *llicla* (woolen scarf) in a concealed package. Pretending to be very embarrassed (as he probably is), he stammers and plucks shakily at his poncho, and finally hands over the bottle. This is the critical moment. If the father accepts it and launches into a tirade about his evil conduct and all he must do to be worthy, he is accepted. The mother comes in, and sometimes neighbors, and they drink up the bottle. Otherwise, the father leaves the room without a word or calls in neighbors and insults the boy as "a big-hoofed low-caste Indian who should find animals with which to reproduce himself."

Trial marriage (*sirvancuey*, Quechua; *amaño*, Colombian Pasto) is practiced nearly everywhere, from México to the Straits of Magellan. Depending on whether marriage residence is patrilocal or matrilocal, the girl or boy is virtually a slave during that period. Among Amazonians, the boy must show his worth by doing hard work in the fields, hunting, and fishing. More often the girl lives with the boy's family. If she proves adept at weaving, planting, household duties, caring for animals, and is obedient and humble to her mother-in-law and satisfactory on the love-mat, formal marriage is celebrated by tribal elders or the priest, or both, but often not until the birth of several children has proved she is fertile. If she is sent back to her family, they must return the marriage gifts. Sometimes under these circumstances she commits suicide. Anthropologist Bernard Mishkin estimates that less than 5 per cent of such trial marriages are unsuccessful.

The great Chibcha empire of Colombia and Panamá, divided into two powerful federations, the Zipe and Zaque, has provided many legends, doubtless often apocryphal. A Zaque ruler, without heir apparent, lined up likely candidates naked before a naked girl. The one who displayed no sexual alteration was chosen as crown-prince.

The Wedding

Among Colombian Patagoras, on the first day of the wedding feast the bride paints her husband's body and they sleep together, but without intercourse, in the company of other boys and girls. On the seventh night, he is led to the nuptial bed by an old man; she, by her brother. Painted sticks and weapons are piled beside it, and corn kernels are placed at the head which they throw at each other, a fertility symbol as well as a playful means of breaking down constraint.

Among Venezuelan Arawaks, the women cut the bride's hair off; the men shear the groom. She is then delivered to him, but must sleep the first night with the shaman. According to chronicler López de Gamarra, among early West Indian Caribs, "If the bridegroom is a cacique [chief], all the caciques invited to the wedding try out the bride before he does. If he is a marchant, the marchants; if he is a worker, the lord or some priest, and she is then considered very desirable." Among the Ecuadorian Cayapas and Colorados, the chief marries the couple, lectures them lengthily on their duties, and whips them.

The Onas and Yahgáns (Straits of Magellan), the Jíbaro head-hunters, and other tribes give extensive instructions, both at puberty and marriage. Engagements are usually brief, but the Colombian Amañi impose a four-months' ban. The couple is married in the communal house and must live there for a month with a teacher who instructs them on all domestic duties.

Among Venezuelan Guayquerí, an engaged girl must fast alone for forty days before marriage on a daily diet of six ounces of casava and fruit "to prevent her body being poisonous." At Amazón weddings, a turkey, tapir, or other animal is often sacrificed. At the marriage feast, Andean couples often do the "baby-doll" dance with a dressed-up stick or bread shape, then hand it over to those desired as godparents.

In one Mexican Oaxaca village, the guests scramble to snatch cigarettes tied to the feathers of a squawking turkey. When the poor

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bird has been stripped naked, they snatch at cigarettes tied to the clothing of the "squawking" bride. Before all her clothes are torn off, the groom carries her off to the marriage hut, where, as in many places, they are locked in by his mother and are serenaded all night, with intervals of shouted advice, often bawdy.

In some Andean villages after the couple has been locked in, the guests dance a special quadrille, known as "pirhualla-pirhua" (referring to the sex act), with lascivious postures denoting copulation. "Now nose to nose . . . now ass to ass . . . now kisses on the neck." Those who refuse to carry out the instructions of the caller are obliged to drink a glass of brandy filled "four well-spread fingers full." The dancers sing:

Pirhualla, pirhua,
How they enjoy themselves!
Pirhualla, pirhua. . . . [Obscenity]
I don't like
Pirhualla, Pirhua
With a bloody handkerchief;
But how I like
Pirhualla, pirhua
With you beside me!

Now . . . in the ears,
Pirhualla, pirhua;
They have to kiss
Like viscachas
Dying of hunger—
Pirhualla, pirhua—
And bounce the straw-mat
Violently again and again.

Young blades sometimes shout boasts they have already slept with the bride. The groom inside beats her, she screams for help, weeps, and sings:

Why did I ever get married,
Being only a baby still? . . .
Better had I never been born . . .
In my mother's womb,
I would have lived much better,
Without pain, without suffering. . . .

The padrinos then burst in and pacify the couple.

In the morning, his mother or some female relative enters the cabin and comes forth with a bloodied handkerchief (among Quechuas, the testing cloth is of fine wool, previously woven by the bride). In Tehuantepec, México, the cloth is kept in a carved gourd with dried rose and carnation petals as evidence should evil tongues ever question the girl's virginity.

Marriage

Every marriage form exists: monandry, deuterogamy, polygyny, polygamy, polyandry (including Tibetan, Nair, etc.). Numerous types of polygamous-polyandrous kinship marriages exist: free sexual relations with anybody of opposite sex within the confines of consanguinity. According to López de Gamarra, speaking of early Caribs, many husbands and wives sleep together "like chickens." Many peoples (Venezuelan *llan* Indians, the Caingang of São Paolo) consider that marriage includes sexual rights with all sisters and daughters. Among the Siriones of eastern Bolivia, a man has sex rights with the wives of anyone he calls brother; a woman, with the husband of anyone she calls sister.

Soral polygamy is common throughout both continents (e.g., Peruvian Pinchús). It is the preferred type of polygamy among the Onas and Tehuelches. The Araucanos say it "prevents quarrels and jealousy." Among the Chamococos of the Chaco, as well as the Otomacos of the Venezuelan *llanos*, no marriages between young people are allowed. Older women marry youths, and old men marry young girls.

The Huatecans of northeast Oaxaca take added wives as soon as means become available for their purchase. The price varies according to age and pulchritude. A girl over 20 is worth little more than one sheep or an ax. A separate house is built for each new wife, and she is given a staked-out lot to cultivate, as is the Venezuelan Achaguan wife. In most communities, all plural wives live under one roof.

On the Popayán River in Colombia, all men sleep in the temple and their wives and children have separate houses. The same sex dichotomy is followed on the man's land; he has his own house, sometimes shared by male children, but never by females. A few steps away each wife has a separate house, its door facing his. He is supposed never to cross the threshold of any wife's house, although it is reported that he sometimes breaks the taboo when he is drunk.

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The usual number of wives is three or four, but the Guatos of the upper Paraguay have from four to twelve, and some Araucanos have thirty. Chieftains, particularly in Colombia and Venezuela, may have hundreds.

Among Quechuas the first wife has authority over all subsequent "little" wives. In case of her husband's death she may not marry again except with her deceased husband's brother (the levirate). All "little" wives without children are taken over by the eldest son, although some groups permit their families to buy their liberty. A frequent arrangement is for the man to sleep with a different wife each night. She does his cooking, and when he returns from the hunt she hands him corn beer, bathes him, and paints his body to her fancy. Coitus then occurs.

Many tribes have obligatory cross brother-sister or cross-cousin marriages. Among many Amazóns the youth must provide his bride's brother with a sister in marriage or else toil for years for his in-laws without recompense. In case of divorce, usually the other couple also must divorce.

In various Amazón tribes and elsewhere, when a wife visits her mother, the husband "out of respect" cannot have intercourse in her house, but whistles his wife into the fields for intercourse. When a widow has only daughters, they continue to live with her after marriage, and the husbands must take their wives to the fields for intercourse.

Contraception, Abortion, Sterility, Venereal Disease

Contraceptives (Araucanos, *Stenomessen varigatum;* Quechuas, *malinhua*) are universally available. Abortion is chiefly by mechanical means, although the Jíbaros (Ecuador), Iquitos (Perú), and others have abortive drugs. Few groups ostracize or punish a girl for a child born out of wedlock, but among Yahgáns unmarried girls usually practice abortion. In the Amazóns (the Tucimas) abortion is practiced when the father is a white man or someone not of the clan, for any such child, even if legitimate, can enjoy no clan privileges. The Venezuelan Achaguas perform female infanticide with great ceremony and elaborately ritualistic burial.

Against sterility, Puno women (Perú) use frog ash with wine; the Simbas, a forest people, use the juice of various lianas.

Suicide with barbasco or curare because of impotence is said to occur among the Napo River (Ecuador) Pebans.

Both legitimate and superstitious cures exist for gonorrhea: brew of horse manure, types of cooked worms, drink made of lettuce honey and eggshell (Ica), cooked ants (Ica), cricket legs, although they may cause sterility (Cuzco, Ancash), Chicha beer boiled with brown sugar (Arequipa), kitchen grease soot and suet (Arequipa), cooked corn tassels (Andahuelas, Apurimac), salt and chicken manure (Cuzco). Cures for syphilis, which may supposedly be caused by eating taboo tapir meat (Amazón), are zarzaparilla, covering patient in hot bath with fresh, bloody cow skins (Puno), snake broth and fish (Puno, Ancash, and cat meat and vulture meat (Cajamarca).

Aphrodisiacs and Love Magic

For an aphrodisiac the Araucanos use *Justicia Pectorales* and jaropha. Among Amazonians (the Capaporas), the penis bone of the coati (*nashua*) is ground up and put in food or drink. The dye from the bark of the chuchuasi is also used.

Love charms and amulets are common, such as clay or metal clasped hands, hearts, penises, etc. St. Anthony's image is puissant, and not merely among Indians, but in every class in Latin American society. Quechua charms often are pairs, such as the cuya-cuya, a rough-shelled double nut, and *huayrnos*, double red-spotted black beans. In both Perú and México dried hummingbirds are helpful. A man who wears one around his neck will be much sought-after by women. Shavings from the nail of the middle finger ("the finger of the heart") put in any food or drink—there are many such love-charm ingredients believed to be aphrodisiacal—will stimulate love. The Araucanos have half a dozen such ingredients, the names of which have no translation. Measuring a man's penis (México, Perú) with paper, or clipping a snip of hair from under his testicles and wearing it either in a locket or with a scapulary of St. Anthony will cause him to propose marriage. This belief is shared even by upper-class whites.

Araucanos consult two types of professional

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love magicians, those dealing in "white magic" (*paqo*) and "black magic" (*laiqa*). They provide charms and spells to repel or attract, or to break up a happy union. They divine the best kind of spouse and act as "private eyes" when infidelity is suspected. Around Cuzco, the witch recites a charm while a girl smokes two cigarettes and thinks of the desired person. The girl spits on the ash three times, makes a cross on her leg, and puts the rest of the cigarette in a flat package in her shoe for twenty-four hours. She then burns it, repeating the witch's prayers. Within twenty-four hours the desired person will present himself humbly.

Love magic, says Frances Toor in *Mexican Folkways*, is rare among primitive groups [this may be questioned] but is openly practiced in or near cities. In Morelos villages, a woman abandoned by her husband lies on the ground surrounded by funeral candles, reciting prayers. She beats the floor with her fists and calls out his name, invoking "Soul of Tulimán, Thou who art in Rome."

Forms of dress, body paint, hairdos, tattooing, ornaments, even colored threads are love charms and may also indicate sexual status: prepuberty, postpuberty, virginity, loss of virginity, married, divorced, widowed. Tupinamba girls, who have complete sexual freedom, must break the strings placed about their waists and arms at the time of their first menses as soon as they cease to be virgins. The strict Amazon Sherantes take away the virginal necklace. The naked Witotan women of the upper Amazón jungles paint elaborate designs to draw attention to the breast, buttocks, and sex area. All through Marajó Island, Santarém province, and the Xingú river area, pottery fig leaves are worn in front and behind.

Masturbation

Masturbation is performed openly, even on public thoroughfares, by Tarascan children. But among the Quechuas it is discouraged by stories of loss of memory, possible insanity, danger of tuberculosis, or the drying up of the bone marrow (this last also supposedly happens to those who fornicate standing up). The practice has many names: "drawing on the straw," "five against one," "to have relations with Manuela [penis or seminal ejection] de la Palma [palm of the hand]," "left-handed Manuelita." Female masturbators and child Lesbians are called Mimetera (Caresser), Linguista (tongue caresser), Little Pitcher-drinker, Those-who-think-they-are-babies, Breast-suckers, Little Calves, Those-who-go-down-to-the-well.

Homosexuality

Sexual deviates and hermaphrodites are recognized without stigma, although transvestites are ridiculed by the Goyiros. The supreme Aztec deity, Ometecutli, and the Quechua Earth-Mother, Mama-Pucha, were ambisexual. Homosexuals are called Mamón (the Castilian academy word), Mary, Sailor, Big Butterfly, Left-handed, Little Berry, Warmed-over, Playboy, Ass-mover, Neck-biter, Cheat. Lesbians are called Tortilla-makers, Pastry-lovers, Mary-males. The Quechuas have many words and expressions for sodomy, bestiality, and pederasty. Deviates are numerous in the Cauca Valley in Colombia. In the 'seventies scientist Antonio Bertonio found much lesbianism, homosexuality, bestiality, and sodomy among the Aimarás (Andes), but in this century Harry Tschopik found no similar evidence, although he did note much transvestism (males wearing female dress). Araucano hunters and fishermen often take a young boy along for sexual purposes. On their return they throw him into the sea or the river so he has to swim ashore, and they approach their wives with embarrassment. Among the Caracas Indians, north Venezuelan Arawaks, and Cuban Tainos, homosexuals (*berdaches*) dress as women, pretend to menstruation, do women's work, and serve as prostitutes. Among the Lache and Caquiteros, homosexuals are married in regular ceremonies. A woman with as many as five male children and no females, is permitted to raise one boy as a girl.

Incest

Most Indians have strong taboos against brother-sister, uncle-niece, and cousin-cousin relations. Brother-sister incest is more usual than father-daughter incest. Among the Quechuas, the Inca emperor's Coya (Queen) was a full-blooded sister. Nobles were supposed to marry half-sisters. Among commoners, incestuous marriage (also of cousins) was forbidden, but nonmarital incest was practiced with the

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belief that it imparted nobility. Since all marriages were, and mostly are, endogamous within the ayllu or clan, it is almost impossible to marry a nonrelative. In certain groups (Caingang, southeast Brazil) brothers and sisters often cohabit until marriage, establishing a tie so strong that it is often continued adulterously afterwards. In one tribe, when the husband is sick the wife goes back to her parents' house temporarily, and his sister moves in to care for him.

Sex Crimes, Prostitution

Sex crimes and punishments vary widely. Adultery is usually accepted, or not overly resented; but sometimes it is considered an offense against the community. Among the Iquitos and the Machiguengas of the Urubamba River (Perú), wife-theft is common and not punished. There is also frequent temporary or permanent exchange of wives. Elsewhere, punishments range up to death, especially for the male lover. The wife rarely incurs public punishment. Among Venezuelan Zorcas she is not punished if one of her brothers kills the lover. Among the Serni (Brazil), the woman is severely flogged and the wounds subjected to stinging fire-ants. The husband and her lover fight until one is killed. Among the Cauca Valley Pantagoros, the adulterous wife is put in a separate hut and every male of the community may have intercourse with her, after which she is starved to death. In Ancash, a traveler ties the limber branches of the *nunumasha*, or teat-plant, a juicy splurge, into knots. If the knotted branches are still green and growing on his return, his wife has been faithful. Bigamy is rarely punished except where Indians have been forced into line with modern civil or religious statutes.

Rape, except in accepted premarital forms, is usually punished, sometimes with death. Among Nicaraguans, the offender must pay ransom money to the family or endure perpetual enslavement. Among the Nicaros, if a slave has intercourse with a daughter of the house, both are buried alive.

Although Quechuas have scores of sayings about prostitutes (the daughter of a whore is called "Seven Beds"), little prostitution in a commercial sense exists, although in most countries pretty Indian girls are drawn in by urban vice rings. In bygone days, among Nicaraguans, prostitution was more akin to polyandry. When a girl tired of that state, she obliged her clients to erect a fine house for her, selected one as a husband, whereupon her other lovers committed suicide. The wedding feast was prolonged by banqueting on their flesh. This has savors of sex among insects.

Mestizo

The mestizo—Indian-Spanish, Indian-Portuguese—is the dominant ethnic and political element in all highland Latin America, from México to Chile and Paraguay (in Perú, *cholo;* in Guatemala, *ladino*). Even in white Costa Rica, Argentina, and Uruguay, few older aristocratic families lack Indian blood. Northern Argentina, much of Uruguay, and Brazil are definitely mestizan. Honduras is approximately a three-way mixture of white, Negro, and Indian. Although Lima is largely a white city, Perú's saying is, "Who hasn't a bit of Inga [Indian] has a bit of Mandinga [Negro]."

The first Portuguese and Spaniards came without women and, throughout the whole colonial period, relatively few European females came over. Sexual relations and marriages with native girls were inevitable. The process is symbolized by Cortés' taking the Aztec Marina as his interpreter and bedcompanion and having a child by her. Many Europeans married rich, noble Indian girls, an easy way to obtain recognition of land titles. Spanish nobles married Ñustas from the Peruvian vestal convents.

Intermingling broke down sex standards on both sides, often to the point of riotous debauchery which was much bewailed by the monks and priests (although some of them were also engulfed), who asked the royal authorities to send over Spanish or Portuguese women, even prostitutes, for they would easily find husbands.

The sex breakup was even greater among early generations of mestizos. In some cases, mixed offspring were raised as part of the Spanish community; in other cases they reverted to tribal ways; but most were outcasts from both races. By law a mestizo could not

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rise in the government, the army, or the ecclesiastical hierarchy, unless he traveled to Spain and bribed his way into the army or church there. Hence, he had to survive by his wits, chiefly as a go-between of the ruling and subjugated ethnic elements. The mestizos became overseers, small farmers, free-traders, smugglers, muleteers, or gathered in marauding bands of explorers who penetrated into untamed areas. The Paulistas or bandeirantes, those fierce, bold groups that swept inland into Mato Grosso and rich Minas Gerais and south to the Paraná River, seeking slaves and gold, but sometimes establishing new settlements, were *mamalucos*, men of mixed blood. Often the mestizo was superior physically and mentally to either progenitory race, and certainly was more cunning and burning with malicious resentments. His sex habits were lawless, and it took centuries before new standards, compounded from the habits of the two races and his own pragmatic experience, evolved into social norms.

The greater sexual vitality of the mestizo has been universally recognized in Latin American literature. It is romantically symbolized by the fiery actress Perricholi, mistress of a Peruvian viceroy: the heroine of Ricardo Palma's legend, of one of Prosper Merimée's most delightful yarns, and a character in Thornton Wilder's *Bridge of San Luis Rey*. Bernardo O'Higgins, liberator of Chile, was the illegitimate son of Viceroy Ambrosio O'Higgins and Isabel Riquelme, probably a mestizan. Flora Tristán, grandmother of the painter Paul Gauguin, and writer of best-sellers, had the blood of Spanish and Inca nobility in her veins. Known as one of "the seven most beautiful women of France," she threw aside a brutal drunken husband to become the mistress of a portrait-painter, and helped to found the feminist and labor movements of France. Other mestizan women became daring leaders, especially during the wars for independence, often disguising themselves as men and sharing bivouac and battle. One of the most passionate creatures in history was the mestizan epileptic Pancha Gamarra, wife of an early Peruvian dictator. She rode into battle dressed in male uniform, wore gold spurs, slashed cabinet ministers and generals across the face with her riding crop, and enjoyed innumerable paramours. The New World mestiza had a provocative new type of beauty. With them sex was daring and romantic.

Since the mestizo has become the dominant social class in most of Latin America, fuller consideration of his sex mores is reserved for sections dealing with the general habits of classes, countries, and regions.

Negro and Mulatto

Negro sex patterns, and merged forms by mulattoes (Negroes and whites) and Zambas (Negroes and Indians; *cafusos* in Brazil) and the further mixtures of all three races, are prevalent in the West Indies, Central America, Panamá, Colombia, Venezuela, the coasts of Ecuador and Perú, and in Brazil. Cuba at the coming of independence was probably at least 70 per cent Negro and mulatto. Haiti, of course, is an all-Negro republic, where rule by the Creoles (French-Negro) has steadily been supplanted by that of pure-blooded blacks. (Everywhere else in Latin America, "Creole" means a pure-blooded white born in America of European ancestry.) Early French traveler Frézier estimated that Bahía, Brazil, had twenty Negroes to one white. The children were instructed in the Angolan languages. Many Argentine gauchos were escaped slaves or mulattoes.

Origins of Sexual Culture

Negro sex habits go back to the life of the African groups, of every level of culture. For many centuries northern groups had large admixtures of Hamitic and Semitic blood. Their leaders attended Arabic universities, then the finest in the world, and their societies were more advanced than those of northern Europe.

Early Spanish and Portuguese licenses to import slaves stipulated that at least one-third had to be females. This paucity of women, plus uprooting, meant the destruction of former sex standards and much polyandry or loose relations with Indian women. The Indian remained more conservative; he still had his clan, his nation, his *patria chica* or small fatherland. The Negro had these things only in his head and heart, hence became a greater sex marauder. However, earlier habits tended to be conserved

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in early New World Negro kingdoms. Runaway slaves (Cimarrones), mostly from Panamá, escaping lashings and hot-iron brandings, joined marauding bands that grew into armies and, in conjunction with the Indians, set up the long-lived Mosquito kingdom, which the Spaniards were never able to subdue and which was eventually taken over by the English. In Brazil the Negroes established many inland fortified colonies (*quilombos*) with streets and dwellings (*mocambos*). In Uruguay "*quilombo*" has come to mean a noisy whorehouse. The largest Negro settlement, Palmeras in Pernambuco, with 30,000 inhabitants, established an independent kingdom that lasted more than half a century (1630–1697). But in general, sex confusion was heightened, as were superstitions, mostly by adoption of those from the Indians and whites.

Anthropological studies of New World Negroes are few, except those by Brazilians. Fernando Ortiz, the great Cuban scholar, has written memorable books on the Ñáñigos (Negro cultists), such as his *Hampa Afro-Cubana, Los Negros Brujos* (three editions). Numbers of books of Negro tales and legends have been published. For Brazil, we have Donald Pierson's fine *Negroes in Brazil* and many Portuguese books, the best perhaps that of A. Ramos, *O Folklore Negro No Brazil.* Ildefonso Pereda Valdés has written about Rio de la Plata and Brazilian Negroes. Early Spanish dramatists, such as Lope de Rueda, found the New World Negro a great source of spectacular drama. Many novels and sketches in Cuba, Haiti, Panamá, and elsewhere take up race conflict, such as Cuba's greatest novel, *Cecilia Valdés* by Cirilio Villaverde (1833), Rómulo Gallegos' *Pobre Negro* (Caracas), Gerardo Gallegos' *El Embrujo de Haiti* (Havana), and the beautiful story by Bernardo Arias Trujillo, *Risaralda* (Manzinales, Colombia).

Most writers are impressed by the superior fecundity of Negroes and mulattoes. The Negro woman, also snatched from traditional family and clan life, tended to become more libertarian, bold, arrogant, often flamboyant in dress and adornments, despite arbitrary colonial restrictions on what she could wear. Da Cunha speaks of the "outlandish topknots" of Negro girls in Bahía as contrasted to the careless mops of white women or the straight black hair of the *caboclas*, or Indian women. A loose woman in Uruguay is known by the Bantu word *milonga*. A servant there is a *mucama* (Bantu adopted from the Kafir). Many whites, the poor, the rich, and the noble, took Negro wives legally in spite of sporadic laws against miscegenation, and by all accounts such unions were usually felicitous.

Dances

Most of the dances and music of Brazil and farther north, with their richly woven sex meanings, are of African origin. Even traditional Portuguese and Spanish dances have been revitalized by Negro interpretations. Some dances, such as the Cuban rumba, mambo, són, and Congo, are lascivious according to "Anglo-Saxon" standards, but a distorted and inhibited alien viewpoint is not necessarily valid. The dance expressions of the African immigrants and their descendants represent physical, sexual, esthetic, and psychological norms of a more virile race in warmer climes.

The Brazilian northerners, black and white, dance *lundús, cocos* (Pernambuco especially), *batuques, macumbas, sambas* (*chibas* in Rio de Janeiro), *caterets* (particularly liked in Minas Gerais), *choradinhos*, and *biianos*. Few Negroes lack aptitude with the drums, *machete* (banjo), and the guitar, and in fiestas have at their command twenty-five instruments, few of which have reached other lands (e.g., *cavaquihno, pandero, cuica, reco-reco*).

These and other dances are performed at the fiesta of São Benedicto, the Negro saint par excellence, at which the Congos always have an armed guard with swords for three chosen queens. In Rio de Janeiro they dance the ancestor worship rite, the *cuneba*. The most mystic passionate celebration is the *candomble*, a devil-banishment dance that lends itself to much sexual extravagance. It is of Bantu origin and is also danced in Uruguay. The *macumba*, also Bantu (called *malambo* in Uruguay), is also a devil-banishment dance. The music is accompanied by constant clapping of hands, causing a rise in hysteria that often ends in sexual excesses. Through all these pagan affairs

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runs a thin vein of Catholicism. Chango, god of lightning and storms, is St. Jerome (in Rio, San Michael).

The voodoo (vodum) or "God Dance" of Haiti, brought from Africa by the Dahomies, is celebrated in the New World under the aegis of St. Anthony (the supreme god Eshu) and St. Patrick (Danballo, the winged rainbow snake god). It is a religious brotherhood, often celebrated by rooster sacrifice, perhaps originally by infant sacrifice. The ceremonies are moving. The scarlet thread of sex intertwines with basic life forces. In the passion of the dance a girl may pantomime sex intimacy with a guayava, split it and rub it over her breasts, and present it to her partner. If he eats it, she is his woman, for the time of the fiesta or longer, sometimes for life.

Although girls in Haiti for the most part enjoy free sex relations, they are rarely promiscuous; few women have greater dignity or pride. Graceful and resolute, most of them make loyal wives and are fiercely dedicated to their families and duties in a land of harsh survival. "A black skin but a white soul," is a local saying, although more often, as in Cuba and Brazil, it is the devil who is always white. As Martín Fierro puts it in the great Argentine classic poem: "The White paints the devil black/The Black paints him white."

Most slaves brought to Cuba came from the culturally advanced peoples of Africa, such as the Lucumí and Mandinga. On the island, the various languages fused into a lingua franca, Ñáñigo, spoken by a fourth of the population. Ñáñigo is also the religion, a mixture of African worship and Catholicism. The dances are before Santa Barbara, who occupies the altar alongside pebble gods and more elaborately dressed figurines of gods (*orishas*), saints, and spirits. Stirring music is played continuously with drums (*bombas*), kitchen pans, *maracas* or gourd rattles, and sticks, the frenzied beating of which creates the most remarkable rhythms and tones from chair legs, dishes, table tops, posts, and rafters. Some rumbas are danced in the near-nude. The dangerous bottle and knife dances require great skill and agility; much rum is drunk and, as restraints break down, bloody machete fights occur and couples slip off into the brush. These affairs are attended by both respectable women and town prostitutes. Actually the Ñáñigo fraternities are noble associations, with blood-brother obligations that demand aid to a fellow blood-brother and his entire family to the point of poverty and death.

Legends

Old religious legends are still strong among Cuban Negroes, particularly those of the Yorubas (Lucumí). One of the most delightful collections of legends is that by the mulatto Rómulo Lachateneré, *Oh, mio Yemayá!*, which reflects current sex attitudes. Obalá is now the Virgin of Mercedes (sometimes Christ), a bestower of sex magic. Ochún, the beloved Virgin of Charity of Copper, is the goddess of water, love, and fecundity, the luxurious creature who attracts all men with her lascivious dancing, spicy grace, and aphrodisiacal *oñi*. The *oñi* charm and the spirit-invoking *ecuelé* are potent factors in Cuban love life. A variant of the same goddess is Yemayá, ruler over fertilizing rains and love, "the Lorelei of both Cuban and Brazilian Negroes," now absorbed as the Virgin of Regla, patroness of sailors in Havana, as once in Cádiz. In a tale as pungent as *Oedipus*, she has incestuous relations with her mighty son Chango (Santa Barbara). Here, too, are marvelous portraits of the faithful wife and companion, Obá, who sacrifices her beauty to save her reckless, arrogant husband. Chango is powerful, cunning, roistering, bellicose, a prodigious seducer of women. He is alternately rich, glorious, and arrogant and utterly poor and miserable. Often he is represented locally as the giant San Cristóbal "who carries the child of God," a pre-Christian African saint. Lachateneré's magnificent opening tale is the story of the boatman Ogún, subduer of rivers. When he demands fare for ferrying the haughty elegant goddess Ochún, she strips off her clothes disdainfully and offers herself on a grassy bank in a lusty scene of consummation. It symbolizes the union of sun and water, and their offspring is the ruler of fire. These tales run the gamut of Cuban sex conduct, from reckless abandon to passionate loyalty and self-sacrifice.

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Árias Trujillo's pictures of Columbian Negroes with their dances and sex-life, particularly the Sunday *charanga* dance fiesta, are magnificent: how the men get their *prebas* (samples) of rum in each cantina, arriving drunk; how the girls in their best dresses, cheap cotton but very washed and starched, brightly adorned and bejeweled, their heads looking like those of brightly ornamented saints, come swaying their bodies "with aphrodisiacal *frufru*" (sex appeal) to indulge in the wild erotic *currulao* dance, with its advances and retreats, its twining of bodies and simulated copulation.

The Special Problems of the Mulattoes

The mulatto's problem has been similar to that of the mestizo: he is a man with broken ties, a lost spirit but fierce with vitality. Unlike the mestizo, he has no valid rooted group to tie him, so all his aspirations are directed, perhaps falsely, to rising in the white world. There is little race bigotry in Cuba, although the ruthless Batista dictatorship had created some, but much bigotry does exist among Cuban mulattoes themselves, who set up exclusive social clubs and are contemptuous of members of their own race who have slightly darker pigmentation.

The Brazilian Da Cunho, prejudiced against the Negro, states the mulatto's dilemma with some accuracy: The mulatto has "a brilliant mind . . . but [is] unstable, restless, inconsistent, flaring up one moment, extinguished the next, . . . the victim of biological law, weighed down to the lower plane of less-favored races. Impotent . . . [in] forming any bonds of solidarity between the opposing forebears, he can reflect only their various dominant attributes in a permanent play of antitheses." Hence, he has "a rudimentary morality . . . the imperative automation of the lower races." However, scientific studies by the anthropological division of the Brazilian army show that mulattoes, on the average, are superior physically and mentally to both parent stocks.

In both Haiti and Brazil, the Negro had a patria or nation; as Gilberto Freyre puts it, "Every Brazilian, even the light-skinned fair-haired one, carries in his soul, when not on soul and body alike . . . the shadow or at least the birthmark of the aborigine or the Negro." There was no stigma on further intermarriage between the races, and the mulatto has attained to the highest posts in government, church, and army; he has made his mark in music, literature, painting. Many early mulattoes, of course, came directly from Lisbon, which at the time of the Conquest had a population of 10,000 Negroes, and this Europeanized mulatto enjoyed a particularly superior status in the New World and frequently married into the highest social levels. All Brazilian writers have recognized the virility, fecundity, and bold initiative of the mulatto, whose lustiness has done so much to forge the great Brazilian nation.

Spanish and Portuguese

Conquerors of the New World imported the sex habits of Spanish feudal Catholic society, an outward fetish of monogamy that had little relation to actual sex habits. Furthermore, that Catholic society had been modified by centuries of Moorish occupation in the south, with North African concepts of the seraglio and the cloistered woman. All told, the freedom of the Spanish woman had been greatly curtailed since the earlier days of Iberic nationalism, when society had been more democratic. Northern Spain was, by the time of the Discovery, in the flower of knighthood, feudal and militaristic. But all sex standards were in a state of chaos owing to prolonged civil war. The adventurous men who went overseas soon lost nearly all restraints in their contacts with the conquered peoples. Crews were often recruited from jails. Only the presence of large numbers of priests and monks provided a checkrein, and the Christian elements, as urban colonial centers were established, gradually restored submerged Spanish moral attitudes.

But relatively few women accompanied these men, and the result was concubinage and marriage with Indian and Negro women. Thus, the wife was a semislave from a subjugated race; even white women had fewer rights than they had enjoyed in Spain. Until a generation ago, even in México, which is more influenced by the United States, it was not unusual for a man to lock his wife in the house whenever he left. She could not even go to market, to which she

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had to send her servants. She was allowed to go only to Mass, if properly chaperoned. Daughters were more closely guarded than in any Indian puberty rite period.

Double standards inevitably resulted. The white wife was considered a paragon of purity and was devoted entirely to her home and the Church. The husband had access to Indian and Negro women, or to the "saltier" mestizas and mulattoes, with whom he consorted promiscuously or as concubines and "little" wives. It would be possible to fill a book with accounts of the orgies and debaucheries that occurred from the earliest days to the present. In more dissolute periods they even engulfed some of the clergy. As late as this century, it was customary for Chilean and Argentine gold washers in the islands south of the Straits of Magellan to seize an Alcaluf, Ona, or Yahgán girl, chain her outside a hut, toss her food as to an animal, and use her jointly for sexual purposes.

On big feudal haciendas, the lord of the manor always had first-night privileges with any peon girl who was getting married, and still does in remoter areas.

Upper-Class Sex Life

Sex life has remained more traditional in the old aristocracy than it has among the newer middle class, the rich industrialists, or the new factory wage earners. This is especially true in provincial areas.

Yet their women have achieved more freedom of late, especially now that education for girls is no longer restricted to closely guarded elementary convent schools. Higher education has become the rule, providing wider horizons and allowing for more unchaperoned liberty and freer marriage choice. Within the past few decades, urban expansion has been phenomenal; it is estimated that in a few more years México City will have a population of eight million. This, the coming of industrial progress, and more economic freedom for women have altered the sex habits of centuries.

This has meant no diminution of the "little wife" practices, although more discretion is now exercised. If a mistress is discarded or dies, it is still customary for the man to bring the children home to his legitimate wife to be cared for and educated along with his legitimate children and on a footing of equality, except if the newcomers are patently of a much darker hue or are obviously from a lower class.

Customarily, the head of the house takes his wife, and often all the children as well, out to dine, or to the cafe or the theater every Thursday night. Sunday is also a family day, when he takes everybody to church, enjoys their company during the afternoons, and receives callers then and in the evening.

The older aristocracy, with close-knit marriages, has often become morally and physically effete. An undue amount of homosexuality exists, and since this is now legally frowned upon, some of the leading families of Perú and México have been hit by scandals as a result of police raids. Brother-sister incest has come to light, although brother-sister marriages never occur.

The military caste has always been supremely lawless in sex matters. In México, Perú, and some other countries, the *rabonas*, the common-law wives of ordinary soldiers, accompany the armies even in battle, do the cooking, the toting, the foraging, carry supplies to the front line, and bear their babies by the roadside, catching up again in a few hours. The armies are also serviced by hangers-on—looser women and prostitutes. Officers customarily discard wives and mistresses with each ascension. In revolutionary times, girls are often taken by force to be mistresses—even from "first" families.

Some mistresses have not been brief birds of passage. The sultry mestiza mistress and private secretary of a famous Mexican general managed to retain her post during his term as president, when she truly became a power in the land and was his guiding spirit until his death.

The flagrant sex conduct of the military caste is matched only by that of the politicians, particularly in Cuba, México, and Perú, although greater discretion, thanks to public opinion, is beginning to be exercised. It has been almost a prerequisite for a cabinet minister (there are many dignified exceptions) to be a sex exhibitionist, flaunting his mistresses, often actresses, nightly in cafes and public places and taking them on trips and, of course, to all party caucuses, which are usually held picnic-style. The

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wife appears only on occasions of official protocol, government fiestas, celebrations, and dedications, or when some foreign dignitary is accompanied by his wife.

Until lately, no divorce laws existed in Latin America, but it is now quite customary for leading politicians to divorce earlier wives and seek more glamorous helpmates from the aristocratic classes. Dictator Fulgencio Batista of Cuba, married to a charming countrified girl with whom he had numerous children, put her aside to marry an elegant creature from the ranks of the aristocracy, although that social group had repeatedly and openly snubbed him previously. The leading mistress of one Caribbean dictator was the daughter of a leading family. The father was told his daughter would become the dictator's mistress and he would receive a cabinet position—or he could go to jail.

Numerous Mexican and Peruvian writers have disclosed the sordid sexual side of local politics, the orgies participated in by the daughters and even wives of the first families for the sake of avoiding difficulties for their husbands, sons, and brothers, or in order to secure good posts for them in the bureaucracy.

Middle-Class Sex Life

Middle-class sex relations are more normal and respectable and are pointed toward monogamy. Only the wealthier members continue the "little" wife practice, but few are without some hideout bachelor's apartment where girls can be taken discreetly.

The old system of closely guarding daughters and the rigid system of chaperonage broke down only a few years ago, predominantly in the cities. In more provincial countries, such as Guatemala or Costa Rica, many restraints persist. In México City only a few years ago it was illegal for any unaccompanied girl to be on the streets after nine o'clock at night unless she had a prostitute's card. Now girls go with their sweethearts to the movies, dances, and parties unchaperoned, or with girl friends, and suffer little molestation on the streets. Sometimes the fiction of chaperonage is maintained by sending a small brother or sister along with the courting couple, but it is also the custom for the boy to bribe the "chaperone" to play somewhere else.

These freer sex relations have arisen partly because of the greater economic independence of women. The women of the lower classes always worked, but those of the middle and upper classes were barred from employment by long custom. In 1903, in all México City, only 300 such were employed. Today in government offices there are probably more women than men; and they work in stores, offices, and factories. To chaperone such girls to work and home again four times a day is too much of a chore even for the most fastidious families.

Lower-Class Sex Life

The lower classes everywhere live on a poverty level. They are predominantly Indians and mestizos; in the Caribbean, Negroes and mulattoes. Many Indian and Negro sex customs survive, but are broken down and distorted, particularly among the new urban proletariat. Sexual standards are generally low, and the girls are often promiscuous. Common-law marriages are the rule rather than the exception, although they may endure for a lifetime. A vast percentage are condemned to live in one room, and children from infancy are obliged to witness sexual acts. Alberto J. Pani, in his *La Higiene en México*, describes the "horrible animal promiscuity of sexes of all ages." Earlier, Julio Guerrero in his brilliant *La Génesis del Crimen en México* went into great detail into this subject and described some of the sexual distortions and criminality that derived from it.

Yet most lower-class families live a relatively normal life. Misery makes the woman a loyal helpmate and provider. More so than in any other social group, marriage is a system of close economic cooperation in all tasks.

Prostitution

Prostitution is widespread, although in most places it is considerably more discreet and hidden than it was a few years ago. Nowhere is it suppressed; the Latin countries follow the French system of regulation and medical supervision. In México City girls are medically checked every week and must have their cards properly stamped. These cards vary according to the medical fee paid and indicate the minimum price the girl may charge. The gov-

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ernment also maintains a special hospital where girls with venereal diseases are treated free of charge.

Formerly, México had endless blocks of open cribs. Today these have been largely eliminated and the traffic is restricted to regular houses. The prevalence of streetwalkers has also declined. This change is also true of Guatemala City and Lima, Perú. In Santiago and Buenos Aires there are few overt signs of prostitution. The two most corrupt places on the continent are Havana and Panamá. Panamá, as the crossroads of all the nations, caters to the American army on the Canal Zone, sailors, and tourists. Havana has streetwalkers everywhere, blocks of cribs, scores of dance cantinas with B-girls, and many houses, some very elegant. Sexual shows are staged; pornographic movies, showing the most extreme sex perversions, are openly available; vendors of French postcards are at every elbow; homosexual prostitutes solicit. Under Fidel Castro's regime, much of this has been cleared up.

The Family

An over-all examination of sex habits, some abnormal, some of relatively minor importance, should not leave the impression that Latin American sex life is bizarre or immoral because certain aspects are different from our own. The fact is that the vast majority of the people to the south live a highly ordered family life, although some of the sex patterns may be unfamiliar to us. The family is far more stable, important, and sacred than it is in the United States. It plays a more basic part in economic and social life, and it has been a great bulwark for survival over many troubled centuries.

Except in certain Indian communities, the family is largely a patriarchal institution. It usually embraces numbers of generations and is flexible enough to absorb all fairly near relatives. Except among the very wealthy, there are no idlers in the Latin American family. All contribute, all work, from the smallest tots to grandmothers, and all have a reasonable voice in the management of household affairs or in other matters that may affect the family. The family is an integrated economic and spiritual unit. Except for the poor, homes are kept spotless; children are admirably trained; politeness and a certain formal etiquette are maintained between the various members at all times. The pattern of family life is being altered by the stresses of modernity, but by and large it represents one of the most gracious and successful expressions of life in the countries to the south.

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CARLETON BEALS

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Laws on Marriage and Family

IT MAY be broadly stated that the laws* relating to marriage generally have one of two purposes, sometimes both encompassed within a single rule. These two purposes are (1) the fixing of financial responsibility so as to ensure that the state will not have to bear the burden of supporting dependent women and children, and (2) the encouragement of marital unions likely to produce acceptable offspring and the confinement of sexual activity within the boundaries of such a marriage. It is true that in some instances one can divine legal concern for sexual satisfaction per se as a vital element in marriage but by and large even these instances seem to be related to the basic concern for legitimate offspring.

Restrictions on Marriage

There are four general types of restrictions on the right to marry: age, relationship, race, and mental and/or physical health.

Age

There are generally two separate sets of age requirements for marriage, an age bracket below which people are not supposed to marry at all and a higher bracket within which they may marry only with parental consent. In Alabama, for example, no male below the age of 17 or female below 14 may marry at all; males between the ages of 17 and 21 and females between the ages of 14 and 18 may, however, marry with parental consent. The fixing of age minima seems to be motivated primarily by economic and social considerations rather than by consistent convictions relating to the minimum desirable age for sexual intercourse. One finds, for instance, no real correlation between the age at which the state will recognize the right of a girl to marry and the age of statutory rape, i.e., the age below which she is assumed to be incapable of consenting to intercourse. In Wyoming, for example, intercourse with a female under the age of 18 may subject the male to imprisonment for a period ranging from one year to life. The same state permits a girl to marry with parental consent at 16.

In some states the requirement of parental consent or even the minimum age requirement itself can be waived by a judge or by the licensing official if the girl is pregnant, has already borne a child by the prospective husband, or if they have been living together as husband and wife. Where couples have managed to secure a license and marry without parental consent the marriage is not subject to annulment if the parties were at least over the minimum age at which they might legally have married with parental consent. If they were below the age when they could have married even with parental consent, the marriage is in most, but not all, states subject to annulment. The courts usually have wide discretion in granting annulments in this type of situation and will not ordinarily annul a marriage if a child has been born of the marriage or if the wife is pregnant.

* Most of the data on which the material in this article is based are derived from cases reported in various official law reports.

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Relationship

Although all states have some definition of familial relationships within which people may not marry, there is little legal uniformity. In no state can a parent marry his child, a grandparent his grandchild, a brother his sister, or an aunt or uncle marry a niece or nephew. Beyond this area, however, the states differ widely. Most prohibit the marriage of first cousins; a few prohibit marriage of second cousins. Some prohibit the marriage of people between whom there is a legal but no blood relationship, such as stepparents and stepchildren, or the marriage of a father-in-law with the widow or ex-wife of his son or of a mother-in-law with the former husband of her daughter. It would be difficult to find a eugenic basis for this type of prohibition, but the historical basis is more obvious. Aside from other anthropological sources for this type of incest taboo, it has a historical basis in the Judeo-Christian ethic. Chapter 18 of Leviticus prohibits a man from marrying his daughter-in-law, his mother-in-law, the daughter or granddaughter of his wife, or his aunt by marriage.

Incestuous marriages, that is, marriages between relatives that are considered illegal under the law of the particular state, are not merely subject to possible annulment (as is true of marriages that do not meet the state's minimum age requirement); they are absolutely void. This means that no court proceeding need be brought to invalidate the marriage and that under no circumstances is the existence of a child or the pregnancy of the wife a factor in deciding the validity of the marriage.

Race

In more than half of our states the law prohibits marriages between people of different races. As might be anticipated, the most common prohibition is that of marriage between white and Negro. Some states attempt to define a Negro in terms of the amount of "Negro blood," e.g., anyone having one-eighth or more Negro blood. There is no uniformity in the definition. In one state anyone is considered a Negro who has any nonwhite ancestry; in others, less than a quarter Negro blood would take one out of the category of Negro. Marriages between whites and Indians, Mongolians, Chinese, Japanese, Malayans, and Hindus are also prohibited in some states. It is apparently the "purity" of only the white race that is of concern here. Marriages between members of different nonwhite races are nowhere prohibited.

Like incestuous marriages, marriages in violation of these miscegenation statutes are not merely voidable, i.e., subject to being set aside by court order; in most states they are absolutely void. It should be remembered, however, that generally every state must recognize the validity of a marriage that is valid in the state in which it was entered into. Thus, a Negro and white who marry in New York where there is no prohibition against intermarriage are legally married in Virginia if they should later move to that state. However, a state does have some leeway in determining whether to recognize a marriage between *its own residents* that takes place outside of the state. A few states refuse to issue licenses to nonresidents whose marriage would have been prohibited by the laws of their home state. Some states will not recognize an out-of-state marriage between residents who leave the state for the purpose of entering into a marriage that would not have been permitted under the laws of the home state. Other states will recognize out-of-state marriages of their residents only if they do not conflict with public policy or are not incestuous or miscegenetic by the home state's standards. Such statutes are irrelevant where the couple actually resides or takes up residence in the state in which the marriage took place; they only apply where the couple goes to the other state for the sole purpose of marrying and returns to the home state thereafter.

Mental and Physical Health

Requirements relating to fitness to marry are comparatively recent. The most common is the requirement of a premarital test for venereal disease, which has now been adopted in many states. In a few states the presence of disease does not bar the marriage provided both parties have been informed of the existence of the infection or the doctor or the state board of health certifies that the disease is not in a transmissible stage. The requirements of the test may be

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waived in most states under special circumstances, e.g., if the woman is pregnant or has already borne a child by the husband-to-be. Waivers during wartime for soldiers on short leave were extremely common, perhaps in part on the theory that intercourse without marriage would be likely to result if the requirement were not waived.

The blood test requirements can usually be avoided by going to a state that has no such requirements. Such a migratory marriage is valid but some states have attempted to close the loophole by requiring that proof of a test be filed in the home state or by requiring that every pregnant woman be given a test for syphilis.

Some states prohibit the marriage of mental defectives, alcoholics, drug addicts, epileptics, or persons suffering from tuberculosis. Enforcement of such laws is often a matter of chance. In small communities the licensing official is likely to know enough about the people with whom he deals to make an intelligent judgment as to whether or not a license should be issued. The license clerk in a large city, however, is hardly in a position to judge whether an applicant for a license has any of these defects. A few states have made an attempt at real enforcement of their laws by requiring an applicant for a license to present a medical certificate stating that he has been examined and that no symptoms of alcoholism, drug addiction, epilepsy, feeble-mindedness, etc., have been observed.

Common-Law Marriage

A common-law marriage is one that exists merely by reason of a man and woman living together without a license or a formal ceremony. It is less widely recognized today than it was during the earlier days of this country's history. When people tended to live in areas where licensing officials and clergymen were not easy to reach and suffered economic circumstances that might make the cost of a ceremonial marriage prohibitive, common-law marriage was recognized in order to prevent bastardization of children and termination of unions that might cast the burden of supporting women and children on the community.

Today neither the geographic nor economic justifications for this type of marriage exist. Moreover, social security and workmen's compensation laws have made it likely that the first attempt to prove the existence of a common-law marriage will come after the death of one party. For this reason many of the states that still recognize common-law marriage insist that it must be proved that the couple openly cohabited as husband and wife. In some states, however, proof of cohabitation is not absolutely necessary. Some require only that the parties agree to consider themselves married.

The Role of Sex in Marriage

The law does not affirmatively define the rights and obligations of husband and wife to each other. It is necessary to look to individual laws and cases dealing with divorce, annulment, and separation to determine those factors whose absence in the judgment of the legislatures and the courts makes a marriage untenable.

The personal rights, as distinguished from the property rights, of spouses may be summarized as the following: The right and obligation to live together in a home of their own, consistent with the husband's financial means; the right to enjoy the person, affection, society, and assistance of the other; and the right to "normal" and exclusive sexual relations with each other.

Impotence

The basic importance of the sex factor is recognized by the fact that impotence is generally recognized as a ground either for divorce or annulment. When impotence is a ground for annulment of a marriage, the law usually requires that the incapacity be total and that it existed at the time of the marriage. Some states require too that it be continuing and incurable. Although the laws speak of impotence without distinguishing between impotence of husband and sterility of wife, for obvious reasons the cases almost invariably deal with male impotence. A physical aberration or deformity on the part of the wife that makes intercourse unsatisfactory would not support a charge of impotence within the meaning of the law. Nor

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would frigidity, since intercourse would be at least physically possible.

Sterility

It is interesting to note that, notwithstanding the overwhelming concern of the law for a marital relationship likely to produce, and capable of producing, legitimate offspring, sterility is not generally recognized as a fatal defect, as is impotence. Sterility is a ground for annulment in many states if the sterility existed at the time of the marriage and was known to the sterile party and concealed from the other. However, it is the element of fraud here rather than the sterility itself that is the ground for the termination of the marriage.

There are a number of reasons why sterility is less widely recognized as a fatal defect in a marriage than impotence. To begin with, unless it is known at the time of the marriage, it is quite possible that the sterility of a spouse may not be established until many years after the marriage is consummated. In a case involving impotence, the condition should be suspected within a day, a week, or a month of the marriage and the parties put on notice, so to speak, very early that the problem exists. Where sterility is concerned, its discovery may come after the marriage has existed for such a long time that the circumstances of the parties have become irrevocably altered. Moreover, one suspects that the insistence on male potency as a basic requirement for marriage is not unrelated to the concern for legitimate offspring. It may well stem from a conviction that a woman married to an impotent man may look to other men for an escape from the frustration of virgin wifedom, and such escape carries with it the inherent possibility of illegitimate offspring being foisted on the husband and/or the community.

Physical Incapacity

Although complete physical incapacity is recognized as a cause for divorce or annulment, partial physical incapacity or psychological factors that make a sexual relationship possible but not satisfactory are not so recognized. The complete refusal of one spouse to participate in intercourse is, in some states, considered to be desertion and is ground for divorce or legal separation. (The insistence of one party on the use of contraceptives has also been termed "desertion" in some cases.) However, where the extreme situations of complete impotence or complete abstinence do not obtain, lesser degrees of sexual incompatibility or dissatisfaction give no grounds for legal relief.

Abnormal Sex Practices

The law recognizes, as indicated above, the right of a spouse to expect "normal" sexual intercourse from his mate. There is no obligation to submit to "abnormal" or "unnatural" sex, however, and the request or insistence of one party on activities such as fellation, cunnilinctus, mutual masturbation, etc., may be termed cruelty and justify a divorce or legal separation. Even when such practices are engaged in by a married couple with full consent, the act may be as clearly within the state's criminal statutes relating to such practices as if the couple were unmarried; however, the facts in such a situation are unlikely to come to the attention of the legal authorities. The acts are not made legal either by the fact that the parties are married to each other or by their mutual agreement to engage in the practices.

In view of the fact that reliable studies indicate that a large percentage of the population indulges in what the law regards as "unnatural" sex practice, the courts are sometimes in the position of terming "intolerable cruelty" practices that a substantial number of married people find mutually satisfying. In some cases "excessive" requests for intercourse on the part of one party have also been termed cruelty. What will be deemed "excessive" will depend in any case on the personal orientation of the judge as well as on objective factors such as the health of the complaining party.

Adultery: The Right to Exclusivity

Although there is tremendous variation among the laws of the individual states relating to such grounds for divorce as desertion, nonsupport, alcoholism, etc., there is almost complete unanimity that a spouse is entitled to the exclusive right to intercourse with his mate. So deeply imbedded in the law is this proposition that in almost all states a single instance of

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extramarital intercourse is sufficient to enable the other spouse to secure a divorce. A very few states consider adultery a ground for divorce only if accompanied by cohabitation by the adulterous spouse and another party, but these states tend to employ a double standard. In Texas, for example, a husband may secure a divorce for a single act of adultery by his wife, but a wife is only entitled to a divorce if her husband actually abandons her and lives with another woman.

An act of extramarital intercourse must be voluntary to be considered adulterous. Thus, the fact that his wife was raped would not give the husband grounds for divorce. In several states it has been held that no divorce will be granted for adultery if the accused spouse was insane or otherwise mentally irresponsible.

Adultery must usually be proven by circumstantial evidence since it is only in the rarest of circumstances that there is an eye witness to the act. The fact of adultery is deduced by the courts from a set of circumstances that make it probable, as one court put it, that a man and woman were not engaged in saying their "Pater Nosters." Thus if a man and woman occupied a single hotel room, registered at a hotel, or lived together representing themselves as a married couple, or (the classic, and usually fraudulent, circumstance) were found in their night clothes in a room by witnesses, the courts will usually assume that adultery has been committed.

There are some circumstances under which a divorce will not be granted even if adultery is proven. One such is the case in which it can be established that both spouses committed adultery. Marriage counselors might consider dual adultery an indication of a genuinely troubled marital situation, but the courts, which deal with marital problems in terms of "guilt" and "innocence," generally rule this to be a situation where neither "guilty" party has standing to sue the other for divorce.

Another type of situation in which no relief will be granted is one in which the nonadulterous spouse "condoned" the adultery, that is, he or she learned about the adultery and, instead of separating or bringing immediate suit, agreed to try to forgive the lapse and resume the marriage. In such a case the adultery is, in effect, wiped off the books and no subsequent action for divorce may be based on it. The result is that lawyers must advise a client whose spouse has committed adultery that any attempt to resume the marriage, in order to try to correct whatever led to the adultery or to determine whether the adultery had any substantial deleterious effect on the relationship, is fraught with the hazard that, if the attempt at reconciliation is not completely successful, the nonadulterous spouse will find that he has waived his right to sue for divorce.

A divorce will not be granted if the adultery was committed with the connivance of the suing party or his agent. The usual case of this sort occurs when one spouse hires a detective to secure evidence of adultery on which a divorce action can be based and the detective speeds up the process of accumulating the evidence by hiring someone to entrap the other spouse into an adulterous or apparently adulterous situation. No divorce will be granted in this type of situation, even if the spouse who hired the detective did not request or even know about the entrapment. Some states go so far as to hold that if connivance has once been proven against a spouse, he or she can never thereafter sue for divorce for any subsequent adultery, no matter how genuine.

In addition to the right to sue an adulterous spouse for divorce, many states allow a spouse to bring a civil action for damages against the person who has participated in the mate's adultery. This is known as an action for criminal conversation. In some states such an action can only be brought by the husband on the ground that the husband might, as a result of his wife's adultery, have spurious offspring attributed to him. In other states the wife, too, can bring such an action on the theory that the essence of the wrong is the destruction of the exclusive sex relationship between husband and wife, as well as on the ground that the husband might, as a result of his adultery, become infected with a venereal disease that might affect the health of the wife and children.

Suit for alienation of affections may also be brought in some states against a third party who has "deliberately" or "maliciously" interfered in the marital relationship. Although adultery may be involved here, in most states it is not the *sine qua non* of this type of action. Such

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a suit may also be brought against relations or friends that are of the same sex as the spouse. It is no defense to this type of action that affection did not exist between the husband and wife prior to the acts complained of or even that they were already living in disharmony or were separated. Nor need the suing spouse prove that the acts of the third party resulted in the abandonment or termination of the marriage.

Suits for both criminal conversation and alienation of affections have in recent years been outlawed in many states.

Marital Status and Other Sex Statutes

Laws relating to "unnatural" sexual relationships, contraception, and sterilization may fall with equal impact on the wed and the unwed.

Statutes relating to the sale, prescription, and use of contraceptive devices do not generally distinguish between the married and the unmarried. As a practical matter, many clinics have an announced policy of treating only married women. They do not ordinarily require *proof* that the patient is married; her statement that she is married is usually accepted. In those states in which a doctor may prescribe a contraceptive if he believes it to be necessary for the preservation of the health of his patient, the laws generally make no reference to marital status. With respect to contraceptives that are sold without prescription, again the laws do not expressly impose on the seller the responsibility for determining the marital status of the customer. However, when an unmarried minor is involved, a physician or druggist who prescribed or sold a contraceptive with knowledge of the minority might in some states be considered guilty of contributing to the delinquency of a minor.

Likewise, the laws relating to abortion do not require the physician, in making his judgment as to whether an abortion is required for the safety of the mother, to determine whether she is wed.

In the area of sterilization, the question of whether the operation is necessary to the health of the patient is likely as a practical matter to be decided in most cases with reference to marital status. Few doctors would care to have to justify a sterilization operation on an unmarried patient as necessary to health in the absence of feeble-mindedness or some other incurable condition.

Artificial Insemination

No specific legislation has thus far been passed, and very few judicial decisions have been made, regarding artificial insemination. It is not possible, therefore, to answer with any degree of assurance questions such as whether the child is the legitimate child of the husband or the donor and whether the insemination constitutes adultery on the part of the wife or the donor, if he is married. In one Canadian case, the judge indicated that the wife was guilty of adultery even though there was no physical contact, on the theory that the essence of the evil of adultery is the lending of the reproductive organs to one other than the spouse, with the consequent possible pollution of blood lines. If the husband had consented to the insemination of his wife, however, such consent might bring the case within the doctrine of connivance, discussed above, and bar him from seeking a divorce. In some states the very wording of the statute ("sexual intercourse," "fornication," "living together out of wedlock") would prevent artificial insemination from being construed as adultery.

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HARRIET F. PILPEL AND
THEODORA ZAVIN

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Laws on Sex Crimes

A FIRST quick glance at the maze of laws that concern sex and sexual behavior may well justify the conclusion that sex is not legal. A cursory examination of these laws will leave the examiner with two major impressions. The first is likely to be one of amazement at the enormous amount of minute detail concerning sex that is encompassed within each specifically designed statute. In spite of the vague wording of many sex statutes and their use of omnibus terms, such as "carnal abuse" or "sodomy," other statutes may include incisive legalities concerning the mating of cattle (and where such mating may or may not take place and under what conditions), and give details of sexual behavior equal in many ways to details included in the most complex laws covering such difficult subjects as bankruptcy and trusts. The second impression is the realization that the ratio of enforcement of these laws as compared to their violation is very low. This does not mean that these laws can therefore be ignored, for until a statute is repealed it can be enforced at any time.

Another peculiar factor is that, whereas laws in general are constantly being written, amended, or repealed, laws concerning sex are not. When one compares sex laws with other laws, it will be seen that the normal functions of amendment and repeal have not occurred at all over the last fifty years or so—with perhaps a few exceptions.

One final observation must be made at this point: Each state of the United States has its own code of laws concerning sex—and indeed many cities have additional regulations—and there is an incredible lack of conformity as to actual statutes included or omitted, as well as to penalties prescribed. A crime resulting in a fine of $50 to a violator in one state may result in a five-year prison term in a neighboring state—and the same act may not be a crime at all in yet a third state.

Legal Requirements Concerning Sexual Intercourse

Throughout this section the various *restrictions* concerning sexual intercourse will be discussed in detail, but a clearer picture of these restrictive, or negative, laws will be gained if the *affirmative* aspects of the legal requirements are summarized briefly. If the legislature were to pass a law specifically and affirmatively outlining the conditions and requirements that must be present before two persons may engage in sexual relations the law would contain, for the most part, the following elements:

In the first place, and perhaps the most essential element, the parties must be legally married *to each other* at the time they engage in sexual intercourse. If one of the parties is not of the proper age and therefore cannot legally consent to the marriage, the other party may find himself facing a charge of statutory rape.

Secondly, generally speaking it can be said that the *only* form of sexual relations clearly prescribed within the law for a legally married couple is the insertion of the penis within the vagina. Any variation, despite the fact that such variation may be described and prescribed by the reputable sex authorities as a form of precoital behavior, is restricted in all states under one law or another.

The act of intercourse must be voluntary on the part of *both* parties. The fact that a man is

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legally married to his wife does not give him the right to "rape" her.

Sexual intercourse between a married couple must be performed in private; coitus performed even in the company of friends is a crime.

It is well to mention in passing that a sexually legal marriage requires that certain specified individuals (such as uncle-niece, cousin-cousin, etc.) refrain from having sexual intercourse with each other, whether married or not. In addition, sexual intercourse between a Negro and white married couple is not legal in certain states. In certain other states that have no prohibition of this kind, sexual intercourse would still be illegal if the interracial marriage had been performed in a state in which such marriages are illegal—even though the marriage would have been legal if it had been performed in the state where the parties now live.

Crimes Involving Sexual Intercourse

Fornication

Fornication is the act of sexual intercourse by an unmarried person. In other words, if the fornicator is unmarried to the person with whom he or she has sexual intercourse, and/or is not married to any one else, the sexual intercourse is illegal.

However, various state laws have complicated the definition of fornication. For example, in many states fornication is not listed as a crime as such, but if two people who are unmarried to each other engage in sexual intercourse, and one of these two people is married to a third person, *both* are guilty of adultery. In still other states, if the unmarried person is a woman she is guilty of fornication, whereas if the unmarried person is a man he is guilty of adultery.

There are other variations that center around the question of whether or not a single act of sexual intercourse took place. In some states a single act is a crime; in other states the act must be committed more than once and must be "open and notorious." In still other states, the single act is called "fornication" and when the act becomes open and repeated it becomes a crime of "lewd behavior," or an act of "vicious indecency." Sometimes the determination as to whether or not a crime has been committed depends entirely on whether or not a child was conceived during the single act of sexual intercourse. In such a jurisdiction, if a child was not conceived the crime of fornication has not been committed.

A final variation in some states is that if fornication is committed with a person with whom marriage would be forbidden by law (such as marriage between a white person and a Negro), the penalty is much more severe.

Generally speaking, the penalty for the crime of fornication is comparatively light, although in some states the penalty for the third and fourth offense can be heavy. In several states the only punishment is a fine, ranging from $10 to $100. Most states impose a fine and imprisonment, and such imprisonment may only be for thirty days. However, in some states the offender may be incarcerated for as much as five years, and in addition be fined up to $500.

Adultery

Adultery is generally considered in a more serious light by the courts. As a matter of fact, one court's attitude was: "Adultery is an aggravated species of fornication." Many of the same elements described in connection with fornication are present in the statutes regarding adultery. For example, a single act of adultery, in many jurisdictions, is not a crime. In others, not only must the act be frequent but, in addition, it must be "open and notorious."

Despite the existence of many detailed statutes concerning the crime of adultery, the number of convictions has decreased in the last fifty years to the point of almost none at all. For example, in New York State there have been less than five convictions for adultery in this century, despite the fact that the only ground for divorce in New York is adultery and that thousands of divorces are being granted each year because adultery has been committed.

Punishment for adultery, as for fornication, varies widely, from $20 to as much as $2,000 plus five years' imprisonment.

Rape

The evolution of laws concerning the crime of rape is one of the most complex of all legal developments regarding sex. One reason for

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this complexity is the fact that two separate crimes are merged in this single crime. First, is the crime of engaging in sexual intercourse without the sanctity of marriage, as required by law. Second, is the crime of assault. (In addition, the element of fraud has been introduced into the modern version of the rape statute.)

Generally speaking, the crime of rape consists of accomplishing sexual intercourse with a woman against her will, either by force or by threat of force. It is important to note that the crime is committed when force or *threat* of force is used. A woman does not have to die or be severely injured for the sexual act to be considered "a fate worse than death." Through the years the definition of the crime has been considerably broadened. For example, it was once required that actual penetration of the penis into the vagina take place and that there be an emission. In the United States today, emission is not required, and only the *slightest* penetration of the outer labia is necessary for the act to be considered rape.

To fully understand the meaning of the phrase "against her will" the phrase should be reworded to read "without the *lawful* consent." A woman might very well consent to sexual intercourse, but such consent would not be considered lawful under certain conditions. Therefore, she was actually consenting *against her will.* She may have consented because of fear of death or bodily harm, even though no actual force was used. Or she may have consented because she was insane or an imbecile. Such consent would not be considered lawful, and the male involved could be convicted of rape if indicted. So important is this aspect of rape in certain states that special statutes, apart from the rape statutes, have been enacted to cover this situation specifically (and in many instances with even greater penalties).

Consent obtained through the use of drugs, anesthetics, alcoholic beverages, or any substance that would cause a stupor and/or an increased sexual desire would be considered unlawful consent and would subject the male to prosecution under the rape statute. Some jurisdictions have supplemented this part of the rape statute with an additional law requiring that all doctors and dentists who use a general anesthetic in connection with a female patient may do so only in the presence of a nurse or other third person.

One of the most curious types of unlawful consent spelled out by the law of rape in many jurisdictions is the consent a woman gives to a man she thinks is her husband but who in fact is impersonating her husband. Needless to say, although sexual intercourse was accomplished without force or plunder and with the obvious consent of the female, the impersonator would be guilty of rape because the consent was fraudulently obtained and therefore not lawful.

If the female consents, but it can be proven that she did not understand the nature of the act she consented to, this would again constitute unlawful consent. For example, if a physician had intercourse with a patient, having obtained her consent by telling her that such an act was a necessary part of the treatment, and if it can be shown that the patient believed this to be so because of youth, ignorance, or deficient mentality and thus consented, such consent would not be considered lawful and the doctor would be guilty of rape.

Perhaps the most important type of unlawful consent is the consent that is obtained from a female who is under the age of consent specified by state law. This type of unlawful consent places the crime in the category of "statutory" rape. Here again the rape has been consented to, and thus no force or threat of force has been used in accomplishing sexual intercourse. On the theory that the youthfulness of the female is her own worst enemy and that she therefore does not know to what she consents, the law declares that, since she does not have the *capacity* to consent, sexual intercourse was accomplished without her consent, and that the male is therefore guilty of rape.

Certain very serious defects in the law regarding statutory rape exist in most jurisdictions today. Only two defenses are possible for a person indicted for statutory rape: (1) to deny that sexual intercourse occurred; (2) to prove that the girl was of the legal age of consent. No other defense is legally acceptable in most jurisdictions. The girl may look 25 years of age or older (the boy may actually be younger than the girl), but if in fact the girl was under the legal age of consent, and if in

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fact intercourse occurred, the boy would stand trial for statutory rape. In some jurisdictions certain changes have been made in the law as a result of obvious injustices arising in its administration. For example, it hardly seems fair for a boy of 16 to spend 5 years in prison for having had intercourse with a girl who was older than he but nevertheless 3 months under 18 (the legal age of consent in many jurisdictions). Yet that is what has happened in countless numbers of cases, despite the fact that in many of these cases the girl has clearly been shown to be the seducer. As a result, in a few jurisdictions the accusing female must prove that she herself was chaste. However, if the defendant proves that the girl was not chaste he will not be acquitted; usually both will be convicted of disorderly conduct or some similar offense.

As in all laws concerning sex, the one consistent thing about laws on statutory rape is that they are all different. Although 18 is the most common legal age of consent, in many jurisdictions almost every age from 7 to 18 is so considered. In this era of psychology we know that chronological age does not necessarily coincide with emotional age, or degree of maturity. The use of an arbitrary legal age of consent, regardless of the facts of the case, can therefore result in a great many injustices to both the female and the male. Many authorities have been advocating changes in this aspect of the law, but to date not enough have been made.

Generally, the penalty for statutory rape is as severe as it is for all kinds of rape. At least eighteen states impose death as the maximum penalty for rape. In many of these, the only alternative to the death penalty is life imprisonment. In other states, penalties range from one to one hundred years.

Abduction

The crime of abduction is included in the code of every state in the United States, although many of these states make no distinction in their statutes between the *purposes* for which the victim was abducted. Some jurisdictions have set "abduction for the purpose of sexual intercourse" in a class by itself, the chief reason being to provide more severe penalties for this kind of abduction. For example, in one jurisdiction the abduction of a female for purposes of sexual intercourse can bring a term of life imprisonment. In many other states, the maximum penalty ranges around ten, fifteen, or twenty-one years.

A few states have an additional abduction statute in which the specific purpose of prostitution is defined. Here, too, the penalties are generally higher than in those abduction statutes that concern lesser purposes.

Seduction

In Shakespeare's *King John,* an illegitimate son asks his mother who his father was, and in answering her son, the mother aptly, though poetically, describes the very essence of seduction:

> King Richard Coeur-de-Lion was thy father:
> By long and vehement suit I was seduc'd
> To make room for him in my husband's bed.

It is this "long and vehement suit" that makes the difference between rape and seduction. In the latter the woman is induced to consent to unlawful sexual intercourse by enticements "which overcome her scruples by means of persuasions, solicitations, promises, and/or bribes without the employment of force."

Although common law recognized no crime of seduction, all but twelve states have enacted statutes making seduction a crime. Most of these statutes recognize only one method of seduction: the promise to marry the woman in the immediate or near future, if she will submit now. But the promise of marriage must be a clearly *unconditional* promise of marriage. For example, a promise to marry *if* the woman becomes pregnant is not considered a sufficiently unconditional promise to warrant a conviction of seduction. In some jurisdictions, however, the definition of male culpability has been widened over and above that of a mere promise of marriage. Any artful scheme that persuades a woman to submit to sexual intercourse is sufficient for a conviction in these few jurisdictions. Of course, the court in these jurisdictions requires that the woman prove she submitted as a direct consequence of whatever promise was made.

In many jurisdictions, conviction is obtained

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only if the woman proves that she herself was chaste until seduced by the defendant. If she fails to prove this, or if the defendant proves that she had had intercourse with others prior to the alleged seduction, he will be acquitted. In other jurisdictions, the girl need only prove that she has a "reputation" of chastity, regardless of whether or not she was a virgin when she arrived upon the seduction scene.

In a few states, if the girl is over a certain stated age it is somehow assumed that she could not be seduced, and therefore could not legally pursue such an action against the man involved. In some states this age is 25, in others 21, and in still others 18. In other words, the girl must be *under* these ages in order to bring action. In three states the male must be *over* 21 (or 18, or 16, depending on the state) before he can be indicted for seduction.

An interesting question is whether or not seduction of a married woman can bring a conviction. It goes without saying that a conviction for seduction could not be made in those states in which the crime of seduction hinges on a promise of marriage, for even if the man had promised to marry the woman, it would be on *condition* that she get a divorce from her present husband: thus, the promise of marriage would not have been unconditional. It also goes without saying that a married woman would not usually be a virgin (although there are such cases on record) and that those jurisdictions requiring the element of virginity would therefore refuse to entertain an indictment for the crime of seduction. However, convictions are on record for the seduction of a married woman in those jurisdictions that accept *any* artful promise as a means of seduction and do not require the woman to be a virgin.

In most jurisdictions, if the seducer marries the seduced the prosecution will cause the case against the defendant to be dismissed. Some of these jurisdictions, however, require that the marriage take place before the prosecution is started; in others, if at any time during the trial the defendant marries the seduced, the case is dismissed then and there.

The penalty for seduction is generally on the severe side. In some states, a person so convicted can be imprisoned for as long as ten years. In addition, many states impose a fine of as much as $5,000.

Prostitution

The element of prostitution that sets it apart, legally speaking, from fornication or adultery is the fact that the prostitute permits access to her sexual parts in return for a fee. Many states have statutes that say just this—that is, the accused woman cannot be convicted of the crime of prostitution unless there is proof that she was paid, or that payment will be forthcoming. But in at least sixteen states the definition of the crime of prostitution has been widened to include "the offering of the body for sexual intercourse for hire" and "the offering of the body for promiscuous and indiscriminate sexual intercourse without hire."

It would be well at this point to mention two myths connected with the crime of prostitution. The first, and the more widely disseminated of the two, is that prostitution is and has been legal in a few states in the United States. The second myth is that houses of prostitution are visited most frequently by unmarried men. Statutes prohibiting prostitution exist in all states, including the State of Nevada. One myth undoubtedly grew from the fact that for a while a city in Nevada passed its own law that attempted to legalize and regulate prostitution within the city limits. This was soon brought to an end by a State Supreme Court ruling, but not soon enough to prevent the birth of the myth. Concerning the second myth, available statistics indicate that the majority of men who use houses of prostitution with any degree of regularity are married.

In addition to defining the over-all illegality of prostitution, individual statutes spell out, in detail, the various aspects of prostitutional activity. In no other sex law is there the multiplicity (and duplicity) of statutes that exists in those dealing with the single activity of prostitution.

The fact that prostitution is "big business," for example, is reflected in the individual statutory treatment of the various members of the prostitution "ring." The operator "maintains or keeps a house, place, or any structure whatever where prostitution is carried on with his per-

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mission and/or knowledge." The procurer engages in the crime known generally as "pandering," in that he procures the inmates of the house of prostitution. In certain states the procurer is also called an "agent" or a "pimp," depending upon the extent of his crime—that is, depending on how many girls he has been able to supply to a house, or houses. The pimp is usually the least important of the three, at least judging from the severity of his penalty in most states. In addition, there are statutes concerned with persons who transport women for purposes of prostitution; employment agencies who, knowing of the activity, send personnel to clean a house of prostitution; cab drivers who tell passengers the location of a house of ill-repute; husbands who live off the proceeds of their prostitute-wives; persons who have information concerning prostitutes or a house of prostitution and fail to give such information to the police; and so on.

There are two types of statutes that deserve more than just passing mention. The first are those statutes that deal with the prostitute herself. There is little sense to most laws concerning sex, when viewed in the light of modern penal science as applied in other areas of crime. But at least there is some justice in the fact that the prostitute, who pays the most in a certain sense of the word, receives the least penalty (usually a moderate fine and/or a few months in jail) in comparison to the penalties listed in the statutes discussed thus far. In a few states, rehabilitation programs are being set in motion whereby, upon conviction, the prostitute may dissociate herself from the illicit organization she may have been a part of. However, if she is subsequently proved guilty of loitering for the purposes of prostitution, the penalty will be higher than she would otherwise receive.

The second type of statute still to be reviewed is notable because of its absence in the laws of most states—namely, the statute concerning the crime the customer commits when he uses a prostitute. Even in those states that make it illegal for any person to enter a house or a place for the purpose of prostitution, the customer has been ignored by the courts on the ground that the statute applies to only those who are engaged in making prostitution available to the customer, such as the pimps, the procurers, and the prostitutes. Only about eight states have laws that specifically define the customer's use of a prostitute as a crime, and in those states there are very few convictions. Many authorities believe that if the customer were prosecuted "big business" prostitution and the bribing of public officials by "ring" heads would come to a swift end, since the high-paying customers would become discouraged. Evidence that law-enforcement agencies seem to be protecting the customer, thus perpetuating "big business" prostitution, is strengthened by the fact that, in states that do not have specifically designed "customer" statutes, the customer could be indicted and convicted under other general statutes—such as the disorderly conduct statutes, lewd behavior statutes, the aiding-and-abetting-the-commission-of-a-crime type of statute, and many others—and yet, by and large, is not. The prostitute is continuously, and often unconstitutionally, arrested and convicted, while the customer, her partner in crime—at least as defined by our law—is rarely, if ever, even arrested.

Incest

Simply defined, incest is copulation of a man and a woman who are related to each other in any of the degrees within which marriage is prohibited by law. As simple a crime as incest seems to be, confusions, disparities, and unnecessary complexities exist within the incest statutes of the various states. For example, some states have a single statute to cover the acts of incestuous *sexual intercourse* and of *intermarriage* of prohibited relations. In other states statutes distinguish between the two acts to the extent of considering incestuous sexual intercourse a grave crime and the act of incestuous marriage a minor one. In one state the maximum penalty for incestuous marriage is a $500 fine and/or six months in prison, whereas the maximum penalty for incestuous sexual intercourse is ten years. In another state, which has the same differentiation, the maximum penalty for incestuous marriage is three years, and for incestuous sexual intercourse, twenty years. The highest penalty in any state for incest is fifty years' imprisonment.

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Other Forms of Sexual Behavior

Thus far we have dealt with laws concerning various aspects of sexual intercourse. But other forms of sexual expression are also legally restricted.

Masturbation

There are no laws in any state that prohibit masturbation. But there are two very important qualifications to this statement. The first concerns mutual masturbation. A number of states include mutual masturbation in the sodomy or "crime-against-nature" statute by specifically mentioning it. Other statutes are so broad that by implication mutual masturbation—whether practiced by man and man, woman and woman, man and woman, single or married—would be illegal and therefore subject to the same penalty (which is severe) provided for the crime of sodomy.

The second exception to the apparent legality of masturbation is the requirement of privacy while practicing it. A person who masturbates in public, or in an area where someone might see him, would be convicted of indecent exposure and, in some jurisdictions, for the additional crime of masturbating in public.

The act of masturbation is indirectly represented in at least half of the statutes that are usually referred to as "obscenity" statutes. Any article that is specifically designed for masturbating is labeled under the law as an "indecent article" and to manufacture, sell, or offer it—or even to possess it for the purpose of using it—is deemed illegal.

Masturbation is nowhere directly listed as a ground for divorce, but there are cases on record in which forcing a wife to watch the husband masturbate has been considered as evidence of extreme cruelty on the part of the husband, thus, in those jurisdictions where extreme cruelty is a legal cause of divorce, granting the wife a divorce.

Sodomy and Crime-against-Nature Statutes

Of all statute titles, those of "sodomy" and "crime-against-nature" are the most misleading. For contained within these statutes are forms of sexual expression that are described, condoned, and in fact in most instances prescribed by leading authorities on marriage. In spite of this, these activities still remain on the illegal side of the law books—with heavy penalties attached thereto.

Here again each state has its own way of alluding to the acts contained in the statute and covered by it. In some jurisdictions reference to the term sodomy or crime against nature is made, while in others each act included under these terms is spelled out in detail. Originally sodomy was defined as the connection of the penis with the rectum, as practiced by males with each other in the ancient town of Sodom. The act of sodomy at common law was considered an act against nature, so that crime against nature was considered synonymous with sodomy. But gradually the definition of crime against nature became more and more encompassing, until today we have a typical statute that, although it is entitled a sodomy statute, includes many acts that are technically not sodomy. For example, note the wording of a typical statute:

> Every person who shall carnally know, or shall have sexual intercourse in any manner with any animal or bird, or shall carnally know any male or female by the anus (rectum) or with the mouth or tongue; or shall attempt intercourse with a dead body is guilty of Sodomy.

Thus we find that pederasty, bestiality, buggery, fellation, cunnilinctus, and several other practices such as mutual masturbation are combined under the term of sodomy or crime against nature, either by specific reference or by implication. So vague are the statutes in many jurisdictions that the decision of what is and is not a crime against nature is entirely within the judge's discretion. As yet there seems to be no reflection in the statutes of modern-day thought and attitudes in regard to sexual forms of expression. Leading sex authorities therefore find themselves in the position of committing a crime when they advise, even for therapeutic reasons, practices that are actually against the law. For to advise an illegal act is in and of itself a violation.

Two states would seem to have no sodomy statute, and yet in one is a statute labeled the "lascivious acts" statute, which declares in

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effect that whoever commits any unnatural or lascivious act is guilty of a felony and is subject to a maximum term of five years and/or a maximum fine of $1,000. The other state has a law described as an "act relating to sex perverts," which covers the same area. This would indeed indicate that "sodomy" by any other name is sodomy plus many other practices.

The penalties for sodomy run as high as imprisonment for from sixty years to life, and in one state the minimum punishment is life imprisonment at hard labor. (This state, which prescribes life at hard labor for a husband and wife who express themselves sexually in a way deemed by the law as "against nature," at the same time would punish one who has intercourse with an animal with a prison term of only five years.) In no state is a distinction made between sodomy committed by persons married to one another and sodomy committed by persons not married to each other.

It should be added by way of final note that attempts to revise these statutes have been made by all the important law-revision committees in the United States and England, with little or no success as yet. For the laws as they now read seriously interfere with and actually hamper those who work in the fields of psychiatry, marriage counseling, and law enforcement. Eminent jurists such as Judge Learned Hand have long urged the revision of these laws so that the realm of personal privacy can be protected from futile and fumbling attempts at needless law enforcement.

Homosexual Behavior

Being a homosexual is not in and of itself illegal, but the problem does not end there. For when the homosexual expresses himself sexually with another male, his methods violate one or more laws already described in previous sections of this article—those concerned with mutual masturbation, the connection of the penis with the mouth, and the connection of the penis with the rectum. He is therefore subject to the same pertinent laws previously described.

But something more should be said about the administration of these laws. In many large cities homosexuals are apprehended by means of entrapment, even though entrapment is generally held to be unconstitutional. Police officers, working in pairs and in plain clothes, frequent bars, parks, and other areas where homosexuals are known to congregate and make themselves available as homosexual pickups. The moment a homosexual makes an active move in the direction of a pickup he is arrested by the disguised police officers and charged with loitering for the purpose of picking up a partner for homosexual activity. In many cases the police officer, in an effort to improve his "arrest" record, does not wait for the homosexual to make the pickup, but instead picks up the homosexual himself and, when the homosexual responds or acquiesces, immediately arrests him, as if the homosexual had made the initial advance. In almost no jurisdiction is psychiatric treatment available to the convicted deviate. He is usually given a suspended sentence after the first conviction, and 30 or 90 days in prison after the second—then thrown back on the streets again in a much worse condition, psychologically speaking.

Although laws against the practice of homosexuality theoretically can be applied to Lesbian behavior as well as to practices between two males, there as yet seem to be no cases where Lesbians have actually been arrested and prosecuted for engaging in relations with members of their own sex. Perhaps because no actual coitus can take place between two females and because no seed is actually "wasted," society has almost invariably taken a more permissive attitude toward Lesbianism than it has toward male homosexuality.

Obscene and Lewd Behavior

There are all kinds of statutes concerned with behavior that is classified by law as obscene. A number of states find it necessary to create a special statute for "Peeping Toms," even though such activity could be amply covered by the disorderly-conduct statute. In most "Peeping Tom" statutes no distinction is made concerning the sex of the peeper and the one he peeps upon, but one state makes peeping a crime only if the person spied upon is a female.

Some states have statutes making it a crime if animals such as horses, donkeys, cattle, and goats are permitted to mate within a certain number of feet of or in view of a school, public

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street, church, private home, or tavern. In some jurisdictions the penalty for permitting such an offense can go as high as a fine of $1,000 or one year in prison, or both.

Obscene talk in a public place or over a telephone can bring arrest and imprisonment. One state has a statute making it a crime to talk in an obscene manner over the telephone to a female telephone operator. Writing lewd letters to females (in some states, to anyone) can bring the author a fine of as much as $1,000 and three years' imprisonment.

There are also statutes specifically designed for the wall-and-fence artist. In fact, in one state the penalty is up to five years in prison for drawing an obscene picture on a public fence or wall.

Writing, printing, publishing, distributing, lending, renting, and selling books, pictures, pamphlets, films, figures, or images of an obscene and lascivious nature are usually all lumped together in one huge and vague statute. Such laws, despite their vagueness (which is often a reason for a statute being declared unconstitutional), have been held constitutional and are considered as part of the police powers of each state.

The continuous struggle to keep freedom of thought and speech from being curtailed by censorship by police officials, private groups (as self-appointed censors), state licensing boards, and commissioners has resulted in countless numbers of court decisions. If anything, these have further complicated the legal conception of what is, and what is not, obscene. Despite certain important decisions that have somewhat narrowed the definition of obscenity, what will be considered obscene in any particular court decision is still as unpredictable as it ever was. A film made within the shadow of the Vatican and approved by the Pope was nevertheless held to be obscene and sacrilegious by a license commissioner in an American city. A book, long accepted as one of the greatest ever written, was suddenly deemed unmailable. Scientific material on a study of sex, destined for a world-renowned scientist, was held up for three years by the U.S. Customs authorities. It has been said by many authorities in the field of the law of censorship that, had the Holy Bible been written today, the most we could hope for would be an expurgated edition—if it could be published and distributed at all.

In the more liberal decisions of late, the obscenity of a book is usually determined by whether or not, as a whole, it tends to excite lustful desires. In other words, if the book as a whole has artistic merit but certain portions are obscene, it will not be held to be obscene—at least not in those jurisdictions that subscribe to the more liberal type of decision.

The confiscation of obscene material is handled by federal, state, and city or town officials. Police departments, post office police, license boards, city and state censor boards, and self-appointed censorship groups determine whether films, books, or magazines are criminally obscene. The main issue is always whether freedom of the press and freedom of speech are being curtailed or whether the censoring group—private or public—is acting within the police powers of the particular jurisdiction.

Because of the vagueness of the definition of obscene, it is always difficult for a lawyer to predict for a writer, publisher, or producer what will be deemed obscene by a court. It is therefore equally difficult for writers, artists, and other creators of artistic and literary forms to know where the bounds of art and obscenity begin and end.

Many jurisdictions have statutes that are entitled, with variations, "lewd and obscene behavior." These statutes are vague and all-encompassing and in general read as follows: "Any person who shall be guilty of open lewdness, or any notorious act of public indecency tending to debauch the morals and manners of the people, or who shall in private be guilty of an act of lewdness or carnal indecency. . . ." In some jurisdictions having such a statute the penalty can go as high as five years' imprisonment with an additional fine of $2,500, and in a few jurisdictions a lewd defendant can be sentenced to ten years behind bars.

This type of statute is most often used in the "almost-but-not-quite" kind of crime: an unmarried couple live together, but there is insufficient evidence of sexual intercourse to bring

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a conviction for the crime of adultery; two males are arrested under suspicious circumstances, such as both being in the nude and intoxicated, but there is no ascertainable evidence that sodomy has been committed; a man and woman are apprehended in a parked automobile, but the crime of fornication has not yet been actually committed. The statute at times has been used in legal battles waged by husbands and wives against each other. For example, one spouse will cause the arrest of the other spouse under this statute, thereby trying to force a cash settlement in some pending civil action between the two.

The Lawless Area

Two major categories illustrate the "lawless" area of sex: artificial insemination and the changing of one's sex. The word "lawless" is used here in a very narrow sense, for in these categories certain laws are enforced. However, these laws are not appropriate to or written specifically for these areas of "sexual behavior." Rather, they consist of old laws applied to a new subject. For example, most authorities agree that artificial insemination has certain legal dangers that can be avoided by means of appropriate laws, and that it is ridiculous to hold (as several courts have done) that a woman who has been artificially inseminated by her doctor has committed adultery—to say nothing of the fact that this in no way makes the practice of artificial insemination legally safer.

The husband, the wife, the donor, the doctor, and the resulting child are all in need of the protection that only suitable legislation can bring them, for difficult legal questions are involved. For example: Could the child claim support from the donor? Could the husband of the wife impregnated by the semen of a donor refuse to be liable for the support of the child? To what extent can a doctor be held liable if a child resulting from artificial insemination is defective in mind or body? Since a birth certificate is supposed to state the name of the child's father, is it legal to place the husband's name on the certificate instead of the donor's? In a divorce situation, does the father have the right to claim visitation of a child resulting from artificial insemination? These are only a few of the more troublesome types of questions that arise.

Misapplication of the law can also be observed in those cases in which a person, by having the penis and testicles removed, assumes the sex of a female. There is still much to be learned regarding the desire to change one's sex, and there is a need for some kind of regulation for the protection of such a person, as well as of the doctors who perform such an operation. But at the present time there is no specifically designed form of regulation to apply to the psychiatric and medical requirements inherent in this situation.

Several jurisdictions, for example, will prosecute a doctor who performs such an operation under what is called the "maiming" statute. This statute dates back to Medieval England, when each lord of the manor had a private army of his own and fighting men were at a premium. It was therefore made a punishable offense for one person to injure a "fighting limb" of another, thereby incapacitating him as a soldier. The penis can hardly be regarded as a "fighting limb," and as a matter of fact there are cases on record holding that it is not to be so regarded. All this, none the less, has not prevented several district attorneys from using this law in the way described above.

Conclusion

The majority of authorities in the fields of sex and law recognize the need for a change in laws that apply to sex, but thus far little has been done toward this end. Instead of changing the laws, it has been the practice of courts and law-enforcement bodies simply to ignore them. It goes without saying that ignoring a law is not the same as amending it, or legally nullifying it. Failure to enforce existing laws in effect breaks down public respect both for the observed and for the ignored laws.

Many law-enforcement authorities and law-revision committees have taken the position that laws concerning sexual behavior should be confined to three major areas: (1) sexual acts that involve the use of force or the threat of

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force; (2) sexual acts performed in public; (3) sexual acts that involve minors. According to these authorities, all other laws concerning sexual behavior should be eliminated as being unenforceable, useless, antiquated, inapplicable, and generally not within the province of law enforcement in the first place. Although a number of important studies have been made on the subject, all of them coming to approximately the same conclusions as those just stated, to date they have had little effect on the state legislatures.

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ROBERT VEIT SHERWIN

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Literature and Sex

FOR the purposes of this article we use the word "sex" to describe the whole range of instinctive responses, actions, and repressions that move from the erotic impulse. By "erotic" we mean all that is related to love, using the word in its pure Greek sense, ερωτικός, as covering all areas of experience over which Eros holds sway.

We use the word "literature" to describe the body of writing that has survived the test of time and is generally accepted as having universal appeal for its form, its content, and its genius.

We treat "contemporary writing" separately because, although none of us can confidently foretell which of it will take its place in literature, we seek enlightenment on its significance for us and our times through exploring its relationship to the ageless sources of literary expression.

Our discussion will proceed by way of four approaches: (1) Portrayal of sex in literature; (2) the erotic motive in literature; (3) sublimation of sex in literature; and (4) sex in contemporary writing.

Portrayal of Sex in Literature

Unveiled portrayal of sex has characterized the writing of some periods and places while evasion and disguise of direct sex references have been the marks of others.

The two ancient literatures that have exercised the greatest influence on our literary history differed radically from each other at one fundamental level. In Greece the erotic was almost entirely directed to homosexual affection; among the Hebrews it was almost entirely restricted to heterosexual affection. Their writings, however, have one characteristic in common. They both abound in the frank treatment of sex.

Treatment of sex in Greek literature takes its emphasis from the fact that homosexuality reached an unparalleled extension and intensity among the Greek peoples. This was probably one consequence of their fanatical cult of the body in gymnastics and athletics, but it was also doubtlessly encouraged by powerful influences from the East. Among the Dorians, in Sparta and Crete, pederasty was literally a part of public education. In Athens it was punished only if it involved assault and rape, that is, in circumstances where sex offenses would be punishable anywhere. Greek literature plainly glorifies homosexual love.

The most representative lyric poet of Greece is Pindar, from one of whose poems we take the typical lines:

> Right it is to cull love's blossom in due season, in life's prime; but whosoever has seen the rays flashing from the eyes of Theoxenus and does not swell with longing, his black heart was forged of steel and iron at a frozen flame, and Aphrodite honors him not. Either he is busy with all his might about gold, or else, sacrificing his heart to a woman, is borne along every path. But I, for the goddess's sake, waste away like wax of holy bees under the heat of the sun when I look at the young blooming limbs of boys.

His feminine counterpart in Greek literature is Sappho. She, with no more restraint than his, wrote of her love for a girl, a passage that loses nothing by being presented by her as a contrast to the coolness of a bridegroom to the sweet voice and laughter of his bride: "My heart

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beats, my voice fails, fire runs beneath the skin, the eyes see not, the ears buzz, sweat flows off me, trembling seizes me, and, fading like withered grass, I am as one dead."

Homer, in spite of the fact that the siege of Troy was undertaken because of Helen's unfaithfulness, wrote little about sex, but the most powerful pathos of the *Iliad* is the account of Achilles' dream of Patroclus after this dear friend had been killed: "But stand closer to me," he says, "that embracing each other for a little while, we may indulge in sad lamentation."

The murder of the Athenian tyrant Hipparchus by the two lovers Harmodius and Aristogiton, Alexander's love for Hephaestion, and the Sacred Band of Thebes are familiar literary themes. The gods Apollo, Poseidon, Heracles, and Ganymede were sung as homosexuals. In a world overwhelming him with mystery and despair, Oedipus turns to Theseus in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus* to say: "I have found piety nowhere in the world as with you, and mildness of heart and absence of lies." Everywhere in Greek literature male love is praised and glorified.

Hebrew writing presents a startling contrast. Here the love of a man and a woman is the glorified affection. But never far below the surface of its portrayal is the dark undertone of its potential tragedy.

The Bible begins with the beautiful pastoral of the man and the woman in the Garden—the simple imagination of perfect love in a world at peace throughout its whole creation. This is the vision that forever afterwards haunts the memory of all Hebrew writers about love. We see its rosy glow in the story of Jacob and Rachel and in the idyll of Ruth.

No sooner is the story of the beatific Garden told, however, than the serpent enters, and there comes into the writing a bitter consciousness of the mingling of lust with love that drove the man and woman from Eden and confounded sex with disobedience to God, making it all but synonymous with sin. From that point forward, love and sin move side by side in Hebrew literature, inseparable companions frankly and realistically described. The love of Abraham for Sarah is tenderly told, but her beauty leads him to lie to Pharaoh, and his dynastic ambition, reinforced by his belief in its divine sanction, causes him to turn to Hagar's bed that he may have a son. David, Jehovah's favorite from his youth, handsome, heroic, and altogether kingly, lusts for Bathsheba and commits murder that he may have her.

The moral dualism of the "knowledge of good and evil" permeates Hebrew writing. Sex poses one of the dominating moral problems with which it deals, and it portrays sex with unrepressed candor. Nowhere in literature is there plainer speaking about a sexually perverse society than in the descriptions of the cities of the plain, Sodom and Gomorrah. Never was rivalry between brothers for a woman more vividly summed up than in the swift murder of his brother Adonijah by Solomon for making a bid for the Shunammite woman.

The symbols of love are frequently used to describe the bonds of God and man in Hebrew hymns. In The Song of Songs the lover hymns his beloved for her own sake. He finds the world in her—she is a vineyard; she is in the clefts of the rock and the hidden hollow of the cliff. Her breasts are as walls with towers, her eyes like doves, her hair like a flock of straying goats, her teeth like washed ewes, her lips like a scarlet thread, her temples like pomegranates, her neck like the tower of David, the curves of her thighs like links of a chain, her navel like a king's goblet, her belly like a heap of wheat set among lilies. The lover himself is described hardly less fulsomely. And the embrace of the lovers is like a tree which the lover climbs, taking hold of the branches and finding in her breasts clusters of the vine and in her breath the odor of apples. Readers of this love song needed no interpreter to explain its images.

The greatest of Hebrew dramas, the Book of Job, deals with a theological question and has no fundamental erotic undertones. Greek drama, on the other hand, although restrained in overt sexual references because it was written for presentation to huge mixed audiences, is such a profound comment on erotic motivation in human conduct that it served as a treasury from which Freud drew some of the most comprehensive of his psychoanalytical insights.

The candor of the Greek writers was matched

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by the Roman, but since Rome was not as infested with homosexuality, Roman writers speak more emphatically of the love of man and woman. Virgil does not hesitate to portray sexual passion realistically, especially when he writes of Venus. The *Ars Amatoria* of Ovid, the Roman Pindar, went so far in its candor that it outraged the Emperor Augustus, then engaged in a program of moral reform, and the poet was banished from the city and sent in exile to the half-barbarian town of Tomi near the mouth of the Danube.

The Middle Ages, which were sex-ridden to an extraordinary degree, produced a frankly erotic literature. The Arthurian Cycle and the romance of Tristan and Iseult stand as the outstanding examples. Ecclesiastical records are full of stories of bishops disciplining clergy who were faithless to their vows of celibacy, and these faithless acts are told with unflinching candor. Out of this struggle between the flesh and celibacy emerged the beautiful love story of Héloïse and Abélard, the details of which were sung by many minstrels. When Andreas Capellanus attempted to bring some sort of discipline into the sex habits of the twelfth century with his *Rules of Courtly Love,* he described love as a "certain inborn suffering derived from the sight of and excessive meditation upon the beauty of the opposite sex," and told of the abuses of his time as he laid down the maxims for their cure. Medieval preoccupation with sex reached its most artistic expression in the *Decameron* of Boccaccio, which set the pattern both in form and content for much of the literature that followed it.

Chaucer led the way out of the Middle Ages in England with his *Canterbury Tales* and *Troilus and Cressida. Troilus and Cressida* is full of sex symbolism, but the Tale of the *Wife of Bath,* the *Miller's Tale,* and the *Reeve's Tale* in the *Canterbury Tales* go beyond symbolism to overt sexual expressions. Chaucer had as few inhibitions as Boccaccio.

In France, Montaigne started modern French literature on its way with essays that included some calculated, as he said, to drive his essays out of ladies' parlors into their boudoirs. He set the tone and largely established the conventionally accepted vocabulary with which French literature has uniquely treated matters of sex in the intervening four hundred years, with only the temporary lapse into conventionality that marked the reign of Louis XIV.

English literature has had a more varied experience. The immediate successors of Chaucer wrote freely of sex throughout the Elizabethan period, but the Puritan Commonwealth brought an inevitable taboo. The Restoration of the Stuarts under Charles II, in turn, brought a reaction that gave English writing its frankest sexual expression prior to our own times. With the Great Rebellion of 1688, which put the Whigs firmly in the saddle, a more sober mood prevailed, settling down to a conventionality that reached its all-pervading height in the Age of Victoria and from which English and American writing truly began to emerge in the last generation. Thus, England and the United States were "under wraps" in the area of sexual expression for a century and a half—from Fielding and Sterne to James Joyce and D. H. Lawrence.

These men found in English literature no such accepted and classically correct vocabulary for descriptions of sex as the French had worked out, and part of the effort of the past fifty years has been to escape coarseness while not evading candor. The nineteenth-century taboo on sex in English writing has now bowed to a freedom unprecedented in American and English literature.

The Erotic Motive in Literature

Every book is an autobiography in the sense that no writer can keep himself out of what he writes. His unconscious reveals itself, and by careful scrutiny of his works one is able to uncover his unconscious motivations. Among these, erotic motivations have always been present, and their perception can in many cases go far to explain the origin and form of the writing itself. A book is not an accident. It is determined by the nature and experience of its author.

The name Homer, for example, may stand for one or for many men, but the profile of a distinct human being confronts us from one famous passage of the *Iliad,* the dream of Achilles about Patroclus in the twenty-third book. The most powerful passion of Achilles was friendship,

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and here we have the story of his grief over the death of his dearest friend—his lover. The language is so poignant, the self-accusations so personal, and the grief so moving that there can be no doubt that here the poet is remembering a loss of his own. Of this poet hidden in antiquity we can say without a doubt that he once loved supremely and suffered the loss of his beloved.

More subtle is Ovid's self-revelation in the third book of his *Amores*, where he tells of a dream in which he saw a crow peck at the breast of a white cow standing beside a bull and carry off a white hair. The cow, black envy in her heart, left her mate and went over to some other bulls. The interpretation given of the dream is that the white cow was Ovid's mistress, the bull himself, and the crow a procuress who would tempt his mistress to desert him. The passage is interesting because it forecasts Freud's interpretations of dreams, but our point here is that the incident came into literature out of the erotic fears of the poet, fears that, we may say, were later justified when Ovid's mistress did indeed leave him.

A more familiar example of the erotic motive within a poet is Dante. He met Beatrice when they were both 9 years old in the year 1274. He saw her only once afterwards, and she died when she was 25 years old. Two years after her death he married. But all through his later years he cherished the memory of Beatrice as the ideal of perfect love, and this erotic image became the source as well as the symbol of his great imaginative work.

Petrarch, Dante's successor in Italian poetry, worked by much the same erotic symbolism. When he was 23 in 1327 he saw Laura for the first time. She died twenty-one years later. He continued to live twenty-six years more. Yet throughout his life he wrote his love poems to her. Must we say that for forty-seven years he continued in passionate love for her? The evidence is somewhat against it for he had two illegitimate children even before she died. Rather, we must say that, as Dante sang the ideal of perfect love, Petrarch sang the ideal of faithful love.

In La Rochefoucauld we get a revelation of that very deep level of the unconscious, self-love—the egotism that lies close to the root of all emotions. He is generally known as a cynic, but this is a tribute to his awareness that life is acceptable to most men only through a process of self-deception, the other side of this coin being that such deception becomes itself responsible for personal and social evils. We cannot but hear echoes of our own unconscious in such phrases as, "Men would not live long in society were they not dupes of each other," "Wit sometimes enables us to act rudely with impunity," and, "When our vices leave us we flatter ourselves with the idea we have left them." "It is well that we know not all our wishes," he said, a pre-Freudian recognition of the unconscious.

Another kind of erotic motivation in literature is shown in writing that takes on the character of confession. We are familiar with it in St. Augustine. It came into modern vogue with two influential novels of the second half of the eighteenth century, Rousseau's *Nouvelle Héloïse* (1760) and Goethe's *Sorrows of Werther* (1774). Rousseau sought in art what he had not known in reality, for he tells us in his *Confessions* that he had reached the age of 45 before he realized that he had never enjoyed true love. Goethe, on the other hand, made literature out of experience, so that we know his Charlotte, his Frederica, and his Frau von Stein as we also know himself as Werther, Faust, and Wilhelm Meister. Goethe found in his writing a catharsis, his comment on Werther being: "I felt as if I had made a general confession and was once more free and happy, and justified in beginning a new life."

Goethe's genius inspired a train of successors who owed much to him for their ways of recording their love troubles; among them were Byron, Madame de Staël, George Sand. Byron is perhaps the most typical. Like Schopenhauer, he had unhappy relations with his mother which flared into violent quarrels. His reaction was one of intense love for his sister, Mrs. Augusta Leigh, for whom his passion was so great that it became a matter of scandal, although the alleged incest was probably never consummated. His true love was for Mary Chaworth, whose marriage to another man was the heartbreak of his life. His marriage proved

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unhappy and, after separation, he sought consolation in his various mistresses, the most noted being Mariana Segati with whom he lived from November, 1816, to February, 1818. The influences of all these emotional complications sound throughout his work which, indeed, reveals symptoms of hysteria. His last lines conclude: "Love dwells not in our will/ Nor can I blame thee, though it be my lot/ To strongly, wrongly, love thee still." He carried his erotic wounds to the end.

Powerful love for a sister played its formative part in other writers. Shelley was brokenhearted when he realized that his sister had passed from under his influence, and we get an echo of his tragedy in the first edition of the *Revolt of Islam* in which he made Laon and Cynthia, brother and sister, lovers. In his preface he declared that he could not see why the innocent love of brother and sister should be distasteful. In *Rosalind and Helen* he tells of a spot where a sister and brother had loved and their child was born, only to be torn to pieces by a mob, their ghosts forever haunting the scene.

A gentler influence of brother-sister love worked upon the writings of Wordsworth, Lamb, and Renan. Wordsworth lived always with the memory of Marie-Anne Vallon, by whom he had an illegitimate daughter in his youth in France, but whom he could not marry for good reasons. He took refuge in his sister Dorothy's company, and in his life with her drew upon her quiet strength for much of his inspiration. She was his eyes and ears, as he himself says, in the observations of nature that mark his writing, and she undoubtedly influenced him toward the respectability that kept reference to sex out of his writing and later turned him back to a conservative view of men and affairs. Lamb's love and care for his sister is one of the beautiful stories of the literary world. He watched over her during her fits of insanity, even after she had killed their mother in one of them, and together they collaborated in the writing of plays and poems. Renan's devotion to his sister Henrietta had much of the quality of Wordsworth's to Dorothy. His love for her and his mother kept him a Christian although he was a freethinker, and his *Life of Christ* shows signs of feminine influence, if not of femininity in himself, in its portrayal of this profound subject.

The Brontë family provides a rich example of sisters and a brother who mutually influence each other, but the prevailing erotic impulse in Charlotte's writing was her love for M. Heger, her married teacher in Brussels whom she was forced to renounce and leave. The echoes of this disappointment cry out from all her books in one place or another, with the whole story being most fully told in *Villette*. In the twenty-first chapter of *Jane Eyre* she recounts a dream that is undoubtedly an unconscious report of her own disappointment when she found herself married to a man she did not love, and without the children she so earnestly had hoped to have. Her characters take their place alongside Werther and Hedda Gabler among the sex sufferers of literature.

Balzac presents another side of the unconscious. Always hard up for money, he continually sought for schemes to make him rich and to rid himself of his debts. Unconsciously he undoubtedly entertained ideas for gaining fame, love, and riches by some swift means, even though immoral. He repressed them, but they emerged in some of his strongest characters—Eugene Rastignac, Vautrin, Jacques Collins, and others—who were either villains in themselves or felt themselves tempted greatly by their evil companions. Inner conflict bursts often through the writing of this greatest of French novelists, and Eugene gives it clear voice in his cry: "Silence, sir! I will not hear you any more; you make me doubt myself." It is a cry that we know might have come not only from the soul of Balzac, but also from that of Dostoevski, Stendhal, and D'Annunzio, as Raskolnikoff, Julian Sorel, and George Aurispa.

Of somewhat the same temperament as men such as these but with another kind of psychological drive was Edgar Allan Poe. His character is too complex for analysis here, but briefly, having lost his mother in infancy, he evidently identified the womb and the grave in his unconscious; thus was evolved his preoccupation with stories of burial alive, such as *The Cask of Amontillado, The Black Cat,* and *Tales of the Grotesque and Arabesque. The Fall of the House of Usher* is a morbid reaction

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against the libido, and the dead figure of the sister moving from her grave to drag her brother to death while the whole house collapses about them is the expression of a psychosis originating in repression and reacting with fear.

Baudelaire was Poe's most fervent admirer, and his *Les Fleurs du Mal* echo Poe in many ways, but they also introduce us to another erotic manifestation among the writers of the later nineteenth century. This was the cult of the Love of Little Girls. It originated at Oxford where professors entertained small girls at tea parties. Among its literary voices were W. E. Henley, Francis Thompson, Robert Louis Stevenson, and Algernon Swinburne. Ernest Dowson, at the age of 25, saw the 12-year-old daughter of the proprietor of a Soho restaurant as she passed among the tables, fell in love with her instantly, and, despite her refusal of him, loved her till his early death. His story reminds us of Spinoza who lived all his life with a frustrated love for a little Christian girl. In 1909 Björnstjerne Björnson wrote of an adult man's love for a little girl in *When the New Wine Blooms*. Robert Browning wrote of similar love in his *Evelyn Hope*.

Stevenson also uncovers other erotic impulses in his *A Chapter on Dreams*. He is one of many writers who more or less anticipated Freud with analyses of these phenomena. They include Locke, Hobbes, Browne, Addison, Hunt, Dickens, and Lafcadio Hearn. The one who came closest to the Freudian insight was William Hazlitt in his essay *On Dreams*, in which he speaks of repression and of how "in dreams when we are off our guard [our passions and imaginations] return securely and unbidden." Freud has given his own interpretation of the dream of Jensen's *Gradiva*. Similar dreams from which literature has grown are Gautier's *Arria Marcella*, Stevenson's account of a dream in his *Across the Plains*, Kipling's *The Brushwood Boy*, *They*, and *The Dream of Duncan Parrenness*. A complete account of the dreams of literature would compel us to begin with Homer and the Bible and to come through Apuleius and Cicero, all the medieval writings, and the confessions of the saints to the present time. Plato has an eloquent passage on dreams in the Ninth Book of *The Republic*.

Related to the dream experience and also opening a long and broad look into the motivations of writers is the revelation in literature of the Oedipus complex. Cowper's poem "On the Receipt of My Mother's Picture" is a good example, and we find it evident in many passages of Stendhal, Shelley, Schopenhauer, Keats, and Lafcadio Hearn. Little as we know of the personal life of Shakespeare, we can say with certainty that the intense love Hamlet held for his father's memory and its powerful reaction upon his love-hate for his mother could not have been so memorably portrayed by a man to whom these passions were totally foreign in his own life.

An interesting contrast is Dickens, upon whom his mother seems to have had little influence at all. His was a love for two women, Maria Bradnell, his boyhood sweetheart who rejected him, and Mary Hogarth, his wife's sister who died young. They are the prototypes of the female puppets who fill his books. He reacted against the weak women who touched his life by his presentation of the marvelous male characters whose uniqueness reveals his genius.

The two outstanding poets who were Dickens' contemporaries, Tennyson and Browning, were part of the Victorian era to which open expression of sex was denied. But with them sex symbolism is almost as revelatory as would be frank speech. Tennyson, for example, says that he would like to be the jewel in the miller's daughter's ear that he might touch her neck, the girdle round her waist to clasp it "so close and tight," and the necklace on her bosom where he would "lie so light, so light." Browning is more explicit, as when he talks in *The Ring and the Book* of "so white, so warm, so wonderful between the breasts." In *The Last Ride Together* he says: "We ride together and I see her bosom heave," and continually reverts to the symbolism of the ride: "I and she ride together," "Riding's a joy." This whole poem is an excellent example of the unconscious use of symbolism in literature. It has a long tradition. Ben Jonson finds his rose "smells not of itself but thee." Many passages of Milton have a clear symbolic overtone. Shakespeare avails himself of the pun to suggest the sexual reference. Dowson, later than Tennyson and Browning,

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and more decadent, suggests that he thinks only of his true love while loving others when he writes: "I have loved thee, Cynara, after my fashion."

Not as its sole inspiration but as a powerful creative impulse the erotic motive runs through all literature.

Sublimation of Sex in Literature

Sublimation is the substitution, often unconscious, of a socially acceptable, even laudable, act or expression for one considered morally or socially reprehensible.

The clearest examples of sublimation of the sex instinct in literature appear in religious writings in which the love of the believer is turned to God and his devotion expressed in sublimated erotic terms. Thomas à Kempis and other devotional writers express their lavish love for the object of their adoration in terms elsewhere reserved to carnal lovers. Many hymns carry the same tone, notable examples being Charles Wesley's "Wrestling Jacob" and "Jesus, Lover of My Soul." Pascal and Renan offer other examples. In the world of fiction Tolstoi has magnificently painted a scene of sublimation in his account of the meeting of Alexandrei Alexandrovich and Vronsky at the bedside of Anna Karenina. The interplay of sexual terms and religious expression can be seen throughout all devotional writing.

Specific erotic motivations are also sublimated in literature.

Homosexuality is sublimated in the *Symposium* of Plato, and fully explored in the same temper by Pater ("the lover has become lover of the invisible, but still a lover") in *Plato and Platonism*. The immortal elegies—*Lycidas, Thyrsis, In Memoriam, Adonais*—celebrate the love of man for man. Leonardo writes of his loves in sublime terms, and Shakespeare sings of his in his sonnets. Whitman sublimates his into songs of men and universal brotherhood. Pater portrays *Marius the Epicurean* and Wilde *Dorian Gray*.

Exhibitionism finds sublimation in the tales of Boccaccio and Rabelais, the stories of Sterne and Fielding, *The Droll Tales* of Balzac, and the papers of Boswell.

Egotism speaks in the *Orations* of Cicero, the *Essays* of Montaigne, and the *Confessions* of Rousseau.

Hate finds classic expression in Ovid, Dante, Pope, Swift, Poe, and William Butler.

Sadism receives literary sublimation not only from the Marquis of Sade but also from historic writings, with their accounts of persecutions and tortures, and from such masters as Poe and Hardy with their tortured souls.

Masochism moved the pen of Proust to some of his most unforgettable passages that tell of his suffering and despair. It is also present in Rousseau. Letters of writers abound in it, as the authors dwell upon their disappointments and despairs, the letters of Keats containing notable examples.

Narcissism rises to the level of poetry in Whitman. Plato puts it into the character of Alcibiades. There is much of it not far below the surface of much controversial and autobiographical writing. Men such as Gibbon and Thackeray give evidence of it in their footnotes and asides, in which they hold mirrors up to themselves.

Sex in Contemporary Writing

Since the French discarded the proprieties of the age of Louis XIV they have been writing directly about sex, and have developed a technique and vocabulary for doing so. English and American writing at the beginning of this century had neither, for sex had been taboo since the middle of the eighteenth century. It was about 1910 that writers in English began to respond to the impact of the avant-garde ideas and techniques which, during the next two decades, influenced them more than any similar European contact since the seventeenth century.

James Joyce and D. H. Lawrence were the first modern writers in English to use the language of the bar, the street, and the barnyard with the freedom that marked French realistic fiction. The resulting shock, particularly that caused by *Ulysses*, was great, and must have amazed Frenchmen familiar with Zola, Mirabeau, and Huysmans.

In *Lady Chatterley's Lover* Lawrence attempted two things, and largely succeeded in both. He demonstrated how varied and inter-

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esting erotic sensations can be and how important is the part they play in the emotional situations involving them. And he tried to solve the problem of how to use words that, although they might offend some people and be unintelligible to others, could yet develop into a conventional and classically abstract vocabulary that would serve English writing for the description of sex as the accepted French vocabulary served writers in that language.

Both *Ulysses* and *Lady Chatterley's Lover* suffered the inevitable condemnation of suppression by the authorities, but they emerged to become influential enough to make it possible for their successors to ignore the restraints the nineteenth century had imposed on sex in writing.

Lawrence proceeded to become a sort of prophet of what he called "the dark gods" and, in his essay on Benjamin Franklin, declared himself emancipated from all conventional inhibitions glorified by that worthy man. Lawrence became a cult. His more naive followers believed that love would become simple and idyllic as soon as man was freed from the artificially cultivated restrictions of the older generation. Lawrence suffered no such illusion. His books, and those of Aldous Huxley who was greatly influenced by him, demonstrate that the personal problems of those emancipated from the old taboos are no less acute than those of their predecessors. *The Plumed Serpent*, with its central erotic-mystical cry, "I am not with you till my serpent has coiled its circle of rest in your belly," is both a violent and tormented book. "Lord," cries Lawrence, "deliver us from this need which can be neither stilled nor satisfied." "The mystery greater than the individual," of which he writes, "the powerful relationship of man to man," is both incomplete and painful. Lawrence could face this. Few others have been able to.

Both Huxley and Joyce first struck a note of daring triumph, with humor interspersed, irony and cynicism being their instruments. Both moved away from this to something like despair, expressing their inability to find satisfaction for their spiritual needs in their animal heritage. Huxley's reaction has been to turn to drugs and other artificial means to heighten his consciousness and otherwise to escape from the harsh realities of inner discontent and frustration.

Upon a generation disillusioned about personal emancipation through sex freedom burst the climactic experience of World War II, revealing the collapse of the old world order and introducing the Nuclear Age with its universal threat against individuality and social permanence. The postwar artist has been forced to create new standards out of the chaos.

Sartre and the Existentialists have turned in one direction. In a world without God they say that all moral values must be developed by man himself. He is free, beyond certain limits, to choose what he shall be and do. His life has significance only in its relation to others. He must "engage himself." Sartre's *Age of Reason* and other novels set this forth. In a similar way Albert Camus has portrayed in his books the hero struggling with the problem of how to "reconcile negative thought and the possibility of affirmative action." In Existentialism is the erotic drive to identification with other men, in conflict with the rational rejection of the philosophic ideal of unity. Camus, in *Actuelles II*, says: "I shall certainly be wary of giving any universal value to an experience which is personal; and this book proposes neither a dogma nor a formal morality. It asserts only, once again, that a morality is possible, and that it costs a good deal."

On the other hand, the younger writers of the Beat Generation and the Angry Young Men seek their answer in "disengagement." "I will take no responsibility" is their repeated declaration. Veronica Hall, in the *Monkey Puzzle*, has her heroine say to a doctor who is driving her in his large, vulgar car: "You're just a lot of infantile masturbators, you car drivers. Eternally frustrated because orgasm is the crash and the crash means death. You're in love with death, an attitude I could never tolerate." This might stand as the criticism of these younger writers by somebody outside them. Norman Mailer, who shares much of their outlook, puts it more sympathetically. He says that man is searching for "love" as he defines it: "Not love as the search for a mate, but love as the search for an orgasm more apocalyptic than the one which preceded it. Orgasm is his therapy—he knows at the seed of his being that good orgasm

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opens his possibilities and bad orgasm imprisons him." Here is orgasm without "engagement."

Tennessee Williams has made this the theme of his plays, which are terrifying but identifiable tragedies of sex and failure. He writes of neurotics because the neurotic is the key to the normal—the neurotic being normal, only more so. His women cry out for defilement—Blanche, Maggie the Cat, Alma, and Baby Doll; yet they seek to destroy the man who defiles them. Williams is obviously a feminine writer out to revenge himself, but from his private vengeance he lights up the moral disintegration of the worlds of his generation.

The writers of the Beat Generation in the United States—Kerouac, Brossard, Mandel, Solomon, and their fellows—express their sense of this same disintegration. They reject the past and the future, rebel against organized authority, hate the man who plays it safe. They are as Clellon Holmes says, "at the bottom of your personality, looking up." To them the woman is the "chick," manipulatable by generic "man." Their erotic drive is egotistic in a world where they know themselves to be alone and their problem to be to learn to live with their own knowledge.

The Angry Young Men (not a good name for them) in England are in revolt against the Establishment and the elders such as T. S. Eliot who nest in it. Men such as Colin Wilson, Kingsley Amis, and John Osborne speak for a tough intellectualism that questions everything accepted by their society—Labor Party slogans as skeptically as Tory arrogance. They belong to no party, join no groups, serve no "causes." They live in the present, all they can believe in. Theirs is the drive against all in their society that brands them "inferior." They cry for self-realization. They aim their fire wherever conscience dictates, and in their protest against both class and social disintegration they speak for the sovereign individual.

This assertion of the ego against the total social threat is the distinguishing characteristic of the young artist in our time.

The two major intellectual forces that influence the current interpretation of individual human character are those generated by Karl Marx and Sigmund Freud. The one affecting our subject is Freud's view, which envisions the individual as a battleground of inner conflicts whose solutions lie in uncovering their erotic sources, these sources being duly typed and classified by psychoanalysis. Writers, therefore, have often resorted to two expedients: creation of Freudian archetypes and confession. But confession has taken a form different from that of Rousseau or Goethe in that the writer exposes himself as a case study in Freudian terms. He attempts an objective view of sex, examining it clinically within Freudian terms of reference. This is at once more realistic and less spontaneous than the approach of D. H. Lawrence and marks a stage in the absorption of a powerful new idea into works of the imagination. Once this idea has been thoroughly absorbed its techniques will be less obvious and a new literature will emerge in which it will be taken for granted without being so explicit.

In the resulting literature we may expect sex to be at once more liberally defined and more comprehensively portrayed. The exaggerations of the traditional concept of the romantic individual will be corrected by the scientific analysis of the true individual. A new grasp of the total individual will thus be achieved, offering the writer of tomorrow a hitherto impossible comprehension of the role of sex in experience —which he can then translate into sex in literature.

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FRANK KINGDON

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Love, Altruistic

Its Cosmic-Ontological Conception

IN ITS cosmic-ontological aspect, altruistic love or Goodness, side by side with Truth and Beauty, has been thought of as one of the three supreme forms of cosmic energy or reality or value operating not only in the human world but in the whole cosmos. It is conceived as the unifying, integrating, and harmonizing cosmic power that counteracts the disintegrating forces of chaos, unites what is separated by enmity, builds what is destroyed by discord; creates and maintains the grand order in the whole universe. The familiar formula of practically all great religions: "God is Love" and "Love is God," is one variation of this cosmic conception of unselfish love. The perennial cosmic struggle between Ahura-Mazda as the good cosmic creator, in contrast to Ahriman, as the wicked cosmic destroyer, in Zoroastrian religion; and, generally, good God as the benevolent Creator in contrast to evil Satan as the Destroyer in many religions are variations of another ontological conception of love. The Empedoclean theory that "all things coalesce into a unity in Love and they all separate in the enmity of Strife," developed by many subsequent thinkers including Dostoevski, Tolstoi, Soloviëv, and Gandhi, supplies a third variety of this ontological conception.

According to it, all *empirical* forms of unselfish love in physical, biological, and human worlds are but the manifestations of this mysterious cosmic love.

Empirical Biological Altruism

As an empirical phenomenon altruistic love means a specific behavior of living forms striving—instinctively or consciously—to be helpful to other organisms. In *the plant-and-animal world* it has a mainly instinctive-reflexological character. There it manifests itself in innumerable actions-reactions of cooperation and aid, at least as frequent and common as the actions-reactions of the struggle for existence. Beginning with the reproduction activities of the unicellular and the multicellular organisms, through parental care for the helpless newborn progeny, and ending with thousands of diverse forms of rendering help, "the instinctive-reflexological altruism" among animal and plant organisms proves itself to be at least as general and important a factor of their life and evolution as the factor of the struggle for existence.

Without a minimum of aid and cooperation the very survival and continuity of practically all species are hardly possible. In this sense the cooperative altruistic forces are biologically the more important and vital than the antagonizing forces. The balance between the (instinctive-reflexological) altruistic tendencies and those that are disoperative and egoistic is relatively close among the organisms. All in all, however, the group-centered, altruistic drives seem to be somewhat stronger than the drives of egoistic nature.

Psychological and Behavioral Characteristics of Altruistic Love in the Human World

In the human world altruistic love appears simultaneously as a specific psychological experience and an overt behavior. Despite the large variety of concrete forms of altruistic experience and behavior, all genuine altruistic experiences and actions have two common

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characteristics: first, *the ego or I of the loving individual tends to merge and to identify itself with the loved Thee;* second, all the loved individuals are regarded and treated as the *end-value and not as a mere means* for anything and anybody. The more genuine and pure the altruistic love the more conspicuous are these properties. In the experience and conduct of weak or pseudo-altruism, they tend to disappear.

Depending upon a different combination of emotional, volitional, and intellectual elements, altruistic love as a *psychological experience* has different "tonal qualities" or "colors." They are marked by such terms as empathy, sympathy, kindness, friendship, devotion, reverence, benevolence, admiration, and respect. All these forms are opposite to the forms of *inimical* psychological experience called by terms such as hate, enmity, dislike, antipathy, and envy.

If altruistic love remains in the state of a purely psychological experience and does not manifest itself in respective altruistic *overt actions,* then it becomes an "unfulfilled" or not "fully realized" love. Such a purely "psychological" or "ideological" or "speech-reactional" love often turns out to be a pseudo-love or even a "hypocritical altruism." The phenomena of this sort of an "unfulfilled" love seem to be much more frequent in the human world than those of the "fulfilled," that is, "psychological" *and* "behavioral" love. There are millions of "ideological" or "speech-reactional" altruists in the human population; and there are comparatively few genuine "fulfilled" altruists who practice the noble altruistic precepts they preach.

Altruistic and Sexual Love

If in sexual love the partners' egos are merged into one loving "we," and if the mates regard and treat each other as the end-value, then sexual love becomes one of the forms of altruistic love. When these characteristics are absent, and when sex mates consider and treat each other as a mere means for obtaining a pleasure or utility, then sexual love turns into a relationship devoid of altruistic love. If sexual relations involve an element of coercion of one partner by the other (as in the case of rape), or an element of buying and selling sex services (as in the case of prostitution and "commercial" marriages), then sex liaisons become a form of relations inimical to altruistic love.

Five Dimensions of Altruistic Love

In order to be adequately described, and now and then roughly measured, the enormous complexity, multidimensionality, and quantitative-qualitative diversity of concrete phenomena of altruistic love can be reduced to five basic "dimensions": intensity, extensity, duration, purity, and adequacy.

1. In *intensity,* psychological-behavioral love ranges from zero to infinity, from giving a few cents to the hungry by a rich person, or from a purely verbal highfalutin "love," up to a free sacrificing of one's life, "body and soul," for the well-being of the loved person.

2. In *extensity,* love ranges from the zero point of love of oneself only (egotism) up to the love of all mankind, of all living creatures, and of the whole universe.

3. In *duration,* altruistic love ranges from the shortest possible moment to years, decades, often the whole life of an individual or of a group.

4. In *purity,* love varies from the "soiled" love motivated by selfish expectations of advantage, utility, pleasure, or profit up to the pure love motivated exclusively by love for love's sake, or by the love of a person for the person's sake, regardless of any utilitarian or hedonistic motives. Pure love knows no bargain, no reward. It asks nothing in return. Jesus' *Sermon on the Mount* and St. Paul's *Epistle* (I Cor. 13) beautifully describe this sublime love. All forms of a "bargaining love," including the heterosexual love in which the sex partner is loved only because he or she gives pleasure or utility, are the examples of "impure" love. Sometimes such a love becomes devoid of altruistic elements and degenerates into a relationship of enmity and hate.

5. *Adequacy* of love fluctuates from the blind to the "wise" love. In the inadequate love there is always a discrepancy between the subjective motives and purposes of love and the objective consequences of the unwise or inadequate actions through which the love is expressed. A

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mother may love her child madly and may be ready to sacrifice anything for the child's welfare but, by realizing her love through wrong actions and means, she may spoil the child and endanger his well-being. All forms of such a blind love are mainly due to a lack of scientific knowledge as to what actions and means can or cannot produce the intended effects in the loved persons. Even the purest and most intense love can be blind if it manifests itself in scientifically wrong actions.

Such are the five basic "dimensions" of unselfish love. The higher any empirical love is on each and all of these dimensions, the greater it is quantitatively and the sublimer qualitatively.

Altruistic Love as Eros and Agape

Some of the eminent religious, philosophical, and ethical thinkers conceive of altruistic love as the *ego-centered eros*, while some others view it as the *egoless or the ego-transcending agape*.

The eros-conception of love assumes that a person who does not love himself or his ego cannot love anyone else. Consequently, in order to be an altruist one does not need to transcend or annihilate one's ego and one's desire of good for the self. One needs only to be "enlightened" about one's real self-interests, to keep one's ego from excess of "unenlightened selfishness," and to cooperate with other individuals for their mutual benefit. The ego-centered eros is thus utilitarian, hedonistic, and "rational" in its nature. It follows the precepts: "live and let live," "help others in order to be helped by others," "do not harm others in order not to be harmed by others." Such an eros-love is discriminative: it is bestowed only upon those who deserve and reciprocate it.

In contrast to eros agape-love is the egoless, self-giving love that "seeketh not its own" and freely spends itself. It comes to the human world from above (from its Cosmic Source or God). Being inexhaustible in its richness, like the sun agape shines upon and redeems the sinners no less than the virtuous. In this sense it is nondiscriminative, inscrutable, and incomprehensible to the ego-centered "rational" mind. The discriminative eros loves its objects or persons because of their virtue and value; the nondiscriminative agape creates, by its love, value and virtue even in a hitherto valueless object or person.

These two forms of unselfish love—plus their mixed form—have been operating throughout the history of mankind. The eros and the mixed form of love seem to have been more common than agape-love. On the other hand, almost all of the greatest apostles of love, from Buddha and Jesus up to Gandhi, have preached and practiced agape rather than eros. Perhaps this explains to some extent the tremendous influence of such apostles upon millions of people and upon the course of human history.

Power of Unselfish Love

Scientific knowledge concerning altruistic love is, so far, almost negligible. A systematic study of the energy of love is still in its infancy. Our "know-how" to produce it efficiently, to accumulate, circulate, and use it in the human world, is also very limited. In spite of this ignorance, the very little we know of altruistic love still warrants the hypothesis that (1) "the grace of love" is one of the three highest energies known to man (along with those of Truth and Beauty); (2) this energy is different from, and irreducible to, the scalar quantities of physical sciences called "energy," "power," "work," and "force"; and finally (3) the energy of unselfish love potentially represents a gigantic—creative, recreative, and therapeutic—power. When it is better understood, reverently treated, and wisely used it can substantially help to free mankind from its gravest ills: war, crime, and insanity.

For the last few decades, biology, psychology, sociology, and other branches of science have steadily converged toward these conclusions. Their rapidly increasing body of evidence convincingly demonstrates the creative and re-creative functions of love in the mental, moral, and social life of individuals, societies, and mankind. Here is a brief list of some of these creative and therapeutic functions of unselfish love.

1. The energy of love appears to be indis-

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pensable for the generation, continuity, and growth of living forms, for survival and multiplication of species, and for the maintenance of health and integrity—especially of human beings.

2. Loving and being loved is the best antidote against "egoistic" and "anomique" suicide. Those who are not loved by anyone and who do not love anybody are the first candidates for these most frequent forms of suicide.

3. The combination in a person of too little love with too much hate is largely responsible for many cardiovascular, respiratory, gastrointestinal, endocrinological, genito-urinary, and skin diseases, plus some forms of epilepsy and headache. An increase in genuine altruism is one of the best preventive and curative remedies of these ailments.

4. A minimum of a warm, especially motherly, love is a necessary condition for the survival and healthy growth of babies.

5. Likewise, a minimum of the grace of love is necessary for the growth of infants into mentally and morally sound citizens. Children deprived of this minimum yield a much higher percentage of delinquents and psychoneurotics than do those who grow in the climate of a warm and wise love.

6. One of the principal healing agents of mental disorders is the establishment of "rapport of mutual sympathy and trust" between therapist and patient, thus placing the patient in a milieu free from enmity and conflict.

7. Love-energy also contributes to the prolongation of human life. Other conditions being equal, altruistic persons live longer than egoistic individuals.

8. Love-energy is possibly the best "extinguisher" of interhuman enmity and strife in interindividual as well as in intergroup relationships. Experimental studies and historical events show that the old motto, "love begets love and hate begets hate" is essentially correct. When competently applied, a genuine altruistic love transforms enemies into friends, prevents and tames wars and bloody intergroup conflicts. It is a more reliable and efficacious power for pacifying persons and groups than the powers of hate, coercion, intimidation, and (in international policies) the age-old policy of the Romans, *si vis pacem para bellum* (if you want peace, prepare for war).

9. The pacifying power of love appears also to be the main agency that terminates long and mortally dangerous catastrophes in the lives of nations. A careful and systematic study of all such catastrophes in the history of Ancient Egypt, Babylon, China, India, Persia, Greece, Rome, and of the Western countries shows that all such catastrophes were finally overcome by an altruistic ennoblement of the people, culture, and social institutions of these nations.

10. Love-energy increases not only the longevity of individuals but also the life span of societies and organizations. Small and big social organizations, built mainly by hate, conquest, and coercion—including the empires of Alexander the Great, Caesar, Genghis Khan, Tamerlane, Napoleon, or Hitler—as a rule have been short-lived. On the other hand, the longest-living organizations have been the great ethico-religious bodies, such as Taoism, Confucianism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Jainism, Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, which have been dedicated to the altruistic education of mankind and to the cultivation of love in the human universe.

11. Finally, the gigantic power of love is manifested in the undying influence of the greatest apostles of love on countless millions of human beings and on the course of human history. These apostles, such as Lao-Tze, Confucius, Buddha, Zoroaster, Mahavira, Moses, Jesus, St. Paul, St. Francis of Assisi, up to Gandhi and other creators and leaders of altruistic religions and morality, have possibly been the most influential individuals in human history. In contrast to the short-lived, and often destructive, influence of autocratic monarchs, military conquerors, revolutionary dictators, and potentates of wealth, the great apostles of love have most tangibly affected the lives, minds, and bodies of untold billions of human beings during the millennia of history, and still affect us. Not having armed forces, nor wealth, nor other worldly means of influencing the human world, but exclusively by the power of their pure and abundant love, they have transfigured millions of men and women, reshaped cultures and social institutions, and most

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tangibly conditioned the course of history and destiny of nations.

With an increasing knowledge of "the mysterious" love-energy, its creative and curative powers can be increasingly used for the growth of man's constructive creativity and for the liberation of mankind from wars, bloody strife, diseases, misery, and other forms of evil.

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PITIRIM A. SOROKIN

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Love, Sexual

Definition

BY SEXUAL love is meant an emotional relationship between man and woman that is distinctively *sexual,* in that it typically develops between persons of opposite sexes, yet is distinguishable from "sexual desire" or "sexual impulse." The latter terms usually refer to a motive whose goal is genital intercourse. Sexual *love,* although some of its expressions may closely resemble those of the sexual impulse, differs from it in several ways.

Sexual love is also to be distinguished from a kind of "love" that is benevolent in quality and concerned with the well-being of another person. This may develop between any persons, regardless of sex, but when it arises between man and woman it is often confused with sexual love, partly because, here again, some of the expressions are similar. Love between the sexes, in other words, need not be *sexual* love.

The sexual motive to be discussed will hereafter be called *amorous emotion.* It differs from sexual desire or impulse first of all in that the individuality of the attractive person is of much greater importance. This is best seen when the two motives are at high intensities. The sexual impulse, when strongly aroused, tends to become progressively less discriminating, while reference to a person as being "in love" is synonymous with saying that he is exclusively attracted to one person. Sexual desire may become strong without reference to a particular person as its object; its arousal may be more "organic" than social. The amorous emotion, on the other hand, is essentially social in that it *begins* with what amounts to a choice of object.

Although sexually attractive traits of the kind commonly regarded as esthetic (beauty, charm, etc.) have an important role in the arousal of the sexual impulse, the primary stimulus, the genital organs, have never been considered as esthetic in the same sense—that is, have never been regarded as beautiful. The amorous emotion, on the other hand, has always been associated with beauty or comeliness in some degree, more especially from the masculine viewpoint, and the traits that arouse it tend to be peripheral to the genital zones; for example, facial features, voice, qualities of movement, personal "style," etc. In short, the esthetic aspects of the two sexual motives, while they overlap, may be said to differ at the core.

The two motives may also be distinguished by way of the *quality* of the emotional states, although the difference is not easy to define. Such terms as "lust," "carnal desire," and "venereal voluptuousness" have been used in references to the genital impulse, while "adoration," "romantic feeling," and "amorous admiration" have been used to characterize sexual love, as here defined.

A feature of amorous emotion often stressed in the literature on the subject is its tendency to include the whole of the personality of its object, while genital desire is more narrowly focused on the body and on behavior more or less directly related to the excitement of the genital impulse. This may be related to the difference in discrimination, since the greater the number of traits included in sexual attractiveness, the greater the scope of individuality.

It seems fairly agreed that, apart from exceptional instances ("love at first sight"), the amorous emotion entails a growth process of some

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duration. *Attraction* may be an immediate experience, comparable to the arousal of genital desire, but a strong amorous emotion must develop, like a new sentiment or interest, by way of repeated contacts. Genital desire, on the other hand, may be much more rapidly aroused when a person is organically ready. In man, it appears to be fairly readily excitable much of the time.

Sexual impulse and amorous emotion differ, again, in their terminal phases. The impulse is "extinguished in an act; there is a tension, a spasm, and a release." The decline of the amorous emotion tends, like its development, to be typically gradual. It may even persist to some degree despite the emergence of strongly unfavorable traits in its object. Another difference is summarized by Symonds (1946): "Sensual pleasure becomes extinguished when satisfied, whereas love continues unabated, indeed, is enhanced the more satisfaction a person derives from another."

Sublimation

How are these two kinds of sex related? Two major answers have been given to this question by modern students.

One answer is that amorous emotion is a "sublimation" of genital sex desire. The emotion is a kind of transformation of the impulse, this transformation occurring when the impulse is inhibited. The experience of being "in love," according to Freud, depends on the blocking of the desire for intercourse. "Sublimation" may not be complete, however, and one's feeling for a person may be partly sensual and partly amorous. Since, typically, being "in love" means that both feelings are present, sublimation is usually partial in this sense.

Some who have thought of sexual love in this way make little distinction between the two motives as experiences. Thus Young (1943) states: ". . . in romantic love the lovers are at once aroused and inhibited sexually. This state of conflict evokes the disturbing emotion known as 'being in love,' . . . The more strongly an individual is excited by sexual stimulation and the more completely this biological urge is frustrated, the greater will be his emotional disturbance."

Allport (1924) writes that during courtship "the sexual drive of the wooer is not yet released; every detail about the beloved from head to toe is, therefore, a stimulus which helps to augment the tonus already present in the pelvic viscera. This is the condition of being blindly in love."

In these examples little distinction is implied between amorous emotion and genital desire, and the emphasis is on inhibition. More frequently, the idea of sublimation includes a change in the character of the motive, in recognition of the differences cited above. A more typical example, comparable to the statements given by Freud and by Havelock Ellis, is the following by Waller (1938): "The mating impulse encounters, in our culture, a number of obstacles; the patterning to which it is subjected sets up a number of difficult conditions and necessitates many delays and postponements. Because of this blocking, the impulse increases in intensity, and is long-circuited into other channels of emotion and ideation. The sentiment of love as we know it is compounded of the bare impulse plus these elements of emotion and ideation. . . ." In other words, when genital desire is inhibited, sexual love results, along with certain ways of thinking about the attractive person.

Two Kinds of Sex

The second answer to the question of the sources of amorous emotion regards it as essentially independent of the genital impulse. It is a sexual motive in its own right, rather than a by-product of inhibition. This view was most clearly stated by Albert Moll (1898), one of the founders of modern sex psychology and a contemporary of Freud.

Man's sexual make-up includes, Moll believed, two entirely distinct parts. One of these is the impulse toward genital pleasure. The usual expression of this is sexual intercourse, but another is masturbation. It is thus not necessarily a *social* motive.

The other part of our sexual make-up is seen in the *attraction* of the sexes. It is best illustrated in the mutual interest of a young boy and girl who are visually fascinated with each other. They may be quite without knowledge

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or experience of the genital relationship. Although such attractions may lead to embraces, they may be entirely free of genital excitement. Attractions of this kind may be quite strong long before puberty, Moll believed, and exhibit such familiar traits as marked preference for a particular person of the opposite sex, embraces, confessions of feeling, gifts, etc. Such attachments eventually come to include genital stimulation and desire, but the initial attraction and emotion may be free of any evidence of this kind of arousal.

Among those whose views or findings are in harmony with Moll's formulation are Emil Lucka (1915), Edward Spranger (1928), R. Müller-Freienfels (1940), J. Ortega y Gasset (1933), G. V. Hamilton (1929), Charlotte Bühler (1931), and Sanford Bell (1902).

Bell made extended observations of the amorous behavior of school children. He concluded that there is a kind of attraction during childhood and youth that exhibits several of the features of adult sexual love (visual interest, preference, jealousy, embraces) but in which there is no evidence of genital sex arousal. The attractions and attachments observed seemed clearly to be expressions of a "different kind of sex." Bell gave many examples of the behavior on which Moll had based his sex psychology, and offered, as Robert Sears (1943) observes, a "considerably more factual and realistic" account of the sex behavior of childhood than Freud ever provided. The case materials collected by Havelock Ellis (1949) gave many comparable examples, and the data assembled by G. V. Hamilton also indicate a tendency for amorous emotion to appear earlier in development than genital sex desire, and to be experienced independently of this desire after puberty.

An adequate sex psychology must offer an interpretation of marginal behavior as well as of behavior that is clearly related to physical intercourse. Is the response to an exceptionally attractive face, for example, simply a genital sex response to a nongenital area, is it a quick *change* ("sublimation") of such a response into an esthetic appreciation of "beauty," or is it, in *basic* reality, what it may appear to be as an experience, namely, a response altogether different in quality from that which prompts one toward physical intercourse? That there are great differences, moreover, in what is judged an attractive human face also calls, and very importantly, for interpretation.

Status of Sublimation

The hypothesis of sublimation has been offered as a means of deriving, from the genital sex impulse, such marginal varieties of sexual behavior. Although it long antedates Freud, its wide currency in sex psychology may be attributed in part to his influence. Its popularity may also be traced to its assumed ethical value: it supposedly offers a way by which the genital urge may be altered and elevated into "higher" forms of expression, such as tender solicitude and sex-esthetic appreciation. Parshley wrote (1933): "The reality of sublimation has been assumed from early times down to the present but never has it been so generously embraced as by a strangely assorted group of our own contemporaries. Psychoanalysts, Y. M. C. A. moral guides, Shaw, Jane Addams, and R. C. Cabot unite, for once, in their acceptance of the principle, though it must be admitted that Freud himself thinks it is 'for the few,' and some recalcitrant psychologists . . . take a seriously critical attitude."

Much doubt has been expressed regarding the value of this concept. Little is known about it, and its very reality appears never to have been demonstrated. It has moved, as Levey (1939) points out, with very little testing or examination, from the status of hypothesis to that of doctrine.

Ethnography provides some evidence here. If the amorous emotion is a sublimated form of inhibited sexual desire, it should be absent, or low in incidence, in societies placing little restriction on sexual behavior. At least one such society has been thoroughly studied. A high degree of sexual freedom is permitted among the Trobriand Island natives. Malinowski (1929) reported, nevertheless, the presence of amorous desire and of fixations that were not wholly sensual. He found evidence of "what we ourselves mean by love." His account suggests the presence of strongly individualized amorous emotion in a society where no one, at any age, lacks genital sex outlets. Comparable data

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are reported of the Baiga people (India) studied by Elwin (1939).

In broader terms, the general incidence of amorous behavior among the peoples of the world should show some kind of correspondence with sexual freedom if the two are related through checks upon the genital impulse. Complete sexual freedom among primitives appears to be the exception rather than the rule. Nearly everywhere there are restrictions of some kind and degree. One would expect, accordingly, comparable evidence of the presence of the amorous emotion. On the contrary, it seems fairly agreed that, although there are scattered exceptions, the phenomenon of highly individualized attractions associated with strong emotion is not characteristic of the lower cultures.

The concept of sublimation has been questioned from other points of view. In the region of sex esthetics it is particularly weak. Freudians have not seemed aware of the paradox in the assumption of an unknown transformation process whereby the response to the unesthetic genital organs is converted into one that has been regarded as the foundation of all esthetics (that is, the response to sexual beauty). Sublimation leaves unexplained the phenomenon of sex-esthetic *aversions*, which are as positive, as reactions, as are attractions.

Sexual Choice

Individualized attractions and aversions have been reported among the lower animals. Darwin collected some data of this kind, observing that among birds the females sometimes exhibit strong preferences for certain males. He saw evidence of choice, again, in the response of females to the courtship displays and maneuvers of the males, and to their vivid colorings. He noted also individual antipathies and preferences among domesticated quadrupeds. More recently, comparable selective behavior has been reported in studies of the chimpanzee. Not only are definite preferences exhibited, but some individuals are much more discriminating in their choices than others. The parallel comes closest to human behavior, perhaps, in instances in which choice is apparently based on individuality of facial expression.

The problem of the nature of amorous emotion is inseparable from the fact of sexual choice. As earlier noted, the importance of the individuality of the object of amorous desire is one of the marks by which this desire differs from the genital impulse. The latter, in response to organic rhythms, may "press" before a partner is encountered. The very existence of amorous emotion, on the other hand, implies some degree of fixation. Discovery of the factors in choice becomes essential, therefore, to an understanding of the nature of amorous emotion.

The most widely current doctrine of the origin of the "love choice" is that of Freud, which traces it to the parent-child relationship. Freud, as is well known, regarded the child not only as erotically responsive but as capable of fixations of sexual interest. The child's first "sexual love" is the first female with whom he has an extended association—his mother. This is the "Oedipus complex," and it may importantly influence the direction of later interest, that is, the boy may unconsciously seek a "mother-image" in his attractions to the other sex. (For the girl, as well, the mother is the first love choice but, by a rather involved theoretical process in which castration fear and envy of the penis play a role, this erotic interest is shifted to the father.)

A resemblance may often be found, according to the Freudian school, between the loved parent and the person selected as a mate. Such resemblances may be of many varieties, mental and physical. Because of them, and because other traits may be incompatible, unsuitable marriages occur. The taboos against incest show that pressure is needed against sexual attractions within the family. Little by little such attachments must be weaned away and transferred outside the family, but in many subtle ways the original emotional relationship may enter into the sexual choices of the adult.

The findings of several investigations, including those of Burgess and Cottrell (1939), Hamilton, and Terman (1938), have failed to support this theory of choice. It has been criticized on other grounds, such as that it assumes that the adult amorous experience of "falling in love" is comparable to the child's affection for its other-sexed parent. It has been suggested that those who believe this have been misled

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by the surface resemblances in expression (i.e., contacts, caresses, embraces) between childish affection and adult sexual love. It has been suggested that this resemblance does not mean that the emotional states must be the same. If they are *not* the same, then it may be questioned whether adult amorous attraction can be explained by similarities between parent and lover.

Such similarities, when present, may more logically be seen as evidence that adult attractions—usually assumed to express mainly *sexual* love—may actually contain strong dependent needs, thus leading to choices influenced by child-parent attachments in which dependent needs are also primary. Reports of amorous behavior in childhood have further bearing at this point in providing evidence that strong love attachments outside the family may be formed in very early life. Some doubt is suggested, therefore, regarding the universality of the Oedipus situation, and its influence upon later amorous preferences.

Ego Need as Basis of Choice

Freud suggested another type of sexual choice: the "narcissistic." A person may seek a mate who resembles him in certain ways. He may find himself drawn to one who is like himself.

This view of sexual love was expressed by Weininger (1906) in terms of a seeking of an "ideal self." What we truly seek in another of opposite sex, perhaps without being aware of it, is a personality embodying our own conception of an admirable self. This ideal image is projected upon another, so that to fall in love is really to become enamored of one's own self-image, that is, one's ideal self-image. In this projection the actual traits of the loved individual must often be excluded from consciousness. This is the familiar blindness of the lover who sees what he wishes to see, believes what he needs to believe.

This psychology of choice has more recently been developed by Theodor Reik (1944), who suggests that so-called sexual love is not only very different from physical desire but is actually an affair of the ego-needs; it is thus not really sexual at all.

To be in *condition* for falling in love, according to Reik, a person must be dissatisfied with himself, frustrated in his self-esteem. This kind of discontent arises out of a realization of the difference between what one wants to be and what one is. A person who feels that he has achieved his personal goal will not feel the need that is essential to seeking another; he is complacent, will not fall in love. Readiness for this emotional disturbance depends on a need of and a longing for another self.

What has hitherto been called sexual love begins when someone is encountered who embodies the traits of the ideal self. This individual is thus a kind of substitute fulfillment of the personal ideal. It is for this reason that love is so possessive. (There is also, Reik thinks, a touch of envy in the admiration inspired by the beloved.) In this possession, however, the self is enriched because it is now completed through a kind of ownership of the qualities it previously lacked.

The love choice is thus made by the recognition, in another, of what a person feels that he himself lacks. When a choice occurs that apparently fails to correspond with the ideal, it may be because we are not always fully aware of all the features of our ideal mate. Some of these features may be unconscious.

Probably no one would debate that "ego-needs" and considerations concerning self-esteem may enter importantly into the vicissitudes of sexual courtship, just as they are involved in so many other human relationships. To regard the entire psychology of sexual love in this way, however, appears to commit the common error of mistaking a part for the whole. In this instance the "part," unfortunately, is not even an essential one.

The account so far leads to the obvious question of why this kind of love usually affects people heterosexually. (The genital impulse is not the answer, since Reik concedes that this impulse is to be distinguished from the kind of love under discussion here; he thinks, in fact, that "sex" and sexual love are unlike in origin and in nature.) The attraction of the sexes is handled by supposing that each of us imagines having a counterpart, or other-self, in the other sex. "The desire to be like a person of the opposite sex gives place to the wish to have that

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other person as one's own." (The easy shift here between "to be" and "to have" is notable.) A boy's desire for a girl is an expression of his wishful phantasy of himself as a girl. On this crucial point the theory apparently requires us to believe that everyone desires to have traits of the other sex, and this is why the boy's admiration of the girl's beauty is tinctured with envy, according to Reik, and why the girl's admiration of the boy's courage contains some jealousy. Man's sexual love of woman arises out of his frustrated desire to *be* a woman.

Concerning the amorous attractions of young children observed by Bell and others, this view would suppose a child not only to be discontented with his personality, but to have a considerable appreciation of the individuality of others.

The Esthetic Theory

One of the oldest attempts to answer the question of the basis of sexual love is the view that amorous attraction is an esthetic phenomenon. That there is a link of some sort between sexuality and the appreciation of beauty has been a recurrent surmise in the literature of esthetics as well as of sex psychology. Freud regarded the attraction of personal beauty as traceable to sex. Edward Spranger (1928) proposed that the "spiritual relation of the two sexes is . . . insofar as physical sexuality does not take the upper hand, an esthetic one." Santayana (1896) felt that esthetic responsiveness in general is related to the sexual process.

There is, of course, an obvious difference between the response to an art form and the response to sexual beauty. Sexual attractiveness extends, moreover, far beyond what is commonly defined as beautiful. The person who is sexually attractive to one may have little or no charm for another. Personal beauty is not a simple trait, and is probably a highly complex one. Variability from person to person in sexual preference may be said to be very great.

This *individual* factor in sexual esthetics was made the basis of a psychology of sexual love by Alfred Binet (1891). Binet sought the key to sexual attraction in the study of abnormalities, in which in certain individuals a single specific trait or feature ("fetish") arouses an intense emotion. The trait might be the hair, for example, or the eyes, or the quality of the voice, or a distinctive grace of movement. In abnormal people such traits are the *exclusive* interest of the "fetishist" (who may say, e.g., "For me the girl is nothing, her hair is everything") and it is in this, largely, that the abnormality lies.

The behavior of the fetishist often resembles, in certain important features, that of a normally amorous person, as we have been using this term. What interested Binet was the possibility that a *less* exclusive kind of attraction might provide a basis for the understanding of sexual love. A small degree of this abnormality might, in other words, be quite common. Everyone, he suggested, is to some extent a fetishist; we all have our special susceptibilities, expressed in our preferences for a coloring of eyes or hair, for a certain profile, a contour of nose or mouth, or a certain "style" or mannerism. Each of us may be, to some degree, sensitized to traits or qualities of some kind, and for each this may be "beauty." The individual esthetic response to such traits or qualities is, according to Binet, the basis of the amorous emotion.

Magnus Hirschfeld (1935) and G. Stanley Hall (1904) made observations in line with Binet's view. The esthetic theory in the form in which Binet developed it, with its emphasis on specialized individual susceptibilities and preferences, enlightens some of the traditional features of amorous behavior. The irrational side of attractions becomes more understandable. The notorious apparent "blindness" of the lover may be seen rather as a reflection of the blindness of the bystander, who lacks the peculiar sensitivity that would enable him to react similarly to the same object.

One current interpretation of the amorous emotion is that it is induced when a person "projects" his own desires and phantasies upon the love-object, and thus clothes it with qualities that in reality it does not possess. This may be carried as far as the view (e.g., that of De Rougemont, 1940) that physical beauty itself is simply an "attribute bestowed by a lover" rather than a characteristic of the object. Such a notion leaves unexplained, of course, why one person rather than another is chosen at the outset as a basis of "projection." It fails also to

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consider the many instances in which love is *not* "blind," that is, in which many agree regarding the attractions of a given individual. Such agreements indicate common factors in sex-esthetic preferences or, otherwise expressed, that beauty may have an "objective" basis.

A salient feature of the esthetic theory is that it recognizes the basic fact of choice in amorous behavior; that is, that the emotion is a response to a *selected* object. Its approach is analytical in that it leads to a search for specifiable traits. It is in harmony with the formulated view that there are two unlike modes of sexual response. It removes amorous behavior from the realm of delusion and "blindness," and makes it more an affair of individuality, less of irrationality.

Sociology

Individuality

Without individuality sexual choice is of course meaningless. A society may cultivate individuality or it may suppress it. It may subordinate it to other things, such as status. A society may also *value* individuality, cultivating its appreciation. Strong amorous attachments tend on the whole to be associated with the higher levels of culture. To parallel this, Lowie (1940) has noted that "Modern civilized societies notably differ from primitive man's in their attitude toward the individual. . . . Earlier periods and primitive communities never ignored individuality, but they subordinated it to social status." The emphasis, in our own society, on the expression of individuality and the cultivation of "personality" may be related to the important role of amorous emotion in mating behavior.

Among the Samoans, as reported by Mead (1928), awareness and appreciation of personality are at a relatively low level. The growing child learns to think of others in terms of group membership and lines of social cleavage rather than in terms of individuality. Choice is governed more by class than by person. In consequence of the lesser awareness of differences between persons, there is a lesser development of personalized feelings and fixations. Personal relationships become more shallow and casual; deep feelings occur less often.

In the sex relationships, correspondingly, emotional ties are less likely to grow. Sexual attraction does not have the meaning that it has or may have in our own culture. "Romantic love" as a strong and exclusive fixation is not found among the Samoans, according to Mead (though there were occasional misfits whose capacity for emotion was greater than that of others, and who developed fixations). The romantic sentiment, as has often been pointed out, values the person rather than the type; it glorifies individuality; the ideal, when found, is always "different." In contrast with the Samoans, Malinowski found marked appreciation of personal differences and of sex-esthetic individuality among the Melanesians, along with evidence of the presence of important elements of sexual preference and emotional fixation as we ourselves know them. Mead points out that the American family fosters awareness of personality in several ways, and that growing preferences provide the basis of attitudes, in which choice is an important factor.

Status of the Sexes

The Freudian school has stressed "overestimation" as a factor in, if not the origin of, the amorous state. By this term Freud meant that the love-object is idealized and exalted. This is one way of saying that the *value* element in the amorous experience is important; for example, the general esteem in which woman is held in a given society.

Much has been written of the relation between woman's social status and man's feeling toward her as an object of amorous feeling. Where she is seen as mainly a breeder, a drudge, or a sexual toy, the incidence of the "romantic emotion" is reportedly much lower than it is in cultures in which her status is relatively high. For an inferior one may feel affection, or sensual desire, but not the respect and adoration that is essential to amorous emotion as we know it in America, for example. Idealization requires a kind of minimum social valuation; woman as a sex must be acknowledged as *worthy* of strong feeling. (That status is not all-important, however, is attested by the occurrence of occasional extraordinary fixations even in cultures where woman's status is low, as among certain primitives.)

Social class membership is a nonsexual value that heightens sexual attractiveness. This has

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often been illustrated in the medieval cult of woman-worship, in which the social rank of the adored mistress was usually above that of the lover, so that in addition to her beauty and virtue, she was exalted by her high "social quality."

Status of the Emotion

To such factors affecting the character and intensity of amorous emotion as the appraisal of individuality and the status of the sexes may be added the social "rating" of the emotion itself. The way it is experienced will to some degree be a reflection of the judgments made by each society and each age as to how important it is and what it should mean as a part of life. An epoch in which calm serenity and freedom from emotional distraction and turbulence is idealized will not value the amorous state as will an age of "sensibility," in which the emotional life is considered as having a certain "natural virtue." The esthetic response to sexual charms and to the longings they arouse probably fluctuates much less from one century to another than does the *esteem* in which these feelings are held and the role they are seen as playing in a well-adjusted or proportioned life. (The Hellenic exaltation of the friendships between men, and between man and boy, has been cited to illustrate the cultural weighting of one kind of emotional relationship.) A social history of sexual love might be written, it has been suggested, in terms of changing emphases of modes, styles, and "periods." A variety of influences doubtless determines the appraisal of the emotion at a given time and place. According to this appraisal, the individual may perceive it, when it comes to him, as no more than a minor incident of his affective career, perhaps to be viewed with wariness lest he "overestimate" it; or he may be prepared by his culture to accept it as an experience that may reach far beyond the more staple meanings of "sex," and as potentially invested with extraordinary motivating power.

Summary of Major Views on the Amorous Emotion

A recent study by the writer (1957), which offers the first systematic modern discussion of the amorous emotion, presents and evaluates the major views of the last century. Some of its findings and conclusions may be summarized.

An impressive variety of ideas about the nature of the amorous emotion have been advanced. It has been seen as a complex of many emotional factors, and also as a single "elemental." It has been interpreted as a derivative sexual motive—a by-product of inhibition of the impulse to genital intercourse—and, again, it has been regarded as independent of this impulse in origin and in expression. Emphasis has been placed on spontaneous "love need" as the essential factor in arousal of the emotion, with the choice of object incidental, and, again, emphasis has been placed upon special qualities of the attractive object as the truly essential factor. By a few students the amorous state has been regarded as symptomatic of some kind of emotional maladjustment and even of "nerve pathology." Although in general it has been treated as an implicitly sexual phenomenon, a few have regarded it as an expression of non-sexual personality needs and strivings.

There is considerable agreement that human sexual experience is not all-of-a-kind in quality or in mode of expression; that it includes affects that are unlike those directly converging to genital intercourse. To account for these affects, the idea of some kind of transformative process ("sublimation," "irradiation") is widely current. Because of the basic inadequacies of these attempts to derive one motive from another, however, an independent *amorous* mode of sexuality must be recognized, differing from the genital impulse in quality, in expression, and in stimulus. The goal of this motive is complete and exclusive *possession* of a person of opposite sex. In biological origin the motive may be seen as a means of ensuring approach and contact, and possibly of sustaining the association for a period.

The traits that arouse the amorous response are *esthetic* (beauty, comeliness, "charm," etc.); their locale may be any part of the body excepting the genital zones. Their main focus is the facial features—the central and endlessly rich complex of human physical individuality. They include also characteristics of movement ("grace"); the quality of the voice; distinction of mannerism ("style").

These sex-esthetic traits are entirely *formal*

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as the term is used in art; that is, patterns (and "gestalts") of line and color, of "plastic structure," of tone and of motion. They are essentially *surface* traits, empty of meaning, best illustrated, perhaps, in a very young boy's visual fascination on first encounter with an attractive girl contemporary. Responses to such traits become intimately blended, as the individual matures, with the perception of nonsexual traits and qualities that are also attractive (e.g., animation, cheerfulness, amiability, etc.). What is ordinarily called sexual attraction includes responses to a variety of nonsexual traits, or traits that do not differentiate the sexes but are regarded as favorable, or are socially approved.

Although the close fusion of the amorous emotion with positive responses to nonsexual personality characteristics may make it difficult to discriminate between them, the former may be seen most nearly unalloyed in occasional fixations—often called "infatuations"—that develop despite uncongenial and even repellent behavior in an otherwise attractive person (conflicts of this kind being expressed, for example, in such observations as "She was irritable, untruthful, and selfish, yet I fell in love, nevertheless"). The emotion may also be seen, perhaps, "in relief," when strong attractions cut across the heavy resistance of racial or religious boundaries. It may be seen, too, in youthful attachments formed through superficial contacts before the appreciation of personality has fully developed.

Amorous attachments that are aroused solely by sex-esthetic traits do not have a high status in our culture. They are also sometimes classed as "infatuations" and are viewed as unstable and lacking in a sustaining factor. They are regarded as differing importantly from "true" love, in which traits other than those of esthetic quality have a larger role; for example, traits of "character," or those favoring compatibilities of temperament.

It is proposed, nevertheless, that "true" *sexual* love is one in which esthetic traits are primary, and that what may be socially appraised as an infatuation is in reality the genuine *amorous* emotion. Attachments that develop on a basis of the various socially approved traits or "virtues," including also benevolent impulses, are commonly called "love" relationships. This label need not be debated, provided such attachments are not regarded as *sexual*. Obviously, people are attractive to each other in many nonsexual ways. Love between the sexes need not, in other words, always be sexual love.

Yet, since such traits do not differentiate the sexes, they cannot be seen as primary factors in sexual love, although they may reinforce it. The effect of *unfavorable* traits upon the amorous emotion depends on the phase of amorous growth in which they appear. During the early period of an attraction, when the emotion is relatively weak, such traits may effectively counteract it, or markedly retard its development. An illustration would be the fairly immediate loss of interest in an initially attractive person with the discovery of undesirable items of behavior. If all the traits that finally destroy a love affair were in evidence at its outset many would never begin. Once amorous fixation has become strong, however, the same traits may fail to do more than create occasional conflicts.

The frequent failure to distinguish between sexual and nonsexual emotional states is illustrated in the common view that "true love" must exclude jealousy, since the latter is not compatible with a wholly unselfish concern for another. For this reason, in part, jealousy has acquired an unfavorable reputation. But if the essential factor in sexual love is the pleasure-seeking, self-gratifying, intensely possessive amorous desire, then jealousy must be admitted as a necessary phase of the amorous experience when possession is threatened. By this logic the "unjealous lover" is, as has often been surmised, not sexually "in love" at all.

Sex-esthetic preferences may be highly individualized; a person attractive to one may be only slightly or not at all attractive to another. There is, on the other hand, a considerable measure of agreement in judgments of sexual beauty. Several factors may be seen as importantly affecting sexual preferences. Social standards as to what is attractive vary greatly from group to group and from age to age. A wealth of ethnographic data can be assembled to show that choice is to a large degree a function of the culture. From one society to another the focus of interest shifts from feature to

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feature; e.g., small eyes may be a charm among one people, large ones among another; the mouth may be of little or of great importance; slenderness may be preferred to obesity, or vice versa.

Sexual choice is evident early in life. That human beings are originally, apart from experience, identical in responsiveness to all esthetic "patterns" in the region of sexual sensibility seems as unlikely as that they are identical in any other respect. Finally, the experiences of individual growth may be assumed to have an important role in the development of preferences.

In addition to sensual and esthetic elements, sexual choice is influenced by the sex-role behavior termed masculine and feminine; for example, the "active" and "passive" attitudes in courtship. In most, although not all, societies the initiative is regarded as properly that of the male. When a society approves different courtship tactics for the sexes, the exhibition of these tactics will enter into choice; that is, this behavior will have sexual value, meaning, for example, that woman's attractiveness will be heightened by the "feminine" character of her courtship behavior.

The variety of views on sexual love summarized above may be related to the meagerness of scientific data in this region of experience and behavior. This in turn reflects its conspicuous neglect by psychologists. Despite the legitimacy of the problems of human amorous behavior, and the preoccupation of our culture with romantic themes, very few psychologists have been interested in it. One consequence of this is the current failure to realize the inadequacies of Freudian theory as applied to this aspect of sexual psychology. Another is that our literature on sexual behavior is heavily overweighted with genital-sexual emphasis. The amorous emotion still awaits its Kinsey.

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VERNON W. GRANT

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Loving, The Art of

Definition

EVER since Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* was translated into English, the phrase "the art of love" has had a somewhat salty flavor. However, that is not why a slightly different title is used for this article. "The art of love" speaks of love as a thing, whereas "the art of loving" refers to an activity.

This is an important distinction. So long as love is treated as a thing, to be built up mechanically by the addition of this piece of social relationship to that piece of amatory technique, it can never really flourish. To make the most of the human capacity for loving, it is necessary to treat it as an activity of the whole person, in which body and mind and emotions are all actively involved. This is not to deny the importance of social factors or of sexual techniques, but merely to put them in their proper place as aids to an essentially out-giving activity.

What we call "love" is a very complex thing. It includes what the Greeks called *agape*, a highly refined love of the spirit, and it also includes *eros*, a sensual love of the body. It is compounded of deeply physiological sexual urges, of esthetic preferences for a particular person's form and face, of emotional stimulation by speech and smile and gesture, of feelings of tenderness and protectiveness, of the desire for companionship and reassurance, of admiration and of tender affection, of self-gratification, and of self-denial. At a deeper level there may even be contradictory elements of desire to degrade, of strangely submerged hate impulses, but of these most of us are quite unconscious.

This complexity is what makes really rich loving difficult to achieve. It is not too difficult, and no one should be deterred from a determination to achieve it, but it rarely drops unaided like manna from heaven. It is true, of course, that all normal people receive unasked the capacity for coition, and there can be great thrills of pleasure in that alone, but loving is more than copulation. It is also true that most of us develop without conscious thought something of each of the other elements of which love is compounded, but loving is more than a compound. To fuse these components into an active outpouring of the whole personality requires intelligent thought and a certain degree of sophistication, together with a capacity to unloose primitive passion without any sense of shame.

Intelligent thinking, however, must not take the form of cold-blooded cerebration whilst making love. There are couples who have read innumerable marriage manuals and articles on the art of love, but who fail to achieve sexual satisfaction because they set about things in the manner of a mechanic trying to start a reluctant machine. The time to learn about the art of loving and the techniques that can be put to its service is while *not* engaged in making love, when it is possible to be introspective and self-critical without interfering with that delicate interplay of personalities that successful loving requires. While actually making love,

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one may mentally note the success or otherwise of particular practices, and there should be just sufficient self-awareness to permit the conscious control of activities, but in the main one should allow freedom to the spontaneous impulses of the moment. A man may consciously decide that his wife's clitoris needs a little more stimulation, and change his position to permit it, but undue attention to what the textbook said may satisfy both him and his wife less than if he simply surrendered to a desire for deeper penetration. A woman may indicate to her husband that she would welcome caressing here or there, but if she worries about methods of attaining orgasm she is less likely to attain it.

The Many Successes of Love-making

There seems to be a fairly widespread delusion that some sort of moral obligation exists to achieve vaginal orgasm on each occasion of love-making, and many a woman's love life suffers from a quite unnecessary feeling of failure when this does not happen. Of course, the greatest sensation comes when the two partners reach the climax simultaneously, but this is not to say that other outcomes of love are to be dismissed. There can be a quiet, rich pleasure even if things go no further than the gentle caressing of each other's bodies, or the tentative beginning of copulation without great excitement. At times love can be expressed by means of the mouth, perhaps with tender contact of the lips or perhaps with passionate pressure and use of the tongue. At other times either partner may bring the other to orgasm, or each may bring each, by manual stimulation of the sex organs. Or, if the one has reached the climax in copulation and the other is still urgent, matters may be brought to a conclusion by vigorous caressing of the clitoris or penis. On yet other occasions, when the incompleted partner is too tired to respond to such caressing, it may be wise to lie awhile in each other's arms, and to leave the completion until rest has brought new vigor. And, if at times one partner is too tired or too keyed-up to respond fully, a period of gentle, smooth caressing and whispering of sweet nothings may allow gradual sinking to satisfying sleep. There is no prescribed pattern for making love, and no sort of obligation to reach the tape together as if loving were nothing but a race.

Confidence

Successful loving requires confidence—confidence in each other and confidence in one's self. A woman who suspects that her husband is simply using her as a convenient corpus for copulation will naturally feel resentful if he ejaculates while she is still left tense. The woman confident of her husband's love and consideration will be happy that he is happy and content in the knowledge that he will in some way relieve her tension. Similarly, a man who is unsure of his wife (or of himself) may be resentful if she attains orgasm while he is still unsatisfied; but a man without doubts will either continue until he reaches the climax or welcome manual stimulation by his wife. Or, if occasionally one partner is so exhausted as to be almost incapable of completing the other, the one still unsatisfied may resort to self-stimulation. In the absence of self-confidence or of mutual confidence, each occasion that is less than perfect becomes a "failure" and eats away at whatever confidence there is. But for confident lovers there is no failure, only varying degrees of success, and neither partner has any qualms about using whatever methods may be best suited to bring satisfaction on each occasion. Sometimes it may happen that either or both will not gain satisfaction in the sense of achieving orgasm, but a confident couple will be content to lie sweetly together, without any recrimination or self-blame, and know that things will probably be better next time.

Unfortunately, there are many factors in our society that make it difficult to develop the sort of mature confidence that is needed for the most successful loving. In the first place, there are general factors such as economic insecurity, fear of war, and worries arising out of daily occupation. Then, in many cases, there are specifically sexual worries, perhaps about the possibility of pregnancy or about potency. Only ostriches could fail to notice the many very dreadful features of the modern world—and there is no evidence that their love life is any

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the better for their blindness—but every effort should be made to insulate one's most intimate activities from these external disturbances.

The more acute sexual worries cannot be shut out in this way and should be dealt with effectively so that they are no longer cause for concern. In particular, a method of family planning that is effective, esthetically unobjectionable, inconspicuous, and does not require attention during love-making is for most couples an invaluable aid to the achievement of spontaneity.

Another and more subtle obstacle to satisfactory love relations is the romantic nonsense propagated by popular magazines, sentimental songs, and other media of mass communication. To be sentimental is at times very desirable, but it is dangerous if it is implied that true love can be found only on South Sea islands under a blue sky and a scorching sun. After all, such conditions are rarely available for the great mass of mankind. Or, on the other hand, it is sometimes implied that burning passion is only to be expected outside marriage, and that voluptuousness is proper to a mistress but not to a wife. Far less damage is done by the erotic literature that customs officials confiscate than by the trash that is sold openly on every bookstand. The former, even when it offends the common taste, is at least about real human feelings and real human situations, while the latter has no reality at all.

Interaction of Minds and Emotions

Spontaneity in loving depends first of all upon an innate physiological sex urge, which varies a good deal in power from one individual to another but with which most adults are sufficiently endowed. This is not enough, however, for spontaneous loving is not the same thing as unrestrained copulation, which any healthy mammal may perform. Loving implies an interaction of minds and emotions as well as a congress of genitalia, and it is precisely this fusion of the fleshly with the spiritual that constitutes the peculiar distinction of human love. The operative phrase, be it noted, is "fusion . . . with," not "restraining . . . by." Much misery has come from the notion that the fleshly instincts are in some way unworthy and better restrained by the purer powers of the spirit. For the human desire for fleshly sexual intercourse is a magnificent thing, to be gloried in and enjoyed to the uttermost, and the reason it should be fused with the spiritual is not that it may thereby be "purified," for it needs no purification, but that it may become yet more magnificent and yield yet greater joy. There are, of course, many occasions when restraint is desirable or even essential, but this is because of particular circumstances and not because of any inherent evil in bodily pleasure.

The Importance of Self-esteem

It is impossible to give one's self unreservedly to another, either in body or in spirit, unless one is first in complete possession of one's self. This is a rare achievement in perfection, but we can all come a long way toward it. To be in complete possession of one's own body means to have no reservations about it, no distaste for its structure, no disgust at its functions. It means to glory in the body, to be conversant with its limitations and yet see that it is good. It means to be proud of its capacities and to take joy in its pleasures. It means, in a very special sense of the word, "loving" oneself. Not as Narcissus did, in uncritical self-admiration, for in that way lies failure to develop the capacity for loving others; nor selfishly, for true love will never sacrifice the beloved to itself; but so far as is necessary for the building of proper self-esteem and fortifying self-confidence. It is inherent in loving that the lover should be willing, even anxious, to put the interests and happiness of the beloved before his own inclinations, and sometimes this will mean, in the specifically sexual sphere, that one will accept a lesser satisfaction for oneself in order to give greater satisfaction to the partner. But this is a principle of willingness to sacrifice, and not an injunction to set oneself up as a martyr. Self-denial that amounts to self-abasement can be distinctly damaging, sometimes as damaging as downright selfishness.

Certainly in the early days of a sexual relationship it is good for each partner to take very great care to concentrate on ensuring that the other gains maximum joy, but it is also im-

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portant to ensure that this does not develop into a habit of almost sickly tentativeness. As a relationship matures and the couple becomes more completely adjusted, it becomes more possible (and more desirable) to pay less attention to conscious considerateness and to allow self-assertion greater freedom of expression. Always there will be a need for care and tenderness, but not to the detriment of spontaneous vigor.

It is the woman rather than the man who is more often thought of as being in need of consideration, but in a confident love relationship she will enjoy the sensation that her lover is so swept away that he has lost all self-control. On a particular occasion she may lose something of the delicious thrills that can come from carefully considered stimulation, but in general she will gain something of more permanent value—a pride in her power of sexual stimulation. She may at times even be slightly shaken or bruised, but this soon passes away and the increase in her confidence remains. And, of course, the man whose wife has joyfully withstood his vigor will be sure to follow it by an especially grateful tenderness.

Masturbation and Heterosexual Development

The uninhibited acceptance of sensuality depends very much on early upbringing (although this is not to say that one cannot overcome an unsatisfactory training). Infantile masturbation may lead to the discovery that one's body is capable of yielding richly satisfying sensations, and fortunate are those who are allowed to make this discovery without the accompaniment of guilt or fear. With the coming of maturity, and specifically of mature love for another person, masturbation eventually gives way to the even richer sensations of heterosexual love, but this does not make masturbation in itself sinful or even in all circumstances undesirable. For most adolescents and young unmarried adults in our society, full sexual intercourse is prohibited either by religious conviction or by social convention, and in such circumstances masturbation is likely to continue. If it is accompanied by images of the loved one, and if it is free from all fear, it may within limits actually aid the eventual establishment of satisfactory heterosexual relations. And when a couple is unable for some reason to have normal intercourse, mutual masturbation with loving words and phantasies may serve to enrich them.

Phantasies and Verbalizations

This question of what goes on in the mind while making love is an important one. We humans are marked off from the rest of the animal world by immensely greater mental powers, and to fail to use these powers is to remain on the animal level. It is one thing to accept the animal nature of our sexual physiology, and quite another thing to be content with it and neglect our peculiarly human potentialities. The joy of loving can be made much richer, can become more fully human, by bringing into play all our powers of imagination and expression. Individuals vary greatly in the extent to which they like to talk about their love, but certainly the dumb brute is no ideal to aim at.

In the preliminary stages of love-making, exchanged reminiscences of previous outstandingly successful occasions can be very stimulating, and there is no reason why one should not be stimulated by memories as well as by movements. As passion rises, some couples may be further stimulated by more forthright sexual conversation, and the only necessary limits are those imposed by the couple's own sensitivities. Nor need the mind confine itself to verbalization: it is also capable of calling up thrilling visual and other images, of responding to the sight and movements of the loved one's body, of taking pleasure in observed or recalled sounds and other sensations. It is in these ways, as well as in certain delicacies and restraints and deliberately imposed self-sacrifices, that human loving may be immensely richer than animal copulation.

There are those who regard such mental sexual activities as the debauchery of decadence, but they confuse debauchery with sophistication and decadence with civilization. Naturally, this type of activity may, like all others, be carried to excess, so that loving ceases to be an expression of total personalities and shrinks to a

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sort of deviscerated mental masturbation, but this is not likely when a couple are also confident in their animal sexuality. The possibility of excess is not an argument against the use of a power, but only for discretion in its use. And it seems likely that, at any rate in the Western world, most couples would find greater joy in their loving if they were not afraid to set free their powers of pleasure in sexual thoughts and words and sights and sounds, in unison with the thrills of bodily contact.

Compatibility

This unison of mind and body implies shared interests, activities, and occupations. There is no need for man and wife to think alike and do alike all the time—indeed, it is much better if each brings something distinctive to their relationship and feels free to pursue individual interests—but there must be sufficient community of interest and taste to permit mental as well as physical communion. This is the justification of monogamous marriage from the humanist point of view, for the transitory affair does not provide the long-continued opportunity for the partners to come to know each other intimately. The first few occasions of intercourse may be intensely exciting, and sensually satisfying, but it is only with the passage of time that a couple can hope to reach the heights of loving. In many cases it takes time to achieve even physiological harmony, and this is often the cause of deep disappointment. For this the overromanticization of love in our culture must bear some responsibility, but so must the individual who has accepted without thought the idea that all becomes perfect on the wedding night.

A moment's consideration should indicate how unrealistic it is to expect immediate perfection in such a richly varied activity as loving. In most cases a good deal of experimentation will be needed before a couple discovers what modes of loving give them the greatest satisfaction. That is why, leaving quite aside all pronouncements of dogmatic theology or all conventions of suburban respectability, the idea of a couple's occasionally "going the whole way" to decide whether or not they are sufficiently adapted to marry is often futile. Adaptation is not a thing that already exists: it is a thing to be brought about.

The Possibilities of Variety in Sexual Expression

As a sexual union matures, more and more possibilities of variety emerge. Considering merely the relative bodily positions and movements of the partners, there is a vast range of choice. Some will prefer the movements that are possible with the man lying above the woman, others those possible lying side by side, others those possible with the woman above, and many will prefer to ring the changes on these and other positions. But to talk in terms of bodily position is to risk appearing as an advocate for a sort of mechanical engineering, and the situation is in fact much more complex and subtle than that. A couple confident of themselves, and of each other, and sensitive to their mutual reactions, will also explore the infinite possibilities of varied caresses, varied speed, varied vigor, varied rhythm, and varied mental accompaniments to bodily activity. This they will do not in the way of coldly calculated experimentation, for that withers spontaneity, but rather in the manner of artists, expressing their feelings freely through the medium of their bodies and yet retaining just sufficient awareness of technique to learn from experience.

A Loving Atmosphere and the "Proprieties" of Love-making

Because we humans are social animals, capable not only of expressing innate urges but also of modifying them by learned behavior and enriching them by the interaction of personalities, what happens during physical love-making is much affected by what has gone before. A couple who have spent the evening withdrawn from each other, perhaps preoccupied by their separate activities or perhaps even hostile, can scarcely expect that the moment they go up to bed they will be able to make love successfully. There is nothing magical about being between a pair of sheets, and the most that can be immediately achieved in such circumstances is mere sexual detumes-

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cence. Richer loving is possible only if, first, the hostility or isolation is dissolved away and the two personalities brought into some sort of unison, and this is often more easily done before going to bed than after. Ten minutes with books put away and all distractions discarded, ten minutes spent in relaxed and friendly conversation, with perhaps a few kisses and a tentative cuddle, can establish a relationship from which to proceed further by natural stages after going to bed.

For that matter, there is no need to go to bed. Many people seem to imagine that what is perfectly proper in the bedroom is somehow improper in the living room, that what is permissible in the dark is impermissible in the light, that what can be decently done indoors is indecent in the open. But this convention that sexual intercourse must be undertaken only in conventional circumstances can be most damaging to spontaneity, and many a caress started auspiciously in one room has gone cold by the time the partners have moved into another—especially if they first go through all the customary bedtime toilet procedures. Indeed, there is among certain social groups an altogether excessive preoccupation with the niceties of detergency, and perhaps a little less concern for bacteriological sterility in intercourse might result in less emotional sterility also.

If there is the necessary privacy, love-making may be delightful by the warm fireside in the lounge, with whatever cushions or rugs lie at hand in the service of comfort. There is no need for undressing to be effected in one determined operation in bedroom or bathroom, for it can proceed garment by garment wherever privacy permits. And, although it can be delightful to come together already naked, there is also a special pleasure in gradually undressing each other. It is only rarely that most couples can find opportunity, consistent with the requirements of public decency, for loving out of doors, but soft grass and warm sun are very tempting and if intercourse is possible in these circumstances it can have a peculiar beauty.

Summary

The art of loving, then, is like any other great art. It requires the inner urge and a certain urgency, but it also requires restraint and discipline. It requires sensitivity and tenderness, but it also requires confidence and vigor. It needs knowledge and patient practice and diligent application, but it needs also the courage to experiment and to take some risks. Since two personalities are directly involved, there is a special need for considerateness and for self-sacrifice, but it is also necessary to guard against any tendency to self-submergence or self-abasement. More than any other art, loving demands a delicate fusion of often conflicting separates, but in maturity it yields rich rewards that more than compensate for every difficulty.

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Marriage

Definition

MARRIAGE is a social status defining the rights and duties of persons of opposite sex living in a more or less durable union. Other comparable social statuses are those of the single, the widowed, and the divorced. Social status refers to one's position in the group, or the evaluation of one's position by the group. The group distinguishes the married person from the single or the widowed or the divorced person. In some societies a youth is not considered to be an adult until he or she marries. The group or society may require a marriage license and a ceremony or wedding of some sort, as in Western societies today. Or, as in many preliterate societies, a man and woman who agree to assume the social status of marriage simply establish a household together. Their living together is evidence of marriage and is so construed by the community. There is a presumption that the relationship will endure and that it will differ from the more episodic and discontinuous relationship between them which may have existed previously.

The term *marriage* is usually applied only to human beings. Other animals mate, and their unions may be quite durable; but we do not call these unions marriages, because the lower animals do not have a culture that defines marital status.

Meaning of Marriage

A key to marriage is the sexual factor. This is scarcely surprising, since marriage is a relationship between persons of opposite sex. In Western society, sex apart from marriage is frowned upon, a fact that strengthens the significance of sex for marriage. But in many preliterate societies sexual intercourse before marriage is sanctioned for both sexes. There is a period of experimentation among adolescents in these societies that eventuates in the pairing off of congenial couples. Sex in these circumstances is not such a crucial motive for marriage as it is in Western society today. Instead, the economic motive is more decisive. Marriage is an effective arrangement for personal and societal self-maintenance and survival. Husband and wife, through division of labor, can more advantageously feed and clothe and protect themselves than either can by living separately. If, for example, an Eskimo hunter, in addition to trapping animals, had—at the close of a long, bitter-cold day of hunting—to return to his igloo and prepare his food, as well as to take care of his frozen clothes, he would be hard put to it. Instead, his wife has fresh clothes and a hot meal waiting for him. Eskimo women spend such long hours chewing frozen leather skins in order to make them supple that eventually they wear their teeth down to the gums.

From the standpoint of society, cardinal functions of marriage are reproduction and socialization of offspring. The group cannot survive unless its numbers are replenished, and the culture cannot be maintained unless it is transmitted afresh to each new generation. Marriage is the socially approved agency for reproducing the race. In rural Scandinavia, and in other traditional rural societies as well, it was the custom to accord rights of privacy to engaged couples, including the right to sexual intercourse. In many cases marriage occurred only after the woman was pregnant. This indicates the high priority placed on reproduction as a function of marriage. It also indicates that

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marriage is highly valued in connection with the rearing of children. Mankind has discovered that two parents are better than one for the education and protection of the young. A child has difficulty learning the appropriate behavior of males and females without the example and tutelage of both parents.

The Incidence of Marriage

In view of the great utility of marriage to the individual and society, it is not surprising that marriage is a universal institution and that, next to birth and death, it is the most common major experience in all societies. In some societies, such as India, it is nearly universal. There the Hindu religion makes marriage a sacramental duty, since Hinduism teaches that the married state is one of the essential four stages in an individual's life. As a result, the spinster is practically nonexistent. An unmarried woman of advanced age also is a rarity in preliterate societies. Hunting and agricultural societies, which utilize effectively the labor of women as well as of men, provide conditions that encourage the marriage of women.

Industrial societies, on the contrary, provide less opportunity for women to make a comparable economic contribution in marriage. In industrial societies, moreover, women are less dependent on marriage for economic support, since they can obtain jobs. As a result, marriage is generally less prevalent in industrial than in agricultural societies. In the United States, for example, about one in ten of both sexes reaches the age of 45 without having married. Some agricultural societies, however, have a smaller percentage of their population married than some industrial nations. Rural Ireland has one of the lowest marriage rates of all nations.

Age at First Marriage

Among the simians, mating occurs at puberty. It would seem that mating would have also occurred at an early age among our earliest human ancestors; but of this we can, of course, have no knowledge. The biological age for marriage and the cultural age for marriage may not coincide for, as we have seen, marriage carries economic, educational, and protective responsibilities for which the youth may not be as ready as they are for the sexual function. In a survey of a small sample of preliterate societies, none was found where the females married under the age of 16 and the males under the age of 20. Yet the practice in Western agricultural society, in earlier centuries, was for females to marry at the age of 12 and males at the age of 14. At least these are the common-law ages for marriage, although we do not know how many youths married at these ages. In the United States at present, eighteen states still recognize common-law marriage. The trend, however, is away from such marriage. The most common statutory age for marriage in the United States is 16 for females and 18 for males, with parental consent; without parental consent, the corresponding ages are 18 and 21.

The early age at marriage in literate agricultural societies is explained in part by the occupational situation. Since most boys know that, when they grow up, they will be farmers, and nearly all girls know they will be farmers' wives, they can readily receive the requisite training. On the contrary, in an industrial society the job situation is complex and often uncertain, and preparation takes longer. Another reason for earlier marriage in agricultural societies is the practice of living with one's in-laws, which is more extensive than it is in industrial societies.

In some countries, especially those of the East, there is the custom of infant betrothal. Children may be pledged to each other by their parents, and they may be legally married even before puberty, although they usually do not live together as husband and wife until they are sexually mature. If, as in India, it is the belief that all should marry, and if, moreover, it is the custom for one's family to choose one's mate, then it is understandable that legal commitments be made as soon as possible. Under the circumstances, why delay? The Indian government has sought to curb child marriages, and the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929 forbids marriages of males under 18 and females under 14. According to the 1951 Census, however, there were 2,833,000 married males, 6,180,000 married females, 66,000 widowers,

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and 134,000 widows between the ages of 5 and 14. The great mass of Indians, more than four-fifths of the total population, live in the more than 500,000 villages, 70 per cent of which have a population of 500 or less. In these villages the old customs are very strong.

In the United States in recent decades (since 1890) the percentage of young people under 25 years of age who are married has increased, despite an increase in schooling. An indication of the trend toward earlier marriage in the United States is the figures for the median age at first marriage. In 1890 the figures were 26.1 for males and 22.0 for females, whereas in 1950 the corresponding data were 23.0 and 20.1. This trend occurred both in urban and in rural areas and for whites and Negroes. The United States has one of the highest marriage rates of Western industrial nations, and a relatively high proportion of the population is married. The principal reasons are thought to be increased income and the spread of the practice of birth control.

Choice of Mate

In large areas of the world, as in India, marriages are arranged by kin. The potential groom's mother is usually the one who takes the initiative in finding a mate for her son, although go-betweens may arrange the details. This seems odd to most Westerners, who are accustomed to considerable self-determination in the choice of a mate. But arranged marriages make sense in the agricultural societies where they occur, for in these societies the family as a unit is the powerful force, tied as it is to property in land and the transmission of the family holding from generation to generation. Title to the land belongs to the family and not to individual members.

In this kind of economy, sons work for the family, and there are few, if any, occupations for women apart from the family farm. It is also the responsibility of a son to marry and to produce a male heir to perpetuate the family name and perhaps to perform essential religious duties. In choosing a wife, sentiment is not the predominant consideration but rather practical matters such as good health, good stock, and skill as a worker. Usually the young people are given some voice in the selection of a mate, and the parents do not insist if their choice is opposed; but there are instances where the youths are not consulted, and their first glimpse of each other is at their wedding.

In industrial societies, where young people are not dependent upon their families for jobs and economic support, the youth have considerable freedom in choosing a mate. The situation is reversed, and it is the parents who may be accorded the veto power. Parents, however, may still greatly influence their child's choice of mate by the kind of community in which they live, the kind of associates they encourage, the kind of schools they select, and so on.

Even where, as in the United States, young people have considerable freedom in the choice of a mate, the freedom is not absolute but is subject to a number of limitations. One of these, which is universal, is the incest taboo. In all societies marriage is prohibited within certain degrees of family affinity. The taboo against marriage within one's immediate family is universal or nearly so. Beyond this point the situation varies. In the United States, for example, the marriage of first cousins is usually illegal, whereas among Arabs cousin marriage is preferred, or at least common. In some places the marriage of brothers and sisters has been permitted and even favored; but the practice has usually been restricted to the royal family, as in the case of the Ptolemies. Cleopatra was the product of a number of generations of brother-sister intermarriages. The explanation here is the belief in the special divinity of the royal family and the consequent need to keep the blood pure.

Many volumes have been written in the effort to explain the incest taboo. It is not an instinct, since it does not occur among the primates. One theory to account for the incest taboo is that incest is biologically harmful. Marriage outside the family may have eugenic value, but only if there is some defect or taint in the family line. Inbreeding is eugenically beneficial if it intensifies good traits, and is so used in animal and plant husbandry. Of course, there have been cases of defects such as hemophilia being transmitted through a royal family that has practiced intermarriage, but there have also been cases (such as the Ptolemies) where in-

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breeding did not lead to physical weakness. Since members of the same family are more likely than are unrelated persons to have the same defects, intermarriage is more likely to produce a double dose of defective traits. There is thus, in terms of probabilities, some safety in marrying outside the family. In most small preliterate societies, however, the members of the band are likely to be kin, and there is in reality considerable intermarriage. This may be the reason for the rule which is sometimes found, known as village exogamy, that a mate must be sought from another community.

Perhaps the most plausible explanation for the rule against incestuous union is that marriage within the family would tend to disorganize it. Father and son and mother and daughter might be pitted against each other. This is, of course, the basis of the Oedipus and Electra theories of Freud.

In addition to exogamous rules affecting marriage, there are also endogamous ones, that is, rules prescribing some of the traits to be sought in a mate. Thus, a Moslem woman may marry only a Moslem man, although the man is free to marry a woman of any faith. The Roman Catholic Church discourages marriage outside the faith and permits it only under certain conditions. The Orthodox Jewish faith is also opposed to intermarriage. Also there are legal barriers against the intermarriage of whites and certain other races in some states of the United States, as well as in other countries.

There are many studies to show that, with respect to social characteristics, marriages tend to be homogamous, that is, that like tends to marry like. Thus, persons of the same economic and social-class positions tend to pair off. In the United States this is not due to endogamous rules such as those pertaining to religion, or to laws such as those having to do with race, but is the result of contact and group pressure. Members of the same socioeconomic class tend to associate in an intimate manner with one another more than with members of other classes, and these contacts become the basis for marriage. Studies also show homogamy in age, formal education, previous marital status, intelligence test scores, interests, and values.

On the other hand, there is evidence that in emotional characteristics there is a good deal of heterogamy, or the mating of opposites. For example, the submissive type of woman may be attracted to the type of man who likes to dominate; and the man who craves nurturance may find attractive the woman who likes to mother him. In other words, persons are attracted to those who tend to satisfy their emotional needs. It would seem, offhand, that this would be a sensible factor to keep in mind in choosing a mate and would contribute toward compatibility.

Methods of Mate Choice

In addition to arranged marriages and marriages initiated by the couple themselves, there are other methods of obtaining a mate, such as capture. This is almost never the usual method for any society and is used only against the enemy, whose captured women subsequently are more likely to occupy the status of concubines or slaves, usually without the rights of legitimate wives.

There is also the method of bride purchase, although the meaning is different from, say, that of a horse trade, for although a wife may be bought, she is not customarily sold. Marriage nearly everywhere involves economic considerations, and bride purchase should be thought of in these terms. A groom or his family pays so many head of cattle for a wife, probably because her family has invested a good deal in rearing her; when she marries, she leaves her parental home, and her family is deprived of her services, especially if village exogamy is the rule and she goes to live with her husband in another village. The bride price is to compensate the family for their economic loss. Or, financial considerations are used to help give the marriage stability. A Moslem bridegroom may contract to give his bride a certain sum, half at marriage and the other half should the marriage break up. More often than not, there will be economic contributions to the newlyweds from both families, the one supplying, say, the house and the other the furnishings. In many European cultures it was customary for the bride to bring a dowry to her marriage. So the economic contribution is sometimes made by the male and sometimes by the female (or their respective families), or

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both. In general, a determining consideration as to who makes the contribution is the relative value attached by the society to the economic role of men and women. Ideological influences may also be operative.

Marriage Ceremony

In most societies, marriage is differentiated from mere mating by a ceremony of some sort, commonly called a wedding. The community aspect is evident in part in the fact that on this occasion there may be group festivities and an appreciable distribution of food. The wedding with witnesses present is, moreover, a public acknowledgment of the new status being conferred on the couple.

Marriage is a secular matter in most preliterate societies; but, very early, marriage took on religious significance. Some religions regard marriage as holy; some regard it as sacramental, so sacred that it may not be broken. In the United States and in England, the law recognizes both civil and religious marriages. In France, on the other hand, a civil ceremony is required; a religious wedding alone is not legal. This forces a couple to have two marriage ceremonies if they want a religious ceremony. In some countries the civil ceremony must come first. In the United States religious weddings predominate. For certain religious groups, such as the Quakers, no officiating individual is required to perform a marriage; the couple simply plight their troth in the presence of witnesses.

In some areas there is also a requirement of a marriage license prior to the wedding and, in certain places, a waiting period before marriage. A growing practice is to require medical tests before a license is issued, covering a blood test and sometimes a chest X-ray. However, these tests are given just for information in many places and may not be used to prevent a marriage.

In some places, formal permission is required for marriage; in other places, informal consent of the group is sufficient. When both systems exist in the same society, a problem may arise, as in the United States, where in some jurisdictions both statutory and common-law marriage are recognized, whereas in other states—now a majority—only statutory marriage is legal. Common-law marriage developed in earlier times when societies were relatively small, with a homogeneous membership, little physical mobility, and the presence of few strangers in the local group, which meant that the group could readily control the behavior of its members by informal methods. Today, in our complex, highly mobile society with many strangers, public opinion is less effective as a means of social control, and more formal means of control are required. This explains why common-law marriage is being abolished.

The conflict of the two systems of common-law and statutory marriage is particularly sharp in many Latin countries of the Caribbean area and South America. The very high illegitimacy rates, often more than 50 per cent, that are reported for these countries reflect the fact that only statutory marriages are recorded as legal. Usually the state recognizes Church marriages but some states do not, which means that for the religiously minded, two ceremonies are needed, a religious and a secular one. Because of poverty, or pre-Christian traditions, many of the natives in Central and South America marry without benefit of clergy or the law. Their children are listed as illegitimate, but their marriages may be just as durable as the legal marriages.

There are, especially in some neighborhoods of large cities, men and women who live together in a relationship which is not common-law marriage but rather what is sometimes referred to as "free love." Greenwich Village in New York is such a neighborhood. Some unions may be said to be "trial marriages" because they eventuate in formal marriage, but many do not. Bohemians in these Latin Quarters may be viewed as persons who see in marriage only the loss of freedom and self-expression. No union of the sexes is a marriage unless it is, either formally or informally, recognized by society as binding.

Forms of Marriage

The two sexes that are united in marriage can be combined in a limited number of ways. (1) One male may be married to one female.

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When this system is binding, and no exceptions are permitted, the system is known as *monogamy*. (2) One male may be wedded to more than one female. The system that sanctions this arrangement is called *polygyny*. (3) More than one male may be married to one female, an arrangement designated *polyandry*. Polygyny and polyandry are forms of plural marriage, or *polygamy*. Theoretically it is possible for more than one male to be married to more than one female, a system called group marriage, but this form of marriage does not appear as a cultural norm in any society.

Monogamous marriage is the most common variety, even in societies that allow plural marriage. The Koran permits a Moslem to have as many as four wives if he can support them and if he is able to show them equal consideration. Since this is difficult to do, plural marriage is not encouraged, it is said. Studies of Moslem countries show less than 10 per cent of marriages to be plural. Economic factors (the cost of supporting a family) favor monogamy, as does also the number of men and women of marriageable ages in a society, which is usually in fair balance.

Polygyny is the result not so much of biological factors as of cultural ones. When the society permits it, a man takes more than one wife in order to show his wealth or his position of importance or leadership. If he is a man with high social status, say a chief, he may be required by custom to have several wives. Thus, in the period of Mormon history when polygyny was approved, great pressure was brought to bear on the church leaders to practice polygyny, whether as individuals they wished to do so or not.

In Christian nations, monogamy is the rule, and no other arrangement is permitted. Many preliterate societies also follow the same practice. Even in the Moslem countries, the trend is away from polygyny, which is better adapted to agricultural conditions than to the new industrial society that is developing.

Whereas monogamy is numerically by far the most common form of marriage, the majority of societies permit polygyny. In a sample of representative cultures, including historical and contemporary as well as primitive societies, it was found that 43 were strictly monogamous and 195 allowed at least limited plural marriage. Polygyny has certain advantages. It utilizes the reproductive capacity of females more fully than does monogamy. Among hunters, the hazards of life often lead to a surplus of women, since the men and not the women are the hunters. Under the circumstances, polygyny increases the women's chances of marriage. In the farming culture, the sexes are likely to be in fair balance, and this reason for polygyny is not so important; but additional wives have economic utility.

Whatever the reasons for the practice, it must not be thought that polygyny works to the disadvantage of the women or that they view it with disfavor. On the contrary, in a polygynous society the women are its chief supporters. In their dealings with their husband, the several wives may have some advantage in collective bargaining. They also benefit by the division of labor the system permits. Among Mormon women who were in plural marriages there was considerable objection to the system; but this was because the converts to Mormonism were recruited from Protestant denominations espousing monogamy, and the Mormons were surrounded by a culture favorable to monogamy and hostile to polygyny. The situation is different in most preliterate societies.

Since multiple marriage is not, however, without its special tensions, various arrangements are often followed in an effort to minimize them. One is the provision of separate dwellings for the several wives and their offspring. A status system is also established, with one wife designated the chief wife. The husband must follow a system of rotation in visiting his wives; and departure from the system, except with good cause, is viewed with disfavor. An interesting variety of plural marriage is sororal polygyny, the marriage of a man to several sisters. The advantage here is that the sisters are already better adjusted to one another than strangers are likely to be.

Polyandry is highly infrequent, perhaps because it goes counter to the biological tendency of the male to demand exclusive possession of his mate, judging by the evidence from the simians. If so, culture counteracts biology when polyandry occurs. The explanation is complex;

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but an important consideration seems to be the scarcity of women in societies where polyandry is practiced, a scarcity resulting from female infanticide. Among the Todas, for example, the sex ratio was 127-259 males to 100 females. But why the infanticide? The answer is probably the extreme poverty of the people, resulting from the inhospitable environment. That this is not the sole reason for polyandry is shown by the fact that other societies have as extreme poverty without infanticide, and still others practice infanticide when the poverty is not so great. In the remote Himalayas, where arable land is scarce, fraternal polyandry is practiced, a group of brothers sharing a wife. All the children are regarded as the offspring of the eldest brother. When the brothers die, the estate goes to the sons, who in turn marry one wife. Polyandry appears to be associated with a system of land tenure that prevents fragmentation of already small land holdings. There is also a nonfraternal variety of polyandry, such as that found among the Marquesan. However, polyandry is very rare and is incompatible with the surplus of women generally found in human societies.

Residence

When marriage occurs, one or both of the spouses must leave the parental roof. Who shall it be, and where shall the couple take up residence? A sample of 250 societies showed the following distribution: In 146 cases the residence was patrilocal, that is, the bride went to live with her husband in his father's home. In 38 societies the residence was matrilocal, the husband going to live with his bride in her mother's house. An arrangement permitting a shifting back and forth, or matri-patrilocal residence, occurred in 22 societies. The newlyweds were permitted to live near the parents of either spouse (bilocal residence). A system like that in the United States, with the married couple setting up an independent residence in a new location (neolocal residence), occurred in 17 societies; and in 8, avunculocal residence was the rule, the married couple living at the residence of the maternal uncle of the groom. In short, it is usually the woman who changes residence at marriage.

Status of Married Women

The fact that the bride is usually the one to shift her residence means that ordinarily the loss of her economic services to her family is regarded as less serious than the loss of a son's services to his family. Here we have the principal key to the status of women in a society: the evaluation of their contribution to economic production.

The status of women is generally lower than that of men in hunting cultures because survival depends more on the hunters of big game, the men, than it does on the food gatherers, the women. In general, women have the lowest status of all in pastoral societies, where the care of the flocks is a masculine pursuit. The status of women is highest as a rule in hoe culture, because women play a big part in the planting and care of the fields, as among the Hopi. Women are thought to have discovered the domestication of plants. In advanced agriculture using the plow, however, the more muscular male is favored, and the status of women is lower than in the hoe culture.

Where the husband or some older male member of his family, say his father or grandfather, has the decision-making power, the system is called patriarchal. It is matriarchal where the power lies with the women. Patriarchal societies are very numerous, but matriarchal societies are rare and may be nonexistent. What usually passes for matriarchal is in reality a matrilocal system. Thus, among the Hopis, when a man marries, he goes to live with his wife's family. The Hopi women own the land and the crops. Descent is traced through the female line. A man's first loyalty is to his mother's clan. But the chiefs of the Hopi are men. Serious discipline of children is administered by the mother's brother, that is, by the child's uncle, not by his mother. A society that is often referred to in the literature as matriarchal is the Iroquois. True, the women comprising the council that chose the chief exercised considerable power; but the chief was always a man. Still, it may be said that in the sphere of the family, the women in a matrilineal, matrilocal society exercise considerable power.

Probably the most significant development

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in marriage in recent times is the equalitarian relationship between husband and wife. There have been equalitarian systems of marriage in the past, and even among preliterates such arrangements can be found; but they have not been common. The singular thing about the present situation is the trend toward equality of husband and wife, not merely in the United States, but in societies around the world.

When a woman married one hundred years ago in the United States, she lost her separate legal status and became as it were a ward of her husband. Her personal property, acquired before marriage, became her husband's. Real property owned before marriage she retained, but her husband controlled its management and received all revenues derived from it. She could not sue or be sued or make a contract without her husband's consent. He was the sole guardian of their children. The divorce laws favored the husband.

At the present time, the married woman has full control of separate property owned by her before her marriage or acquired by her after marriage. Twelve states are so-called community property states, in which each spouse has an equal share of all income and property acquired after the marriage by either spouse. A married woman now has full contractual rights. In thirty-four states she is the legal co-guardian of her children. The divorce laws now favor women, principally in the greater number of grounds for divorce available to them, at least in practice if not in principle. Thus, a wife may sue her husband for divorce on the ground of physical cruelty or nonsupport; but it is not as appropriate for a husband to do so.

Prominent among the causes of the change in the status of women are economic factors, especially the great increase in the number of jobs available to women. In the earlier agricultural society, a farmer's wife worked hard and made an important economic contribution both at home and in the fields, but her work was unpaid family labor. Today, in our industrial economy, she works, if she is employed, as an individual, not as a member of a family team; she does not work for her family; and she is paid in money. This makes her economically independent of her husband. The probabilities are very great that she will have worked before marriage; and she may continue to work after marriage, at least until the first child comes. More and more women who drop out of the labor market to have their families return to work after the children reach school age. During the 1950's in the United States, the number of working wives over 35 years of age increased by about 50 per cent, whereas the number under 35 rose by only 10 per cent. Regardless of age, the increase in the percentage of married women in the labor force has been phenomenal since just before the turn of the century. In 1890, 4.6 per cent of married women were gainfully employed, whereas the percentage in 1950 was 26.8, and in 1957, 30.8. Some of these married women were separated from their husbands, although not divorced. If we consider only married women living with their husbands, 29.6 per cent were in the labor force in 1957. Seven out of ten husbands are still the sole support of their wives. But if one is interested in the shape of things to come, then one notes the sharp increase in working wives over the years, indicating the strong likelihood that even more wives will be employed in the future.

The greater job opportunities for married women are not the only reason for their equalitarian status. Important, too, are the greater educational opportunities open to them. These two factors of jobs and schooling are, of course, interrelated, for the schooling helps to prepare for jobs, and the increased income of American families makes it possible to educate more girls as well as boys. The democratic principle is also a leavening influence, but the democratic idea is an old one and needs favorable supporting influences for its growth.

The Evolution of Marriage

There have been various efforts to describe the evolution of marriage as a social institution, but without much success. Herbert Spencer propounded the theory that the family has evolved from the simple to the complex, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous. The modern family, however, is more simple in terms of organization and the scope of its functions than was the earlier family of agricultural times. Again, Henry Morgan advanced the

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theory that marriage has evolved by stages from earliest times to the present. Finding monogamy in increasing vogue in the present, he postulated that mankind must have initially lived in hordes, in a state of promiscuity. Later, according to Morgan, the family organized around the mother and children. The female was supposed to consort with a varying number of males. Still later, Morgan wrote, the male mated with a varying number of females, establishing patriarchal rule. And finally monogamy evolved.

This theory was erroneous. As Edward A. Westermarck showed in his *History of Human Marriage* (1891), strict monogamy existed in some societies from the beginning. At least, monogamy as the required practice is found in some preliterate societies with very rudimentary material culture. There is no knowledge regarding the marriage practices of our earliest human forbears, since marriage customs, unlike chipped flints, do not survive.

In short, no grand unilinear and world-wide evolution of marriage can be described, unlike technology, which has evolved from the simple flints of the Paleolithic age to the elaborate steel tools of the present, and unlike government, which has evolved from simple leadership to the complex organization of the modern state. Instead, with regard to marriage, we have variations in form and function, depending on changes in the social situation, mainly the means of economic production. Some of these variations have been described.

Although no evolution in the structure of marriage is discernible from earliest human times to the present, some highly significant, broad changes can be noted in marriage during, let us say, approximately the past two hundred years, or the period since the Industrial Revolution. These changes are evident also in lesser degree in Eastern societies now in process of industrialization. These changes are reflected in the breakdown of the extended family, emphasizing kinship, which is characteristic of rural societies. The extended family is a complex of marital groups; its breakdown has resulted in the establishment of the separate, small, independent household of husband, wife, and offspring. The extended family arranged the marriages of its youth, but the young people in our urban civilization show a strong preference for self-determination in the choice of a mate. Affection and psychological compatibility replace utilitarian and status considerations as the basis for choice. A new institution, courtship, is required if young people are to meet freely and to make their own selection, an institution not needed when marriages were arranged.

Most significant of all, mass education for both sexes and expanding occupational opportunities for women in an industrial society have led to relations of equality between husband and wife, replacing the patriarchalism of the past. Moreover, if a husband has several wives, it is difficult to achieve equality between husband and wife. Hence, polygyny is disappearing in areas of the world where the prevailing religion allows it as these areas become increasingly industrialized. Polygyny has always been a validating device for high social status. With industrialization, other methods of validating status, particularly the acquisition of consumer goods, become available to more persons, and the need for polygyny diminishes.

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M. F. NIMKOFF

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Marriage Conciliation

MARRIAGE terminations by legal action are a matter of public record in most countries of the world today. From these records, and from estimates by scholars, where comparable recorded figures are not available, we learn that during the past century throughout the civilized world actions initiated by partners and terminations granted by courts (divorce, annulment, and separate maintenance) have increased many fold in proportion to population increases and in proportion to fluctuating marriage rates. The largest increases have occurred during the past quarter century in those countries in which industrialization is advanced and in which secular standards tend to prevail over religious sanctions.

During this same quarter century, in these same countries, but developing at a lag, marriage education, guidance, counseling, and reconciliation services have developed. Information about these services is difficult to obtain and figures are not closely comparable. Agency reports and unpublished office summaries from the professions of welfare, education, medicine, and religion tell of increasing numbers of requests for counseling services from unhappy and estranged marriage partners. Similarly, marriage-guidance bureaus, government-sponsored and supported in Britain, South Africa, Indonesia, and other countries, report that requests for adjustment and reconciliation counseling have increased over requests for sex education, marriage preparation, and prepartal guidance.

Since unabated discord sooner or later appeals to the law, leaders in this profession, as Bradway (1956) and Rheinstein (1956) have shown, are coming to think of reconciliation as one of their responsibilities with domestic relations and matrimonial cases. In general, the incidence and spread of conciliation services roughly parallels increases in termination rates. The states of the United States, with their variety of grounds for termination and of court procedures, present a variety of counseling and conciliation programs. In the United States there is no national pattern and no national organization.

The year 1957 bids fair to become a landmark in the development of conciliation services. In September of that year, at Chicago, the International Association of Legal Science, of which Professor Max Rheinstein, Professor of Comparative Law, University of Chicago Law School, is chairman, conducted an eight-day institute on laws and legal devices to promote marriage stability. Counseling and conciliation shared the spotlight with divorce-law reform. The 110 participants, in addition to invited specialists from all corners of the United States, numbered 37 professors of law, jurists, and social scientists from 18 other countries, including Israel, Egypt, Japan, and the Soviet Union.

This paper focuses upon established practices at courts of domestic relations and matrimonial action in the United States. Descriptions of counseling and conciliation in other countries may be found in the following papers of the Chicago Institute (Rheinstein, 1957):

"Marriage Stability and Laws on Divorce," Max Rheinstein, University of Chicago, U.S.A.

"A Survey of Marriage and Educational Counseling in the Federal Republic of Germany," Hans Ficker, Professor of Law at the University of Mayence, West Germany.

"Social Policies and Marriage Stability,"

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George Karlsson, Professor of Social Research, University of Uppsala, Sweden.

"Marriage Counseling and Conciliation Proceedings in Finland," Ilmari Melander, Professor of Law, University of Helsinki, Finland.

Discord and Estrangement

It has often been observed that the processes of discord, estrangement, and termination are destructive to the partners who as lovers once belonged to each other and to their children, the fruit of their love. With rare exceptions, young people in Western culture marry for love. Between newlyweds there is warmth, mutual gratification, and a high tolerance for foibles. Discord is unanticipated, and unwelcome. It starts hardly noticed. Are not disagreements a normal part of married living? It undermines slowly. Earning a living and starting a family involve heavy stresses. Misunderstandings aggravate. One or the other protests or makes demands. Retorts carry sarcasm or resentment. The threshold of tolerance begins to sink. Sharp issues arise over previously unnoticed trifles. One or both begin to feel unjustly accused, unfairly judged. Periods of pouting and heavy silence lengthen. Then "unexpectedly" comes a sharp verbal thrust, or a slap or jab. Now one or both begin to seek solace elsewhere. Relatives and friends learn of their trouble, and offer sympathy, not always disinterested. At the same time guilt feelings arise to complicate behavior. Communication thins out, and then is shut off—to save nasty scenes. Hostilities begin to harden. Who were once lovers have become enemies. "Suddenly" a particularly unpleasant encounter triggers one or both into litigation.

During this journey from love to litigation many experiences supply pressure and direction. Such outer stresses as irregular and insufficient income, periods of separation required by state or employer, or chronic illness, and such inner disturbances as irrational fears, compulsions to hurt, or a crippling sense of inadequacy, separately or in combination, may prove too much for whatever tolerances, loyalties, and integrating forces the marriage partners possess. So it transpires that disillusionment, repulsion, bitterness, and even vindictiveness take over and tear apart the affection that once united them.

With some who travel this road, inhibition, inadequate performance, or discomfort in sexual play and coitus, relative to expectations, are among the causal factors. For others, these reactions are symptoms of an estrangement that is creeping upon them primarily for other reasons. To almost everyone, counselors report, sexual intimacy becomes distasteful as discord mounts.

That desertion or divorce is less destructive than continuing cohabitation in unabated discord, that sooner or later most divorcing spouses emerge from their tensing bitterness or their depressions, that some become wiser, that a few (very few, recent research seems to indicate) later contract happy and lasting marriages—these considerations and eventualities cannot obscure the facts: marital discord and estrangement always retard and often reverse the processes of personality fulfillment in partners, and always impose hazards upon the child's healthy development, as the Gluecks (1950) in particular have shown. Although some emerge less harmed than others, characteristically the children of these partners do poor work in school, bite their nails, revert to nocturnal enuresis, and get into neighborhood trouble. In their teens, ill-disciplined, defiant, and feeling unloved, they damage property, steal, misbehave sexually. It is the ever-mounting discord that brings on these destructive consequences, not the act of desertion or filing for legal termination or the divorce decree.

That is, divorce may be the lesser evil for children in homes of discord. Welfare workers at courts and clinics often note that the legal settlement of their parents' difficulties, and definitive custody orders, bring a sense of relief. A recent annual report of the Essex County, New Jersey, Child Guidance Clinic stated that of their disturbed child clients, ten times as many were living with two quarrelsome parents as were living with one divorced parent.

Along with high discord rates and high divorce rates are found other symptoms. Although precise causal relationships cannot be proved with present knowledge, court records indicate that families with histories of discord, desertion, and divorce produce more than their

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proportional number of children with school behavior problems, delinquencies, and out-of-wedlock pregnancies. And in marriages that end in divorce, as Christensen's (1953) studies have indicated, the following are found in proportionately larger numbers than in the totality of marriages: a history of divorce in the family, a history of delinquency, youthful marriage, runaway marriage, premarital pregnancy, marriage by a civil official. Observation adds another factor, perhaps crucial: inadequate performance of their guidance and training functions by insecure parents who were themselves ill-prepared for marriage and parenthood.

Marital discord, estrangement, and termination (by desertion, or by court decree of separate maintenance, annulment, or divorce) may be understood also as symptoms of the struggle to adjust to change in the structure of society and to the processes of value disintegration and reintegration.

Between 1890 and 1950, the proportion of United States families subsisting from farming decreased from 64 to 17 per cent. In the 1950's one family in four was changing its residence each year. The fluctuating labor market, the pressure to become organization men, commercialized amusements that exploit sex, administered wages and prices, and costly and inadequate housing constitute a baffling milieu in which to fashion stable marriages. In the agricultural economy of a century ago, with its prescribed and unchanging roles, intolerably unhappy marriages were dissolved by premature death and by disappearance. Nowadays, with frontiers and great open spaces less and less available to unhappy husbands, with medicine prolonging life, and with the ways of the city on the ascendency, legal termination has become for many a preferred solution.

Increases in marital discord and termination rates are also related to changes in prevailing ideas and values. "Cool" discussions in popular media concerning human sex behavior and questioning traditional values are avidly read by youth whose feelings are anything but cold and scientifically controlled. In most nations today prostitution is no longer government-licensed, and women on all social levels are claiming the same rights to freedom of behavior as men. Except among the highly sophisticated and disciplined, the theory of "male necessity" continues to sanction a more or less irresponsible expression of "biological drives." Under these circumstances it is not surprising that values governing sex behavior and marriage are fluid and casual throughout a considerable segment of the younger population the world over.

From this fluidity and casualness, certain groups (and in some occupations, as in the amusement field, these add up to a majority) have derived a set of values: 1) confession of love feelings each for the other sanctions sexual union—on the occasion of the confession and as a matter of course for as long as it is practical and desired by both; 2) a marriage certificate is a social convenience; 3) when a partner falls out of love, or into more intense love with another, whatever legal contract that exists must be dissolved. On these values has been erected a marriage system that consists of a series of affairs, marriages, divorces, remarriages—a system of seriated monogamy. Its operation is often complicated by unplanned and unwanted pregnancies, the daily chores of married living, the responsibilities of child care and nurture, and by the unfulfilled love and security needs of the partners themselves. Transitions from marriage to divorce to remarriage, and then again to divorce and remarriage, are seldom free from destructive emotionality.

Thus the patterns of interpersonal relationship to which individuals are predisposed and nurtured, the stresses of socioeconomic structures and processes, and the prevailing climate of ideas and values operate interrelatedly to keep the rates of marital discord and divorce at relatively high levels. It is in response to this total situation that conciliation services have developed.

The Law, The Courts, and Conciliation

Long before an attorney is asked to file a petition at court, deteriorating relationships have overheated and slowed down the routines of daily family living, and have jammed normal communication. Nor does bringing their dispute to the law do away with the underlying

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problems: understanding and satisfying each other's needs, disciplining responses with good will, and tolerating each other's weaknesses. On the contrary, invocation of the law tends to exacerbate discord and ill-will. This is due partly to the requirements of the law and partly to the codes and customs of lawyers (Pilpel and Zavin, 1952; Ploscowe, 1955).

For example, except in the 20 states where a partner is eligible for divorce on a showing of noncohabitation lasting continuously for two to ten years, state laws in the United States require the plaintiff to prove wrongdoing and maintain his own innocence. In fact, however, human nature being what it is, both partners have committed offenses and both have been wronged; both have been on the defensive over their own wrongdoing and both have harbored bitter or punitive feelings. Yet in law one is alleged to be guilty by the other who claims innocence. This procedural insistence on guilt and innocence brews resentments.

Again, a good attorney attempts to win and hold positions of legal strength for his client. This means in practice that along with charges of wrongdoing and demands for relatively large shares of family property, or high support payments, there is a readiness to bargain. Such an attitude and such maneuvers fan ill will, in the children as well as the partners.

As a third example, the law, legal practice, and court procedure operate to penalize forgiveness and forestall reconciliation. After charges have been made, even to show interest in the spouse who has been publicly charged with wrongdoing can mean condoning the offense and so voiding the charge. For this reason some attorneys keep partners apart during litigation, thus making more difficult the very reconciliation which one or both may wish to explore. Happily, many couples disregard the advice of legal counsel on this point and some otherwise conscientious attorneys disregard this point of law.

These experiences with the law—making or being served with charges of cruelty, neglect, or worse, filing answers and denials, appearing with counsel (even though defendant's counsel is present only to protect parental rights and material interests), maneuvering for legal position, bringing witnesses into open court to try to prove or disprove charges, and finally reading the decree that asserts innocence in one and wrongdoing in the other—these experiences tend to have destructive effects on clients. The guilt-and-punishment philosophy and the adversary postures and procedures of divorce law provide the self-righteous and arrogant with "field days." They offer the embittered sanctions for revenge. And upon those whose roads to divorce are long and sad, who come to court burdened with a sense of failure, they open old wounds and inflict new pain. In short, they tend to perpetuate and deepen animosities, multiply misunderstandings, and so to propel participants toward the point of no return (Alexander, 1953).

Under the guilt-and-punishment philosophy that continues to hold sway in most divorce courts, and under the adversary system, these destructive effects occur in both contested and uncontested cases, especially in the former. Three to four out of every five termination actions begin with one partner pressing for the legal end against the preference or better judgment of the other. This pressure continues until the antidivorce partner is convinced—if need be, up to the eve of the final hearing. Nor does this reluctant acceptance of divorce automatically resolve all differences regarding custody, visitation, child support, alimony, and disposition of property. Even with the one to two out of five who are at the onset mutually agreed upon divorce, resort to the law tends to reactivate conflicts. The law's adversary posture corrodes relationships between the parties in all types of cases.

Less destructive individually, but also negative or noncontributive to the reconciliation of the partners and the stability of their home, are the procedures that grant divorce simply on the showing of noncohabitation for a given period of years (in 20 states of the United States, in Scandinavian countries, in West Germany, and in France, Yugoslavia, and others). Unless geared into conciliation programs, such procedures by themselves do nothing to counteract the progress of discord through estrangement and separation into legal termination.

These destructive effects of the law and of court procedures on matrimonial litigants and their children, and the failure of the law and

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the courts positively to foster reconciliation and family stability, have become matters of concern the world over during the past quarter century. In the United States several religious bodies have passed resolutions calling for changes and offering cooperation. Welfare workers repeatedly direct attention to the marriage counseling that is offered at their family-service agencies, but they have been slow to invest their skills at divorce courts. This reluctance would seem to be due to the beliefs that courts are authoritarian (whereas caseworkers depend upon the voluntary cooperation of clients) and that they may be politically influenced (Fisher, 1956; Sheridan and Brewer, 1957).

Lawyers and jurists have been the most articulate on this subject. The chairman of the Legal Section, National Conference on Family Life, May, 1948, a Boston, Mass., attorney and civic leader, concluded his report with, "the cost of our present divorce system in terms of human tragedy has become too high to be tolerated any longer" (Alexander, 1948). In 1954, addressing an assembly of social scientists, the chairman of the Interprofessional Commission on Marriage and Divorce Laws, a Toledo, Ohio, judge summarized, "thoughtful members of the legal profession in virtually every part of this country have been increasingly appalled at the unspeakable ineptitude and downright disastrousness of our old-fashioned legalistic ways of handling family troubles" (Alexander, 1956).

The grounds for this indictment are now rarely challenged. Proposed remedies, however, vary widely in form, purpose, and effectiveness. They range from nationalizing and rewriting the divorce laws (a political impossibility in the United States of America) to making applicants "cool off" for sixty days before permitting them to file petitions, from training attorneys to be marriage counselors to packing squabbling litigants over to their pastors' studies or into the judge's chambers for advice and persuasion. Similarly wide is the range of stated purpose: from "effecting reconciliation and saving marriages" through "helping clients correct their faults and try again" to "providing professional counseling relationships within which each partner can gain understanding of his part in the erosion of their marriage, and can develop will and skills for happier performance of marital roles and more effective coping with marital problems." Only the more practical and plausible of these proposals are examined here.

Proposal 1: Divorce Lawyers Should Be Marriage Counselors

That in matrimonial actions lawyers should serve clients both as legal counsel and as marriage counselors is a proposition that in the U.S. has several eloquent advocates and a few serious practitioners. It is readily understood as an adaptation to new knowledge and to contemporary marriage problems of the age-old obligation of lawyers to serve as personal counsel to clients. In its more naive form this proposition holds that attorneys should be persuasive advocates of reconciliation, and at the other extreme that they should train for and engage in therapeutic marriage counseling as a part of their professional practice (Mariano, 1954).

This proposal misconceives the relationship of the professional marriage counselor with his client. Sound knowledge from advancing behavioral science and psychotherapeutic practice is of course broadening the perspective and tempering the practice in all professions, including the law. And a few enthralled lawyers have put aside legal practice to become marriage counselors. Skill in applying knowledge of human nature to legal tasks, however, is quite different from engaging in professional marriage counseling. By tradition and by codes of professional practice, the counselor-at-law is a giver of advice, a protector of rights, an advocate. The marriage counselor on the other hand is accepting, nonjudging, impartial, supportive —a coach in the game of marital living, a guide to deeper self-understanding and better disciplined conduct. When, with his client, legal counsel charges wrongdoing and fights to se cure divorce and the custody of a child or lower support payments, or when he defends his client's legal rights and interests against queries from the bench and attacks by his opponent, he inescapably immobilizes in that client the processes of self-insight, self-accept-

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ance, and self-correction. Efforts by the client to pursue deeper self-understanding and greater skill in the arts of married living at the same time that he is fighting for his interests and rights can result only in rationalization, or self-deception. Neither in purpose nor in method are legal advocacy and marriage counseling congruent. In the long run, therefore, this proposal will not win acceptance with knowledgeable lawyers.

Proposal 2: Create Reconciliation Judges or Masters

This proposal would modify judicial functions and processes to include reconciliation, and it has been widely publicized. Supplementing their service on the bench with interviews in their chambers, certain conscientious judges persuasively urge reconciliation. In a few jurisdictions, statutes or court rules have established conciliation courts or reconciliation masters: The request from one litigant that *their* case be referred automatically suspends other legal proceedings for a given period, generally 60 days. During this period hearings are held before the reconciliation judge or master. The Los Angeles Conciliation Court uses signed 60-day reconciliation agreements, tailored to the tension areas of their clients, and the judge has the power, which he uses only occasionally, of jailing those who break these agreements. Whether persuaded to try again or not, litigants with problem personalities may be urged to become clients of family-casework or mental-hygiene agencies. At the close of the given period, if reconciliation has not taken place, divorce proceedings are resumed (Burke, 1958).

Such programs give support and aid to partners who are reconciliation-minded. Yet they are hardly adequate to the total situation. In the first place, they reach only a small proportion of all the matrimonial litigants in their jurisdictions. For instance, reporting for 1956, a year when 31,871 marriage termination petitions were filed in its county courts, the Conciliation Court of Los Angeles stated that 1,580 applications were received and serviced, and that of this group about 45 per cent, that is 2½ per cent of all petitions filed, were reconciled. As will be seen later, this is a very low proportion. Reports from the first two years of the New Jersey State program, which uses reconciliation masters, are even lower. In the second place, these formal reconciliation proceedings do not make counseling available while divorce is pending—a crisis period when most litigants and their children suffer shock, so need personal help, and are teachable. Third, they do not serve divorce-minded prelitgants referred by attorneys. Finally, such proceedings tend to become mere formalities, or to facilitate duplicity. This appears where applicants for divorce, as in Switzerland and Finland, must first have navigated the conciliation proceedings of a lower court. In Japan also, divorcing partners must first secure clearance from a conciliation court. In the United States conciliation is more "voluntary" for the partner who invokes it than for the one who wants divorce. Formal conciliation proceedings, if "successful," end with expression of good intentions and signed promises. Lasting reconciliation on the other hand requires loyal attitudes and considerate behavior, which are learned through disciplined effort and long practice. Formal proceedings therefore can be only feeble aids to lasting reconciliation.

In this connection it should be noted that a few courts have offices called "divorce counsel" or "friend of the court," whose responsibilities are to investigate and report on the home situations of litigants, to protest perjured testimony, to protect the interest of children (especially to see that reluctant fathers keep support payments up to date), and to encourage reconciliation. It has been noted that these offices concentrate variously on the particular duties that their personnel are equipped to perform. Their over-all function is to facilitate the execution of the court's decrees.

Proposal 3: Enlist the Pastors and Family Caseworkers of the Community

Believing that marriage counseling is a specialized professional service for which they are not equipped, a few attorneys and judges enlist the cooperation of churches and social agencies.

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Having learned that introduction cards in clients' hands often fade away, they forward names of divorce clients. Pastors and caseworkers then reach out and invite these persons to use their services.

No figures seem to be available on court-referred conciliation counseling by pastors. It has been observed by certain judges and court counselors that most pastors who try this type of service soon abandon it. Apparently, except for two or three nationally known church clinics in large cities, the pressure of parish work and the complexity of the problems encountered crowd it out of daily schedules.

More numerous are programs of referral to family casework. The best known of these, at San Bernardino, California, reports that during its first year, 1957, 78 or 1 in 8, of the 624 to whom they wrote (presumably letters were sent to all that year's divorce litigants with children) responded to their offer of counseling. Of these 78, 12 couples (that is, about 4 per cent of the 624 individuals, 15 per cent of the 78 respondents) were reconciled. A few others used the agency's counseling services while their divorces were pending, and afterwards. By contrast, in the Family Courts of Ohio during the five years ending 1958, divorce petitions that were dismissed and that lapsed totaled 35-45 per cent of the petitions filed. What proportion of this total was reconciled through the offices of the investigator-counselors on the staffs of these courts cannot be known exactly, but Toledo Family Court figures suggest at least half. Although the proportions reconciled through privately supported agencies may rise as court cooperation becomes better understood in their communities, it appears that such programs are not as economical or efficient as those in which counselors have routine daily contacts with bench and bar, and are in positions to talk with litigants at moments when they feel they need help.

In an over-all program of community effort for more stable marriages, family casework and marriage counseling in family-service agencies is important especially in the early stages of discord. After litigation begins, however, counseling at courts reaches more litigants at teachable moments, and is associated with proportionately larger numbers of reconciliations.

Each of these three types of marriage conciliation program has its advocates. To the more thoughtful and realistic members of the legal profession, however, none is acceptable except as a temporary expedient. For they provide only *ad hoc* and limited remedies. In objectives, qualifications of personnel, and relationships with clients, all fall short. The reason is clear. They fail to come to grips with the interrelated core problems: the continuance during litigation of pre-existing discord and estrangement, the destructive effects of adversary procedure upon already frayed family relationships, and so the need for therapeutic counseling (in addition to legal advice and guidance) during the period of personal crisis and litigation.

Proposal 4: Operate a Program of Counseling at the Court

The better to cope with these core problems, having noted the emergence of marriage counseling as a specialty in the welfare field, certain attorneys and jurists are introducing it as an adjunct to legal service and judicial procedure at divorce courts. These realistic yet conservative experimenters start with the judgment that in our increasingly complex society the traditional lawyer-client relationship has become more and more inadequate, unaided by other resources, to handle clients threatened with marital breakdown. They hold with behavioral science and clinical practice that a marital problem is a problem of interpersonal relationship regardless of whether or when it becomes a legal problem. They protest when lawyers treat a marital conflict solely as a legal problem and assume that the solution of the legal problem will resolve the personal problem to the benefit of all concerned. This they dub dallying with fictions. They see the values of marriage counseling. They distinguish between practicing marriage counseling and practicing law. Hence they invite into their courts counselors who are certified or otherwise have status in the welfare professions. Hence they insist that counseling services be operated under welfare principles and standards *pari passu* judicial procedures, and also that they do not interfere with or compromise the law.

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Four Purposes of Divorce-Court Counseling

As court programs of marriage counseling have been put into operation, appraised, revised, and consolidated, four interrelated guiding purposes have been clarified and established:

1. To secure and develop for bench and attorneys (a) reliable "background information" regarding the history and state of interpersonal relationships in the families of clients, (b) considered professional judgments regarding the condition and prospects of the children, and (c) recommendations for their future welfare (such needed information and opinion being unavailable to the bench through advocacy of attorneys in court);

2. Through short-term counseling relationships, upon request from clients in marriage-termination crises, to provide a limited amount of guidance and support, and in some cases re-educative psychotherapy (reconstructive psychotherapy is not the responsibility of court counselors—Wolberg, 1954);

3. To soften and counteract the destructive impact of adversary procedure, but not to supplant or modify legal processes;

4. To effect referral of clients who are ready for more counseling or psychotherapy to community family-service agencies or mental-hygiene clinics, or to pastors or psychiatrists.

In some communities where such divorce-court counseling programs have been attempted, they have failed to secure the backing of welfare workers, the support of the bar, or the cooperation of the majority of the bench. In these centers, professional traditions and loyalties or jurisdictional considerations seem to outweigh grasp of the need. Relatively few as yet, therefore, are the courts of matrimonial action in which personnel, philosophy, administrative structure, professional understanding of the need, and community support have combined to provide conditions favorable for the unhampered operation of such adjunct programs of marriage counseling.

One court that does is the Toledo, Ohio, Family Court. Its judge, Paul W. Alexander, is a student of family life and welfare administration, as well as of marriage and divorce law. He is a specialist judge, that is, he sits only on cases involving family relationships, including divorce, juvenile delinquency, and crimes against children. His administrative assistants and the attorneys who practice at the bar of his court are informed and infused with his philosophy: that in every way possible the judicial process shall help clients—or at least not hinder them—in coping with the human relationship problems that existed before, and underlie, legal issues.

In this court judicial process and counseling services move forward concurrently, case by case. At any time at the request of a client and his attorney, or at the judge's request with the consent of the attorneys, judicial proceedings may be interrupted and continued to a later session in order that a client may consider his problems with a counselor. Counseling contacts distinguish legal charges from the behavior and feelings of the partners and their children. The counselor is impartial, identifying with both disputants and siding with neither. To judge and attorneys he brings factual summaries and professional judgments regarding the relationships and welfare of the clients and their children—never evidence on the charges. In this cooperation of the marriage counselor with the counselor-at-law and the judge, each defers to the specializations and respects the professional responsibilities of the other (Bridgman, 1959; Virtue, 1956).

Who Are the Clients?

Marriage partners become clients of the Family Service Department of the Toledo Family Court by three well-marked routes.

Under Ohio's 1951 Mandatory Divorce Investigation Law, all divorcing parents of children under 14 years of age must be "investigated." This group accounts for 85 per cent of the department's intake. Although the obligation of these 2,200 clients a year (1,100 marriages) is discharged in one or two investigation interviews, one in three returns voluntarily for additional consultations. If more counseling time and competence were available it is probable that this ratio would rise, for a sympathetically conducted investigation interview becomes for many clients an acceptable invita-

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tion to a longer and deeper counseling relationship.

The second group of clients, 9 per cent of the intake, is made up of parents of older children, or with no children, and of partners against whom criminal charges have been made. Referred by attorneys or judge, they reach counselors in a variety of moods. A grim and stubborn plaintiff or a rebellious defendant, outwardly complying but inwardly resisting, may have only one brief interview. Insisting that the judge had "sentenced him to counseling," one fear-ridden defendant whooped with glee as he finally understood and scuttled from the counselor's office. Some initially resistant referrals are curious or anxious enough to become willing clients. Others are so apathetic or ambivalent that only slowly will they get to work on their real problems. Those who come eager for help profit most.

The third group, prelitigants considering divorce, number 6 per cent of the intake. They are sent by attorneys, occasionally by pastors and doctors. After one exploratory interview, about 30 per cent are referred to other community services or practitioners. Another 20 per cent are referred after two to four interviews. Of the remaining 50 per cent, that is, those who engage in short-term marriage counseling with a court marriage counselor, two out of three move into reconciliation, and one out of three goes on to divorce.

(Incidentally, telephone inquirers with marriage troubles—these average about 500 per year—are given the names and telephone numbers of community family-service agencies, or are advised to turn to attorneys, pastors, or physicians in whom they have confidence.)

Considering all three groups of clients together, five is the average number of interviews per client and nine the average number of contacts per case (including counselor consultations with attorneys). When litigation drags on for 18 or more months, and the partners are anxious or compulsive or hostile, there may be up to 20 guidance and supportive interviews. At the other extreme, a few clients are able to secure all that they can use in two or three interviews, occasionally even in one. Not infrequently ex-clients will volunteer that their one or two interviews, several months or a year before, turned the tide of their marriage. In retrospect it can be seen that such clients were encountered during highly teachable moments in their lives.

Getting Prior Histories

As each new case is registered, records of all previous court contacts with the partners and immediate members of their families are made available to counselors. These include both public records in the Clerk of Court's office and "protected" juvenile and family records. Family folders with records of one or more previous court contacts are found for well over two out of five divorce petitioners, and juvenile court counselors in these cases are consulted routinely. Through social-service exchange clearances, it is learned that just under two out of five have previously been clients of one or another community welfare agency, and that about one out of six has received family-casework service. With the knowledge and permission of clients, counselors consult these agencies. And, when mutually agreeable, the court counselor helps the client to resume contacts.

Available also, for clarification of intrafamily dynamics and for guidance in conducting supportive and re-educative interviews, are consultations with the court's part-time psychiatrist. And in those few cases in which fuller diagnoses are needed, when clients and counselor make requests jointly, one of the five court psychologists may administer tests, or the partners will have diagnostic interviews with the psychiatrist. In these many ways the other services of the Family Court contribute to the effectiveness of the marriage counselors.

Investigation Interviews

Within this framework of family-court philosophy, administrative resources, and colleague contacts, the marriage counselors in the Family Service Department at the Toledo Family Court pursue the program's four basic purposes in the following manner.

Their first responsibility is to supply judge and attorneys with up-to-date and usable information and appraisals. Their reports describe the hostilities, fears, and hopes of the partners

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whose past behavior, that is, symptomatic difficulties stated in legal terms, is being dealt with legally by the judge and attorneys. They suggest motives and with some they offer predictions of future behavior. Such background material adds human dimensions to cases. It can be especially useful in custody contests (fortunately a small percentage of all cases) when, in a welter of legal evidence, charges and denials, claims and counterclaims, a judge must decide which of the two enemies standing before him is likely to be the better parent in the future to their children. It can be useful also in reaching decisions on visitation and companionship rights.

Counselors as a rule develop reports with their clients. Discussion of the family record (only with the deeply disturbed is this not done) and the feelings and behavior of the children provides new perspectives and induces second thoughts. When a client realizes that the counselor is not making judgments, that information which would compromise either partner is being omitted from the report, and indeed that to a degree he is participating in the decisions as to what shall be reported, he begins to relax and to feel confidence in the counselor and the court.

Investigating and reporting responsibilities are also the basis of useful two-way communication between counselors and lawyers. In brief consultations, the counselor keeps up to date with what is transpiring legally, and the lawyer with the progress of the counseling relationship. These exchanges are particularly pertinent when litigants have character disorders or disturbing neuroses or psychoses (about 20 per cent do), and so could all too readily do further harm to themselves and their children.

Typical Case

Counselor contacts with a disintegrating wartime partnership, both before and after filing, illustrate how counselor, attorney, and judge cooperate at the Toledo Family Court. On three weeks' acquaintance, a local 16-year-old playgirl, well endowed with bounce and charm, married a visiting serviceman of 21. Upon his discharge a few months later they moved to his home town, where he secured steady work and spent considerable time with his aging parents. As he became progressively drab and dutiful, she grew increasingly restless. Three years, two babies, "two affairs," and one dismissed divorce petition later, their incompatibility had reached a point where by agreement she crossed the country with the two children for a three months' vacation with her parents. Returning bouncier and more charming than ever, she said that now she hoped to make her marriage a success. Her husband was delighted, but within a month it became evident that she was two to three months' pregnant. Feeling betrayed, he rushed to an attorney, who referred both to the court marriage counselor. Through three interviews apiece and two joint sessions this couple struggled to face the facts and to understand each other's feelings—and defenses. Painfully they hammered out an agreement (by this time she was talking realistically with the counselor about her intimacies with the father of her unborn child): that she would hurry back across country to her home town, taking with her the younger child, a girl of 10 months; that he would go with the 2-year-old boy to live with his parents; that for the expenses of the new baby she would use the family medical and hospital insurance; that he would pay $10 a week support; and that he would file divorce on grounds of neglect which she would not contest. One week later this solution was "tested" in separate interviews with each. The husband then returned to the attorney, who prepared a separation agreement and filed his divorce. After a final interview with the counselor the wife returned across country to her parents—and lover. A few weeks later attorney and counselor together briefed the judge. The counselor's report told the story. The attorney prepared the case. In due course an uncontested divorce was granted.

Short-Term Counseling

In addition to providing information for judge and attorneys, investigation interviews are a learning experience for a considerable majority of matrimonial clients. And for a few, they flower into supportive or re-educative counseling relationships. Feeling accepted by his counselor, many a client begins to handle his confusions and frustrations and misbehavior

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with fewer defenses, with less guilt. As his posture changes—from "litigant being investigated" to "troubled partner seeking help"—the counselor restructures his responses toward building a good working relationship. Referral at this point to a casework or mental-hygiene agency outside the court, Toledo counselors have learned, postpones the client's "taking hold." Many referrals are made to community agencies, but never at this point in counselor-client relationships. Short-term re-educative and supportive counseling, with that counselor and in that place where he is accepted and feels at home, and at the time when he begins to grow in self-insight and to want to handle himself better, can be a crucially useful service to a court client, as well as a prelude to acceptance of long-term help.

Typical Case

An example of short-term re-educative counseling that ended in referral is the story of counselor relationships with the efficient yet frustrated wife of an ego-centered, overdependent, and rebellious man, ten years her senior. At the first interview she said, "I don't really want a divorce—that's why I dismissed my former petition—but I can't live with him either." At the end of her second interview she said sadly, "I never believed my husband when he accused me of overriding him; now I guess I am a part of his trouble." In her third interview, she caught glimpses of the inner fears that impelled her to take control of situations. The fifth contact included her husband—at his initiative. During this hour they began to learn how to perceive and accept each other's fears and compulsions.

This exploration of each other's real personalities continued at home—not without frustrations and explosions. Two months later this wife dropped her divorce petition. Their final interview dealt briefly with some of the snags they had encountered in trying to communicate their real feelings, went on to consider their toughest problem (a workable system of financial management on a low income), and ended with their referral to the local mental-hygiene clinic, primarily for the sake of their disturbed 10-year-old son.

Neutralizing the Adversary Process

The third responsibility of the marriage counselors at the Toledo Family Court, helping clients to understand, accept, and remain unharmed by the adversary process, is discharged through investigation and counseling interviews and also through additional specific contacts. For example, if a bitter wife demands more support than her estranged husband living in a rented room is willing to provide, the counselor may bring them together in conference to face the facts and agree upon a figure acceptable to both. This is then communicated to the attorneys for such legal action as they may care to take. When large sums of money are involved, this procedure is followed less frequently. Again, when as a matter of routine the wife's attorney attaches the husband's wages until the court can fix support payments, the gap between the partners tends to widen. To minimize this, and to help keep meager income available, the counselor informs the husband of the legal situation and advises contact with the attorneys and speedy agreement upon support-payment figures.

Using Community Resources

The counselor's fourth responsibility, introducing clients to appropriate long-term help, is also interwoven with the other three. In the nature of the court counselor's work, his contacts are limited to crisis periods in the lives of his clients, and to a relatively small number of interviews. Many dismissing clients can make their marriages permanently successful only with additional help. An even greater proportion of the divorcing clients need additional help to live comfortably with themselves or to contract happy second marriages.

Available in the community are four kinds of help: library guidance to reading on marriage and family problems; pastoral counseling; family casework; and psychotherapy.

The first is suggested to clients who have used their counseling relationships for fuller understanding of themselves and who have no unusual emotional disturbances or defenses.

Those to whom religion has meaning are re-

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ferred to pastors. As one nagging and self-righteous wife of an alcoholic husband dismissed her divorce, their pastor helped both to establish themselves in appropriate A.A. groups and then to build self-respect by performing needed services in the parish. Another pastor developed a constructive relationship with an ex-client of the court after a sex crime charge and a suit for divorce had both been dismissed. In personal contacts, by eliciting public appreciation for his skilled carpentry service to the church, and by encouraging him to pitch the church's team to first place in the interchurch softball league, this pastor was a strong rehabilitating influence.

More frequent are referrals to family-casework and mental-hygiene treatment. Partners under stress who need more help than the court marriage counselors can give may be referred during the course of litigation. Others are referred at the close of their short-term counseling relationships.

Typical Case

An example of a case referred during litigation: The plaintiff was the mother of nine children, aged 6 to 16, was living in a heavily mortgaged home, and was employed as a cashier in a supermarket. The father was living with another woman; he was an intermittent visitor to the home, and when he did appear, was generally drunk and frightening.

At the time of the first contact, he was skillfully using threats and legal technicalities to oust his wife and secure both the house and custody of the children. Financially pressed and ignorant of the law, the mother and children had decided tearfully that going along would be the lesser evil. Investigation interviews with both, and then with the attorneys, precipitated the recommendation that this mother be awarded custody during the course of her divorce action, with the understanding that she become a client of the family-service agency.

Seeing the caseworker regularly, she improved both financial management and care of the children. With agency help the children enjoyed day camp and other opportunities during school vacations. Caseworker and court counselor kept each other informed. The counselor's report at the final hearing included provisions suggested by the agency.

Summary

This article outlines the problem of devising and fitting conciliation services to the discord and estrangement that is rampant in contemporary industrial and urbanized society. Incipient discord is dealt with by pastors, physicians, and welfare workers according to interest and competence. Continuing deterioration leads to the courts.

Briefly described and appraised are three more or less widely advocated proposals for marriage conciliation by modifying legal and judicial procedures. In detail is described the structure and operation of a fourth type of program in which the law and the welfare professions work together at the court, *pari passu,* case by case. This program of court counseling for reconciliation deals with the predicaments and needs of clients in matrimonial crises. It operates under tested welfare principles, using only professional marriage counselors. Basic is the Ohio mandate that in marriage termination cases parents of children under 14 must be investigated and that reports must be made to judge and attorneys. Upon this statutory requirement has been created the Toledo Family Court program of conciliation counseling and agency cooperation. This program flourishes because it is founded upon a powerful idea: Marital discord and estrangement being what behavioral science and clinical practice now know them to be, the law by itself is not adequate to meet the needs of matrimonial litigants, but the professions of law and welfare working together at the courts can with documented effectiveness midwife reconciliations and teach parties how to perform marital roles more satisfactorily, thus fostering more stable family life.

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RALPH P. BRIDGMAN

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Marriage Counseling

"THERE is something in marriage so natural and inviting, that the step has an air of great simplicity and ease" (Robert Louis Stevenson). Throughout the ages, men and women have tended to move into marriage in this way, expecting that it would offer the love, affection, understanding, support, and companionship each desired. We all want and need love and affection. It makes life richer and more abundant and gives satisfaction not attainable in any other way. It is in marriage, sanctioned by and embedded in our culture, that a man and woman together can build a life within the community that offers opportunity for developing and experiencing a continuity of love, affection, and sexual expression without censure from society and without undue personal guilt and anxiety. Marriage is one of the human relationships in which mutual growth and enjoyment can be achieved; in which healthy friction does occur, can be resolved, and can add to the depth of the relationship and the understanding and respect of each for the other.

Marriage—An American Way of Life

Marriage is today, as it has always been, part of the social fabric, and its structure, strengths, weaknesses, and values arise out of the particular cultural and psychological climate in which we live. The majority of people in America look forward to marriage as one of their major life goals. Today, couples who marry in their early twenties have a possibility of forty-one years of married life together before the death of either spouse, and the last third of that time, in all probability, will find the couple living together with none of the children in the home. Approximately 150,000 couples celebrated their fiftieth wedding anniversary each year in the 1950's and close to three-quarters of a million surviving couples have been married fifty years or more. Thus, the importance of marriage, as the primary source of emotional satisfaction in adult life and as the longest and most enduring of all adult human relationships, cannot be minimized. Added to this is the fact that in 1950 there were 10.3 divorces per 1,000 married females, 15 years and over, and that within five years after divorce about 50 per cent of those divorced are remarried. Marriage counseling is concerned not only with the prevention of divorce and broken homes, when a constructive relationship can be worked out, but also with facilitating the abilities of couples to live together in a satisfying and fulfilling union.

Professional Counseling—An Expression of Our Times

Marriage counseling has probably existed in some form from time immemorial, but marriage counseling as an expression of our particular time and culture is unique in several ways: specifically, in (1) the type of help sought; (2) the resources utilized for help; (3) the training of the individual counselor; and (4) the attitudes of the individuals counseled concerning moving into marriage, living within it, and its termination.

Formerly, when difficulties arose, couples turned naturally to family, friends, and relatives for advice, or to the family doctor, the religious leader, the wise within the community. Although today, in this country, as earlier, help

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from the family physician, the religious leader, or the wise may be sought, it is the professional and scientific element in the individual discipline of the helping person, along with his personal warmth and support, that is the quality desired, rather than the informal assistance sought in previous generations. Furthermore, as Sattong (1955) points out, the older members of the family, or the older women in the community, who in many instances functioned as comparatively informal counselors, now often distrust their capacity to help the younger generation.

What is new in the twentieth century is the conscious application of our knowledge of human behavior and personality development, derived from the findings of psychoanalysis, clinical psychology, child development, and cultural anthropology, to the problems of living. Through popular literature, radio, television, screen, and stage, the average person is continually informed of the possibility and importance of obtaining "outside" or "objective professional" help with problems of personal and interpersonal adjustment, and it has become almost a cultural "imperative" that individuals or couples should seek this kind of assistance when trouble arises in a marriage or before applying for a divorce. There is only the beginning of interest evident in exploring, at the courtship and premarital stage, what might be done to promote more adequate and constructive selection of marital partners. There is apparent, however, a very considerable evidence of the application of knowledge of child development to attempt to promote emotional health in childhood and youth.

Changing Attitudes and Values Sought in Today's Marriage

Another element of difference between today's and yesterday's situation in marriage counseling lies in individual attitudes toward marriage and termination of marriage. The conscious values sought in marriage today—affectional response, companionship, equality, and opportunity for individual self-expression—are part of the fabric of modern life. Often, however, individuals move into marriage unaware of their conflicting values and assumptions about marriage. On the one hand they may be committed to believing in the traditional ideal of marriage—marriage to the partner of choice on the basis of romantic love with the expectation that marriages so made will be monogamous and endure throughout the life of the partners. Conversely, each partner may be equally committed to believing in his or her right to freedom for individual achievement and personal happiness and in the right to terminate the marriage if it fails to provide these values on the assumption that it is the choice of marital partner that is "wrong."

For modern couples, the idea that marriage is terminable has, with the exception of some religious groups, permeated the concept of marriage, and the threat of this may become a verbalized or unverbalized part of every serious quarrel. This contrasts sharply with the values and attitudes of twenty-five years ago when divorce was seldom considered, despite unhappiness, and moral and religious sanctions formed a supporting bulwark for marriage. Moral and religious sanctions have become relative rather than absolute for many couples and the use of these older sanctions no longer offers the same degree of outer control and stability to marriage; nor does economic dependence on the male any longer control the actions of large numbers of women.

As a result of these changes, many marriages depend for their stability and permanency upon the ability of the partners to harmonize their mutual wants and needs to a satisfactory degree. Thus, the emotional adjustment between the marital partners must bear a large part of the burden of holding the marriage together. It is when this marital interaction begins to beget chronic unhappiness or to break down that the present-day couple, recognizing that the continuance of a mutually comfortable and supportive marriage depends upon a satisfactory relationship to each other, turns to some outer source for help.

Formal Development of Marriage Counseling

As a result of the widely prevalent concern with the breakup of marriages and with evi-

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dences of unhappiness and disharmony in marriage and their repercussions on the children involved, a great many professional services offering marriage counseling have developed.

These services represent many different points of view and are offered by persons with varied experiences and training—religious leaders, physicians, psychologists, social workers, educators in university counseling centers, specialized agencies, and private persons. Differences within the professional groups offering marriage counseling are related to their specific disciplines, which determine to a large degree their conceptions of human relationships, their orientation to marriage, the aims or goals of marriage counseling, and the kind of help that is made available to the marital partners. All professions engaged in marriage counseling, despite their other commitments, have in common a sincere concern with helping people with emotional distress. The methods by which they hope to achieve this purpose may differ, but this basic concern remains constant.

In the United States, formalized marriage-counseling services whose chief focus is the promotion of partner adjustment before and after marriage began when two clinics opened in 1928. Today there are facilities for marriage counseling within many of the large urban areas. Specifically, marriage counseling in the United States has developed along a number of lines: As an adjunct to the daily practice of professionally trained individuals (doctors, ministers, social workers, psychologists, etc.); as a development of already-established community services, notably the family-service type of agencies, child-study and parent-education groups, Planned Parenthood centers, social hygiene programs, and university counseling services; and as a service specifically focused on marriage counseling.

More recently, professionally trained persons in a variety of disciplines, who specialize in marriage counseling, have entered into full- or part-time private practice. At present there is a tendency to recognize marriage counseling as a distinct service differing from other inclusive types of family-counseling or case-work services. However, although differing views are held, marriage counseling, as most authors see it, is not a profession or discipline in its own right, but rather a field of specialization within the daily practice of certain other professionally trained individuals or service agencies.

Description of Marriage-Counseling Services

Nature of Problems

Individuals or partners seeking counseling fall into two main groups, the premarital and the postmarital. A fair number of agencies and individual practitioners have few or perhaps no premarital clients, but in at least one university service 90 per cent are in this group. The problems presented include many phases of personality immaturities and maladjustments. Both the premarital and postmarital groups come with a great variety of sexual difficulties. Fears, ignorance, and misinformation, varying degrees of heterosexual inadequacy, including impotence and frigidity, as well as homosexuality and many deviations are present in this area. There are, as Bossard and Mudd (1957) have shown, many conflicts resulting from breaking emotional ties with parents, parental disapproval, choice of mate, infidelity, separation or divorce, reconciliation, alcoholism, infertility, health, and interreligious or interracial marriage.

Sources of Support

Support of these services has come from the sponsoring groups. Where this group has membership in the local community fund, sums are allocated through this source. In some cases, sponsors raise funds through contributions. Medical, religious, and university sponsors allocate funds from their own budgets. In addition, many services charge a fee for individual and/or group counseling. In the fee-charging clinics a certain proportion of clients are accepted without charge on the basis of the recommendation of the referring service. Other clients are charged as little as 50 cents per interview, or up to as much as $25 or more, with the majority falling between $1 and $5. Fees seldom cover more than half of the cost of the service. A very few of the older services have obtained grants from government and private

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foundations for research and in-service training.

Sources of Referral

Friends, relatives, professional individuals, other organizations, and agencies refer clients to marriage-counseling services. Sometimes knowledge of the service occurs through attendance at courses in marriage and family relations in schools, colleges, churches, etc. Sometimes articles in journals or newspapers, or television and radio programs, may bring the client to the agency. In a few instances the client may find a listing in the phone book.

Services Offered

The functioning clinics offer one or more of the following services: (1) individual and group counseling, (2) lending libraries, (3) family-life education programs, (4) in-service training, and (5) research.

Staff Personnel

Except for physicians, the pioneers in marriage counseling in this country had little, if any, graduate academic background. This is not surprising, as marriage counseling as a professional specialization was new and no specific training was offered at that time. Requirements for trained personnel have increased as counseling has acquired professional recognition. Many of the pioneers have worked for their graduate degrees while continuing on the job, and recognized services initiated since 1950 report that all staff personnel have a minimum of a master's degree, and many hold a Ph.D. or an M.D. Almost all of the services operating now have physicians and psychiatrists in consultant or supervisory positions. To promote and maintain minimum standards in this work in the United States, the American Association of Marriage Counselors in 1956 appointed a special Committee on Standards for Training to explore existing facilities and to recommend minimum standards for training.

Areas of Special Training Necessary for Marriage Counselors

As marriage counseling has become more clearly defined through the shared experience of many marriage counselors and examination of the processes involved, it has become apparent that certain areas of knowledge and skill are necessary to perform this function adequately. Specialization in marriage counseling, as an adjunct to other disciplines, to quote from an unpublished report presented by the Committee on Standards for Training at the Annual Meeting of the American Association of Marriage Counselors held in Cleveland, May, 1958, necessitates that

> . . . the counselor have a knowledge of human growth and development, and of the dynamics of human behavior and human motivations; a capacity to differentiate between normal and abnormal behavior mechanisms; and some understanding of the everyday give-and-take problems of family living and relationships within the family group. In addition, the marriage counselor needs to be skilled in the use of basic counseling techniques, and to have developed an awareness of and disciplined control of his own biases, prejudices, attitudes, and needs as these may affect his work with clients.

Marriage Counseling Defined: Its Goals and Principles

Marriage counseling is defined by the present authors as the process by which a professionally trained counselor assists a person or persons to resolve the problems that trouble them in their interpersonal relationships, as they move into marriage, live within it, or make a decision to terminate it. The focus is on the relationship between the two persons moving into marriage, or already in a marriage, rather than, as in psychiatric therapy, on the reorganization of the personality structure of the individual. The major emphasis is on helping the marital partners to learn how to cope more adequately with the problems that face them.

As indicated earlier, there are several different schools of thought concerning methods, theories, philosophies, and techniques of marriage counseling. However, certain basic principles underlie the actual practice of competently trained professional persons and there is an essential agreement on the goals of marriage counseling—to help individuals or partners to come to some resolution of their conflicts

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and difficulties in order that they may achieve more adequacy in dealing with their problems, a greater capacity for suitable mate selection, and increased competence in interpersonal relationships.

The fundamental principles on which there seems to be some general agreement are: (1) respect, on the part of the counselor, for the human personality, including recognition of the client's right to his own choices, his own goals, his own standards of behavior, and his own solution to his problems as long as these do not violate the welfare of society; (2) realization by the counselor that, for help to be effective, the client must be working actively and responsibly with the counselor in finding a solution to his problems; (3) recognition that behavior has basic emotional components, and that lasting change can occur only if there is a change of feeling or attitude on the part of the client; (4) acceptance of responsibility by the counselor for helping the client to appraise his reality, including community attitudes and standards, and understanding the client's involvement and feelings in antisocial behavior without, however, condoning it; and (5) awareness, and control, by the counselor of his own biases, attitudes, prejudices, and needs as they may affect the counseling relationship.

Process of Counseling

There is general agreement that the relationship between the client and the counselor is the important medium through which help is given and the process of problem-solving and change takes place. It is recognized that "change" for the client lies not in what is done to him or for him, but in the degree to which he can derive something from this new experience in relationship to enable him to widen his perspectives, resolve some of his conflicted and troubled feelings, and, through this, change his way of dealing with his marital relationship. "Relationship" as used here implies, as Perlman (1957) indicates, acceptance of the individual as he is, understanding, warmth, support, and an expectation that the client has strengths and can be assisted in learning how to do something to help himself.

By the time an individual has reached adulthood, his major personality structure and patterns have become formed, and the process of growth and change has been both slowed and confined within certain limits. However, the counseling relationship, which meets some of the needs of the troubled and anxious person for acceptance, for emotional nurture and support, and at the same time stimulates him to re-examine his ways of feeling, thinking, responding, and behaving in the marital relationship, may enable the client to begin to change the behavior and attitudes that have been destructive to the marriage relationship.

The counselor may use various techniques in his work. These include psychological support (encouragement, support of strengths, reassurance, and development of new perspectives); the draining off of excessive anger or hostile feelings; clarification of conflicted feelings and help in dealing with guilt and anxiety; at times direct advice, information, and guidance; and assistance in reopening or strengthening verbal and emotional communication between the partners. Occasionally the client's way of relating to his partner that occasions difficulty is interpreted to him with the expectation that he wants to change and may be able to do so. However, as contrasted with psychiatric therapy, unless the counselor is also a psychiatrist or trained psychotherapist, there is usually no attempt to work with marital partners on the basis of preconscious or unconscious material, nor is there an attempt to help the client achieve insight into his deeper sources of motivation.

Marriage counseling has as its primary concern an understanding of the way in which each partner projects his attitudes, feelings, wants, needs, and daily behavior into the marital relationship. It is not enough for the counselor to understand each marital partner as an individual only; a psychosocial understanding of a marital problem involves an understanding of the way in which each partner functions in the interacting relationship that is the marriage. As indicated in a study by Goodwin (1957), it is within this interaction, as each partner tries to gain satisfaction of his or her needs, that a balance is created to support and complement the other partner—or to produce a destructive and conflicting relationship.

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Because this interacting relationship plays such an important role in marital adjustment, marriage counselors in many instances counsel both partners. In certain other professional approaches in which marriage problems may be a factor, as in psychiatric treatment, each partner is often seen by a separate therapist.

The Marriage Council of Philadelphia

As a specific example of how a marriage-counseling center operates, we would like to describe briefly the group in which the authors of this article have been active participants.

The Marriage Council of Philadelphia, organized in 1932, offers individual and group counseling to individuals and/or partners, prior to marriage and after marriage.

Our principles, goals, and processes of counseling are in essential agreement with those defined above. In addition, we have found, through tested experience, that certain techniques, or ways of offering our services, are more efficacious than others.

It has been our experience over the past twenty years at the Marriage Council that in the majority of cases there are definite advantages to having one counselor work concurrently with both partners. The counselor is thus enabled to gain a firsthand knowledge of the feelings, attitudes, behavior, expectations, and goals of each individual partner as he or she relates to the other and to the marriage. Working with both partners, the counselor is in a better position to understand the changes each needs to effect in his way of relating to the other and to the marriage, and can thereby work more effectively with each. He is also in a position to create mutual understanding of the partners and to ease communication between them.

The Marriage Council has also found that the framework within which an agency offers its counseling services may become an important and dynamic factor in the counseling. We refer to such factors as the joint interview, fees, the timing of appointments, the inclusion of both partners, the use of bibliotherapy, and the use of schedules or carefully selected questionnaires.

Joint Interviews

Counseling with the two partners together is an important part of our total counseling process. Although certain hazards are involved, we believe that there are definite advantages to utilizing joint interviews at certain times during the counseling process. Both individual and joint interviews are usual in the initial or "intake" period of counseling, the joint interview emphasizing any feeling of unity the partners may have at the outset and giving the counselor an opportunity to observe how they interact with each other. As counseling proceeds, more joint interviews may be indicated to clarify points on which there is disagreement, or to furnish the partners, by discussion and cooperation, some experience in problem-solving. This may be the first wedge in re-establishing constructive communication between them. A final interview with both partners tends to solidify gains and to enable them to be supportive of each other as they begin to function without the help of the counselor.

Schedules

The use of structured schedules, which are simply worded questions on sexual behavior with multiple-choice answers, may help the client to discuss his sexual behavior, as well as that of his partner, at an earlier period of counseling than would be possible otherwise. The schedules thus make it possible to explore each spouse's feelings toward this aspect of their relationship—and what each believes the other's attitude to be. Many clients lack a vocabulary with which to talk about their sexual behavior patterns, feelings, and attitudes. We have found, on the basis of ten years' experience, that the use of these schedules (which were developed initially for research purposes) helps to allay the clients' anxieties about sexual matters, places a vocabulary at their disposal, and enables them to realize that other men and women have had, with variations, similar experiences. (This schedule is copyrighted and, by permission of the United States Public Health Service under whose research grant it was developed, can be furnished at cost by the Marriage Council to professional persons for

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professional use.) Through this procedure, as Mudd and Goodwin (1958) show, clients begin to examine their feelings and emotionally laden attitudes regarding the place of sex in living, to question the reliability of their information, and thus to achieve a new way of relating to this aspect of their marriage.

Bibliotherapy

Suggested reading material may be used to supplement the content of the interview hour. It is our belief that when reading is utilized as an adjunct to counseling, the clients' feelings about and reaction to this suggested reading should be incorporated into subsequent interviews.

Premarital Counseling

Premarital counseling, although it utilizes all the processes and techniques discussed, presents in addition special opportunities and problems. It needs an especially sensitive and skilled approach on the part of the counselor to reach its full potentialities.

In the experience of marriage counselors, premarital clients fall into three general categories: (1) Those clients who desire what is called "general preparation for marriage." This group consists of the young person who simply wants to talk over feelings and attitudes about his marriage and to have the opportunity to personalize the information he has obtained elsewhere, but who, as he sees it, does not have a problem. (2) Young individuals or couples who have a specific or focused problem or problems. There may be a number of specifics, but the person is focused on his particular situation, knows what he wants, uses the service for that, and moves on. (3) The individual who may seek counseling within a few days of the marriage date, finding himself suddenly beset with anxiety and conflicted feelings to such a degree that moving into the marriage becomes difficult or impossible.

In the latter category the counselor, faced with time limits and imminent reality factors, must make decisions concerning the type of help needed and possible. He has to judge what can be accomplished in a relatively short time and what his responsibility is in stirring up anxiety and worries that he may sense but of which the client himself may not be aware. The counselor must often decide, in the case of an imminent wedding, whether it would be preferable to coast along with plans for the wedding and try to make the client feel sufficiently comfortable to come back for counseling after marriage (at which time he or she may recognize the problem areas and be ready to work on them) or whether to suggest postponement of the wedding.

When in premarital counseling (or in postmarital counseling) the question of childspacing or family planning is brought up, the counselor must be aware of the individual's religious background and of the moral and emotional conflicts that may be engendered by such a discussion. Referral should be made to the proper medical and/or religious source for further discussion of this problem.

Family-Life Education

Since the agency's inception in 1932, approximately one-quarter of staff time has been spent on family-life education with groups. In the year ending September, 1958, nearly 8,000 individuals attended lectures and discussion groups under the leadership of a trained staff provided by the Marriage Council. The initiative in forming these groups was taken by the schools, colleges, churches, and community organizations in the Philadelphia area that wished to give their membership an opportunity to discuss various aspects of marriage and family life in a series of weekly meetings. In addition to discussion groups, three colleges offer individual counseling interviews with the leader, and 15 to 20 per cent of these groups have availed themselves of this service.

According to Mudd (1950),

> the goals of family life education groups may be defined as follows: 1) to increase the general understanding of preparation for and adjustment to marriage, 2) to develop sound attitudes in relation to mariage, 3) to release uncomfortable feelings and alleviate anxiety, 4) to make help available in specific or general problems through group participation or by referral to a specific

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agency or resource, and/or suggested reading, 5) to represent "those who help"—psychiatrists, counselors and so on—in general as warm, kindly persons to whom individuals may comfortably and hopefully take their problems.

The subject matter of the lectures and discussions varies with the age, background, and particular interests of the group. Every effort is made in group discussion, as in individual counseling, to recognize and accept human variation, difference, need, and potential. Emphasis is placed on developing participation within the group rather than on answering questions, since participation is believed to be an important dynamic in encouraging change and growth. The cost of these group meetings is defrayed by the organizations which ask for leadership, and which pay the Marriage Council a fee commensurate with the time and expense to the agency of the leader's time.

Training Programs

One of the more recent developments in the field of marriage counseling is that of specialized in-service training in marriage counseling, on the postgraduate level, for persons in disciplines dealing with troubled individuals, such as medicine, social work, psychology, the ministry, and educational counseling. There is a wide variety in the selection of candidates for training, procedures used, scope of training programs, and opportunity for academic credit, but the primary emphasis throughout is on higher professional standards. The in-service training program at the Marriage Council is an example of this type of program.

It was in 1955 that Marriage Council affiliated with the University of Pennsylvania's Department of Psychiatry of the School of Medicine, becoming the division of Family Study, and the operational unit of the Division. At the present time, two groups of trainees are accepted for a nine-month supervised experience in marriage counseling. One group, primarily interested in deepening their own counseling skills and knowledge for use within their own discipline, is registered for a training program of nine months with a minimum of seventeen hours weekly in the agency. This group may be comprised of clinical psychologists, social workers, etc., all with graduate degrees in their own fields and some experience in face-to-face counseling. These "trainees" are not primarily interested in receiving academic credit for this training, but in furthering their own capacities for helping others.

A second group of professional persons consists of those interested in securing a doctoral degree and who may elect to take the in-service training course at the Division of Family Study as part of their academic doctoral program in the School of Education. They, too, are obliged to meet the standards required in terms of education and prior counseling experience. At present, the University of Pennsylvania is offering a major in Mental Health in their School of Education's doctoral program. This interdisciplinary program is worked out through the Division of Family Study. Courses in the Department of Psychiatry, in-service training at the Marriage Council, and courses in the Graduate School, the School of Social Work, and the School of Education are available for credit toward the degree.

Among other programs for in-service training at present in operation are those at Merrill-Palmer School, Detroit, Michigan, at the Marriage Counseling Service, Menninger Clinic, Topeka, Kansas, and at a few universities.

Research

The question of the results of marriage counseling (in what percentage of cases was the situation improved and what factors make for success) is the subject of research within the marriage-counseling field. Research in recent decades by sociologists and psychologists is exploring and occasionally modifying our concepts of the family and its individual members. Social work and psychiatric research have dealt primarily with clinical problems focused on the pathology of the individual, with little emphasis on these disturbed individuals as interacting members of a family group. As Mudd (1957) has emphasized, little has been done in marriage-counseling research in terms of con-

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centrating on the intricacies and specific patterns of interaction between marital partners, the dynamics of marital interaction, the effect of troubled marriages on the children or family group, and the processes or techniques that might be most helpful in these situations.

Looking toward the Future

The American Association of Marriage Counselors, in their book (1958) edited by Mudd, Stone, Karpf, and Nelson, emphasized several areas in which additional work is needed as part of a program to prevent marriage disorganization. Among these were: (1) an increased emphasis on family-life education that begins in the home and continues throughout school days; (2) development of counseling associations and medical services for all stages of family need; (3) development of more adequate training facilities for the counselor of tomorrow who would be "well grounded in the psychology and sociology of marriage and human relations, in the anatomy and physiology of sex, as well as in the skills and tools of counseling"; (4) additional research geared to "development of a theory of marital interaction and family living that would be cultural in perspective and from which a more adequate philosophy of the practice of marriage counseling might develop."

In an unpublished memorandum on Strengthening Family Life, prepared in 1956 for the Social Security Administration of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare by Drs. Emily Mudd and Reuben Hill, the authors point out the highly favorable climate of opinion in the United States at present for the support of marriage and family life, and the widespread affirmation of the values associated with both marriage and parenthood. They comment:

> If the family thus remains the basic unit of our society, any social or professional practice which helps to maintain competent marriages should in itself contribute to the strengthening of family life and indirectly of society. Long ago Confucius pointed out that good families are essential to good communities, and good communities to a good national life.

Marriage Counseling Outside the United States*

In the period between the two world wars something like marriage counseling was offered in a number of European centers, mainly in Germany. The emphasis was heavily in the direction of offering help to those with sexual problems and to giving legal advice. Because the leadership of these services was predominantly Jewish, they were suppressed when Hitler came to power.

In 1938, The Marriage Guidance Council was set up in England, concentrating at first on education for marriage, but later establishing centers for counseling in marital and premarital difficulties. In time some 80 centers united to form the National Marriage Guidance Council, and soon afterwards a similar council was formed to supervise the work of the half-dozen centers in Scotland.

This new service came to the attention of the British government, which had set up a committee to investigate the rapidly rising divorce rate, and modest grants were made available to support and extend the work of the Marriage Guidance Centers. These are staffed by both professional and lay counselors, all of whom have to undergo a searching selection process before being given a basic training and put to work under supervision. Because financial resources are inadequate to employ more than a few full-time workers, most of these British marriage counselors serve their agencies on a voluntary part-time basis. Careful selection, close supervision, and the ready cooperation of more specialized consultants enables a high standard of counseling practice to be offered without charge to the public. The number of counselors serving in this way in Britain is now close to a thousand.

The British pattern has, with minor modifications, been taken over by several of the Commonwealth countries—South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia in particular. There is a Marriage Guidance Council in Lagos, Nigeria, where a team of African counselors deals with the marital troubles (often polygamous marriages are involved) of their own people.

* This section was written by David R. Mace.

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In Continental Europe a variety of experiments have been made in setting up marriage-counseling services, and standards have varied considerably. In 1952 the International Union of Family Organizations set up in Paris a permanent Commission on Marriage Guidance, which has brought leaders together each year for the exchange of ideas and experiences. Initiative in developing marriage counseling has been taken by various agencies—medical centers (as in Finland), citizens' advice centers (as in Holland), family organizations (as in France), churches (as in Italy). As experience is gained and better communication established from country to country, standards are steadily improving.

Social workers have until recently been less ready to move into the marriage-counseling field in Continental Europe than in the United States; but they are now doing so at an accelerated pace.

The development of private practice in marriage counseling outside the United States has been negligible. Payment of fees for counseling services is not in keeping with the European tradition, although there are exceptions to this general rule.

At the time of writing, some interest in the development of marriage-counseling services is being shown at government levels in India, in Ceylon, and in Indonesia. The domestic-relations courts in Japan make use of persons who offer a simple form of marriage counseling.

Present indications suggest that in the next few years developments in this field may be rapid throughout the world. It is important that, in the effort to provide new services quickly, high standards should be maintained.

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HILDA M. GOODWIN AND
EMILY H. MUDD

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Marriage and Family Living, Education for

Development of Family Education Programs

IN ALL countries of the world, as industrialization proceeds and as more and more people live in congested urban areas, strains and tensions arise that tend to disrupt family living. These stresses reveal families that are structurally weak, and family instability and breakdown become a social problem.

Certain family difficulties commonly arise in countries that are becoming increasingly industrial and urban in character. For example, a rise in the divorce rate is common. Sexual irregularities also increase; role-shifting occurs, which disturbs the traditional relationship between the sexes; there is more strife between parents and children; juvenile delinquency rates rise. The traditional authoritarian religion loses its force; secularized influences become more powerful.

These circumstances in turn give rise to attempts to strengthen family life. Efforts are directed toward ensuring a greater measure of family stability or improving the chances for family survival. Among the various suggestions and plans, experiments with some type of education for marriage and family living are common.

Education for marriage and family living in some form is nothing new. Preparing young people for entering marriage and meeting the responsibilities of family life has always been done by society. The wisdom of the elders was passed along in informal conversations or, more formally, through puberty rites and initiations. Girls have always learned some of the skills and techniques of homemaking and child-rearing in their own families. In many countries, since the establishment of public schools, some of this instruction has been incorporated into the curriculum, particularly through departments of domestic science or, as they are now known, home economics. As this occurred, education for marriage and family living entered upon a process of formalization. Outside agencies began to supplement and eventually to supersede the family in the task of preparing the young for family life.

In the last several decades in all parts of the world concepts of family-life education have broadened markedly. Psychiatric and psychological insights have deepened; studies have revealed the close association between many personal and social ills and defects in family interaction and relationships. Bigotry, chronic alcoholism, sexual promiscuity, abnormal lust for power, juvenile delinquency, and similar maladies appear to be rooted in disrupted or unwholesome family life. The result is an increasing interest in programs of family-life education that will help individuals to prove their understanding of and capacity for forming and maintaining effective human interrelationships. Much instruction, particularly in the United States and in Western Europe, has come to center about the many interactions between individuals and within the family, and the characteristics in individuals that influence the quality of interpersonal relationships.

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This article deals with the interpersonal-relationships aspect of education for marriage and family living. The value of learning the skills and techniques of homemaking is recognized and accepted. Indeed, as science and technology advance, this phase of education becomes increasingly complicated. The extent to which family-life education programs now focus on human interaction and relationships, however, makes an examination of this approach to the subject highly important.

Family-Life Education in the United States

Education for marriage and family living has probably gone further in the United States than in any other country of the world. Here the public-school system has borne a heavy part of the burden of family-life education. Still, there are many other organizations, some with local or state programs, and others which reach out nationally, that regard the promotion and improvement of family living as one of their major functions.

Organizations

The following are some of the organizations in the United States that achieve a kind of national coverage with their particular approach to family-life education. The American Institute of Family Relations in Los Angeles concentrates most of its direct educational activities in California, but it has reached communities throughout the nation with its family-life literature, and through speakers. The Association for Family Living in Chicago, and the Child Study Association of America in New York City, even though they concentrate most of their efforts on local programs, have also made significant contributions to the national picture. The American Social Health Association in New York City has promoted regional programs of family-life education in several sections of the United States. This has been done primarily through the schools, although increasing attention is being given to community family-life education. The National Congress of Parents and Teachers in Chicago, although seeking primarily to improve relations between school and home, still supports an extensive program of family-life education through adult education for parents. The National Council on Family Relations in Minneapolis, Minnesota, is a professional organization deeply interested in education for marriage and family living. The Planned Parenthood Federation of America in New York specializes in materials relating to family planning, fertility, and contraception.

The national organizations of the major religions have displayed a deep interest in education for marriage and family living. This is reflected particularly in the Cana Conference movement of the Catholic Church and the family-life education program of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America.

The Cana Conference movement has grown rapidly and is now a well-established feature in the family-life education program of the Catholic Church. The form of the conference varies somewhat from one part of the country to another. A typical program consists of a half-day or an all-day meeting held annually, or semiannually. Married couples attend to discuss problems and experiences, and to receive help in making their marriage and family life a success. The conferences deal with such subjects as the sacramental nature of marriage, the physical, psychological, and spiritual aspects of the marriage relationship, husband-wife roles and responsibilities, the nature and principles of marriage and family life, family finance, parenthood, and child-rearing.

Experience gained in the Cana movement indicated a need for preparing Catholic engaged couples for marriage and family life. The result was the development of the Pre-Cana Conference. The typical Pre-Cana Conference usually consists of three or four conferences given on several days. Each day's program features an authority from a different area of specialization. A common arrangement is for a priest to be the director, assisted by a doctor and an experienced married couple. All participate in the program. So popular have these Pre-Cana Conferences become that they are now considered an integral part of the Cana Conference movement.

The Protestant effort to promote family-life education stems mainly from the Department

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of Family Life of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America. The parent organization itself is the clearinghouse for forty cooperating denominations and forty-two state councils of churches. The Department of Family Life facilitates and encourages the exchange of information between its member units and seeks to keep them informed of new trends and research findings in the family field. It also prepares certain materials cooperatively on behalf of its members.

Family-Life Education in the Schools

In the United States the most systematic and extensively organized program of education for marriage and family life is found in the schools (American Association of School Administrators, 1941; Brown, 1953; Kirkendall, 1953; and Strain and Eggert, 1955). Ordinarily the initiative and insight of the local school authorities determine what kind of a family-life education program the schools of a particular community develop. These programs assume no standard form, their nature and scope depending upon the local situation. The interest of the educational leaders may be stimulated and help may be provided by certain of the organizations mentioned above, or more likely by local individuals or organizations interested in family-life education.

Colleges and Universities

Programs for marriage and family-life education that have interrelationships as their focus originated at the college level. Credit for developing the first college course in marriage is usually given to Dr. Ernest Groves. In the middle 1920's at Boston University he organized instruction in preparation for marriage. In 1927, at the University of North Carolina, Dr. Groves established a course that had a strong influence upon the instructional programs in other colleges and universities. Subsequently, many other colleges and universities established similar courses.

In 1956 Dr. Judson Landis (1959) sent questionnaires to 1,600 junior colleges, four-year colleges and universities, teachers' colleges, and Catholic institutions to find how many offered courses in marriage and family relations. He also asked what proportion of the courses in marriage and family relations were functional, i.e., designed to help the student understand the place of the family in society. Whereas functional courses are personal in approach, the institutional course is impersonal—generally historical and sociological—in approach.

A total of 768 colleges responded to the query. Of this group 630 were offering a total of 1,027 courses with an enrollment of 77,000 students. Some 46,455 students, or over 60 per cent, were enrolled in functional courses. More than half of these courses were added to the curricula of the colleges between 1945 to 1955. The functional courses had increased more rapidly than the institutional courses.

Since some of the nonresponding colleges and universities doubtless had courses, it is estimated that over 100,000 United States students now register annually for marriage and family courses.

There has also been a rapid growth in the last ten years in the number of specialized courses. These courses are intended to train research workers and other specialists for organizing and teaching family-life education in schools and communities, or for some particular work with families. They include courses in marriage counseling, child and adolescent development, methods in family research, problems of aging, and methods of teaching.

A few colleges and universities have broadened their approach to the point of organizing departments of family life. Usually these departments are within schools of home economics, although Brigham Young University, at Provo, Utah, and Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City (and perhaps others), have organized Departments of Family Life that incorporate within them the traditional home-economics offerings. Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida, has an interdivisional family-life program that utilizes appropriate offerings from the schools of education, psychology, and social welfare in its curriculum. The purpose of such arrangements is to provide the students with a realistic preparation for marriage and family life. Consequently, in addition to courses in preparation

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for marriage and the usual home-economics offerings, they may provide courses in family relations, child development and child rearing, family finances, and marital adjustments. Such schools, in addition to offering courses designed to help young people prepare for marriage, also provide offerings for persons who will teach education for marriage and family living, or who will deal with families in some other professional capacity.

High-School Family-Life Programs

Education for marriage and family living that focuses on interrelationships has now moved primarily into the lower schools, particularly the high schools that enroll students from ages 14 to 18. Many schools incorporate materials relating to family living in various common courses, particularly social studies and home economics. Many of the high schools have arranged their courses for both boys and girls. They attend classes together and participate in discussions in nonsegregated groups.

Most of these pupils are in their middle teens, and the courses ordinarily treat such topics as dating problems, getting along with parents, improving self-understanding, premarital sex standards, masculine-feminine roles, interfaith marriages, mate selection, and distinguishing love from infatuation. Some courses, depending on the time given, go beyond this and include materials relating to parent-child relations, child rearing, and such marital adjustments as budgeting, developing companionship, in-law relations, and older persons in the home. Materials relating to sexual adjustments in marriage, contraception, or abortion are practically never included.

One of the most comprehensive high-school programs of education for marriage and family living is found at Hayward, California. Here the program is located in the social studies department. In the ninth grade (for pupils about 14 years of age) a general personal-orientation course is provided. This course is designed to increase the self-understanding of individuals, and to assist with problems the pupils face in beginning dating and other boy-girl relationships. At the twelfth-grade level (for pupils about 17 to 18 years of age) a course in family living is offered with the emphases mentioned in the paragraph above. Besides this the school has the usual home-economics offerings.

Beyond this each pupil has a counselor, who is also his social studies teacher and who serves as his personal advisor throughout his high-school career. This counselor is responsible for helping each pupil with his educational and personal problems (including family and inter-sex associations) in whatever way he can. Thus, the pupils have a program in education for marriage and family life that encompasses their total high-school program.

Unfortunately, throughout the country, most youths from the lower economic class drop out of high school before they can take these courses. The higher divorce rate in the lower economic class indicates that these pupils are more in need of education for marriage and family life than children from middle and upper economic class families.

Family-Life Education in Elementary Schools

Less family-life education is provided at the elementary-school level than at the high-school or college level. This is because the pupils are still immature and very dependent upon their parents. As a result, most of what is done is designed to help the pupils appreciate their own families and to find their proper roles and places within the family. Ordinarily, considerable attention is given to the social adjustment of the pupil. The reasoning is that when a pupil is helped to improve his capacity for personal relationships with his parents, teachers, and friends he is indirectly being prepared for marriage and family life.

Sex Education

A few elementary schools and a fair number of high schools provide some sex education or, more accurately, reproduction education, for their pupils. The family-life movement is seemingly in the process of engulfing the movement for sex education. Sex education has been accepted as an integral part of a family-life education program, and most family-life teachers recognize an obligation to provide some in-

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struction on this topic. This engulfing process seems all to the good. It has undoubtedly resulted in more rather than less sex education. When discussions on sex can be set in a context of concern for relationships they are less threatening for everyone concerned, particularly parents and teachers, and they have the advantage of moving sex education toward a realistic recognition of the problems of human sex behavior rather than focusing only on sterile knowledge, unrelated to the conduct of relationships.

This very realism raises another problem, however. A re-evaluation and a clarification of thinking about sexual standards is urgently needed in the United States. Unquestionably the uncertainty about how to handle issues involving sex and sexual conduct does more than any other single factor to retard the acceptance of family-life education. Teachers are uncertain about how to approach the subject, and some parents are unwilling for teachers to deal with the subject. The crux of the issue rests in the realm of ethics. What behavioral practices shall be regarded as right, and why? What standards shall be used for making such judgments? Unless some satisfactory and acceptable decision can be reached on these points, the sex-instruction phase of family-life education will probably remain a stumbling block for a long time to come.

Parent Education

Children, obviously, are unable to do much directly to improve the quality of their total family environment. The parents are the only ones who can do this; therefore, generally speaking, the younger the children the greater the need for parent education. Educational leaders in elementary schools are among the staunchest proponents of parent education. These programs ordinarily feature discussion groups and utilize films and printed materials especially designed for parents. The programs themselves are usually under some sponsorship other than that of the schools.

Nursery-School Programs

The concern of nursery-school educators for parent education is likely to be still deeper and more direct. In fact, modern nursery-school philosophy emphasizes the importance of parent education, and the nursery-school situation is used as a vehicle for it. In Baltimore, Maryland, and Seattle, Washington, as examples, the participation of parents in the conduct of the nursery schools is used as a method for promoting and extending parent education.

Special Problems in Family-Life Education

Even though family-life programs in the United States have made much progress, some problems remain to be solved. One is the question of securing enough adequately trained teachers. In general, the demand that a family-life teacher be all-knowing and a paragon of virtue has died away. But it is still demanded that such a teacher be a mature individual, personally well adjusted and able to work effectively with people. Coupled with this is the recognition that a family-life teacher needs to be so prepared academically that his knowledge cuts across the lines of several of the traditional disciplines. Even though the demands are still rigorous, progress is being made in the effort to secure well-prepared teachers.

Reference has already been made to college-university level programs designed for the training of teachers of family life. Until a few years ago a person who taught marriage and family-life courses had to enter this work from some other field of specialization. Now, however, interested individuals can find teacher-preparatory programs designed specifically to qualify them for family-life education. The programs at Florida State University and at Teachers College, Columbia University, are the best known.

Still another problem is that of maintaining the educational advances made thus far against the encroachments of other demands on the time and energies of the school. There are mounting demands for an increased amount of instruction in the sciences and mathematics. Heavier and heavier demands are being made upon students as they prepare for their occupational careers. All this means pressure to find a place for new instructional materials in the school program. The effort to expand, or even to maintain, programs of family-life education

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in the curriculum may become increasingly difficult.

This points to still another problem: the need to find ways to evaluate the worth of family-life education programs. The very nature and purpose of the instruction makes evaluation most difficult. Effective evaluation information would, however, serve as a basis for curriculum revision. Ultimately, it would be useful in public-relations programs that are needed to maintain a public opinion favorable to family-life education.

Community Programs

Community programs of education for marriage and family living are becoming increasingly common in the United States. Again there is no standard pattern; in fact, many communities have no programs of this sort at all. Ordinarily, a community program of family-life education is sponsored by some particular organization for its own members or for such persons as can be attracted. For example, a church may organize parent discussion groups or plan a series of discussions or lectures for those about to be married. A radio station may plan a series of programs on some aspect of marriage and family living, or the library may assemble literature dealing with family life. Many local parent-teacher associations organize community discussion groups and provide leadership for a parent-education program. Many public-school systems in the larger cities now have divisions of adult education, and these divisions often sponsor some kind of family life programs.

In the United States there has been a tremendous outpouring of material on family life through the press, radio, and television. These materials range in quality from excellent to very poor. There are, however, many books and pamphlets and innumerable articles in popular magazines that deal with marriage and family relations. Many radio and television programs, as has already been indicated, have been built around this popular subject. Many films, textbooks, and pamphlets have been developed for use in the public schools.

Support for programs of family-life education is readily forthcoming. Inexperienced educators are likely to fear opposition, particularly from parents, but that almost never occurs if the programs are carefully planned and are promoted in accordance with sound educational principles.

Research

Programs of education for marriage and family living in the United States are now being given a scientific grounding through research. Research in family interrelationships and family interaction has progressed until there is a respectable amount of data upon which to base instruction.

Reliance upon traditional views and the dispensation of "common knowledge" are easy in this field. But the last twenty years has seen a marked expansion in research that throws new light and new insights on family adjustments. A compilation of titles of research published between 1945 through 1954 was made by Foote and Cottrell (1955). They listed 1,031 such publications. The amount of family research has continued to increase since then, and all indications are that it will continue to do so. This should put instruction concerning marriage and family life on an even firmer basis.

Reference to a few of the studies that have been made will provide some awareness of the scope and nature of the research that has been done. Goode (1956) has studied the post-divorce adjustments and problems of women; Winch (1958) has been testing theories of the basis for mate selection; Hill (1949) studied the impact of war separations and reunions on families; Peterson (1956) analyzed the relationship of religious affiliation to marital happiness; Burgess and Wallin (1953) have been concerned with factors affecting engagement success and failure; Landis and Landis (1953) studied the length of time it took couples to achieve certain kinds of marital adjustment; Johannis (1958) studied division of labor within the family; Bernard (1956) has analyzed remarriages; Christensen (1958) has studied the relationship of premarital pregnancy to marital success; Kirkendall (1961) has been interested in the impact of premarital sexual intercourse on interpersonal relationships; Bur-

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gess and Cottrell (1939) attempted to determine factors that might be used in predicting marital success; Eliot (1955) has studied the impact of bereavement on families.

Two studies that are widely quoted and deserve special mention are Terman's (1938) study of psychological factors influencing marital happiness and Kinsey's (1948, 1953) studies in human sexual behavior.

There are many other studies and other research workers who deserve mention but who must be excluded because of space limitations.

Family-Life Education in Canada

Family-life education programs are moving forward in Canada also, although more slowly than in the United States due to a more conservative, traditional point of view. This is particularly true in the schools, although advances are being made there. In 1950 the province of British Columbia published curriculum guides, or courses of study, that encompassed a program designated as "Effective Living." This was quite a comprehensive program and provided for the inclusion of family-life education instruction in grades 7 through 12. The province of Saskatchewan has also included family-life education in its curriculum.

A good deal of family-life education is carried out in Canada by the churches. The United Church of Canada, the Anglican Church, and the Catholic Church each has its program.

Programs in Other Countries

Although the most extensive and advanced programs of marriage and family-life education are found on the North American continent, other countries on all the continents are moving forward. Progress has perhaps been most rapid in the countries of Western Europe.

England

England, in particular, has manifested a keen interest in education for marriage and family living. This interest has grown out of the work of the National Marriage Guidance Council (see Wallis and Booker, 1958). This Council operates through local councils, which are organized to provide counseling facilities for couples whose marriages are threatened by disharmony. The main work of the Council and affiliates is still devoted to extending facilities for marriage counseling, but their experience in attempting to salvage ailing marriages has also created an interest in preventive measures. The result is that there is an awakening interest in England, as elsewhere, in the possibility of developing programs of education for marriage and family living.

The Council's present position is that the most important future developments lie in providing help for engaged couples and for young people prior to marriage. Already local councils provide talks and discussion groups for interested persons on such subjects as differences in religious beliefs, sexual standards and conduct, family financial problems, in-law relationships, wives working outside the home, and aspects of marital adjustment. Since these groups are not under the auspices of the school, enrollment is by personal decision and attendance is voluntary.

Attention is now turning toward the public schools, and interest in using this medium of education is growing. The first effort to provide in-service training for teachers who might instruct classes in marriage and family life was made in the summer of 1958, when the National Marriage Guidance Council set up a workshop at Reading University that was attended by 36 teachers.

Since this phase of the program is just getting under way, there is nothing to report as far as actual school instruction is concerned. The outstanding success of the past efforts of the National Marriage Guidance Council gives reason to believe that England is fertile ground for the development of education for marriage and family-life programs, and perhaps the next few years will see great advances in this field.

Sweden

Sweden, over a period of years, has developed an outstanding program of sex education. The National League for Sex Education, under the leadership of Dr. Elise Ottensen-Jensen, has been a powerful force in this effort. The Swedish government has now made sex education

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in the schools compulsory (Royal Board of Education in Sweden, 1956). Instruction is based upon a genuine concern for marriage stability and family welfare, but there is little family-life education as such in Sweden.

Netherlands and Belgium

The pressure of a rapidly increasing population on a limited land area has called forth the Netherlands Society for Sexual Reform. The society has as its first objective the promotion of birth control. However, experience with this program has led to the addition of still another objective, that of providing some kind of general broad education for marriage.

The result has been the organization of "Marriage Schools" in a number of the larger cities in Holland. These schools are sponsored by local branches of the Netherlands Society for Sexual Reform. As in England, enrollment in these schools is by personal decision and attendance is voluntary. The school is designed for engaged or about-to-be-engaged couples. A pattern has been established providing that the program consist of a series of eight lectures, each given by an acknowledged authority in his field. The usual plan is to include three meetings on the physical aspects of marriage, one on the legal aspects, one on eugenics, and three on sociological and psychological aspects.

Belgium has now organized a society that is patterned along lines very similar to those of the Netherlands organization.

India and Pakistan

Major strides toward family-life education in Asia have been taken in India and Pakistan. The movement in both of these countries had its origin in the tremendous pressures resulting from an already large, and continuously growing, population. In both countries conferences have been held on population policies and planned parenthood. The effort to educate the people of Pakistan and India to the need and value of family planning has had the financial support of the central governments and the strong support of governmental leaders.

As the leaders have proceeded with their educational efforts in these countries, an increasingly strong emphasis on family-life education has emerged. The following quotation (Fazalbhoy, 1958) is typical of the viewpoints that develop from experiences in working families:

> If family planning is to plan the family in all aspects calculated to its welfare, services such as sterility service, marriage counselling, and sex education also come in as an inherent part of the whole programme. . . . The very mention of marriage counselling and sex education used to come as a shock to even the people working in the family planning movement till very recently. Of late, we are hearing a good bit about these new phrases. . . . We can ill-afford to neglect these services if we aim at human welfare as a whole. Immediate efforts are necessary to train a contingent of suitable workers to handle these very much needed services efficiently, for the greatest good of the greatest number.

The breadth that family-planning movements assume is well illustrated by the *Journal of Family Welfare*, published in India. This magazine is strongly devoted to the support and promotion of the family-planning movement, but it regularly features articles on sex education, marriage counseling, social and economic welfare of families, family-life education programs in schools and communities, family physical and mental health, and family interrelationships.

The World Family-Life Education Movement

Family-planning movements have been initiated and are being advanced in Egypt, Japan, Ceylon, China, Thailand, and doubtless many other places as well. The logic of prior experience would lead us to expect these efforts to advance to the point where broad family-life education programs are included as an integral part of the total plan.

The movement into family-life education programs from family-planning efforts seems to be concentrated in densely populated countries that lack a religious group strongly opposed to birth control. In predominantly Catholic countries family-life education has been developed mainly within the Church and in accordance with the teachings of the Church. France is one

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of the countries in which the Church-sponsored program has taken considerable root. In the 1930's young French couples wanting help with their approaching marriages established the Family Renewal Association. The purpose of this organization was to make possible week-end meetings during which couples, under the leadership of priests, could discuss the issues and questions of marriage. This movement was the inspiration for the Cana movement that developed later in the United States.

Exploratory efforts at family-life education are being made in other parts of the world: Peru, New Zealand, Germany, Australia, the Philippines, to mention a few. The indications are that this kind of education is becoming firmly established in many countries. It is also probable that family-life education will advance considerably in many other countries all around the globe within the next decade.

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LESTER A. KIRKENDALL

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Marriage, Plural

THE forms of marriage have, traditionally, been classified as monogamy, polygyny, polyandry, and group marriage. It is generally agreed that monogamy is the basic and universal form of mating. And although polygyny is relatively widespread, there is no society in which polygyny is the only form of marriage. For the most part, it is to be regarded as a permissive rather than a mandatory matter. Polyandry, in the strictest sense, has been found in but few societies. Group marriage is extremely rare, though it had a prominent place in early anthropological theory. The concept was certainly misapplied to certain native customs in parts of Africa and Australia, in which a group of men of a certain age range had sexual access to a group of women of like age range. These relations were, however, not regarded as group marriages in the technical sense of the term.

Polygyny

The incidence of polygyny is reflected—in a rough way—by a count of the frequency of various forms of marriage found in the Human Relations Area File at Yale University. Murdock (1949) reports that of the 238 societies for which they have data on marriage forms, 81 per cent permitted some kind of polygynous mating. Eighteen per cent were strictly monogamous. Only two of the total were polyandrous.

Sororal polygyny is the pattern in which the preferred union is that of a husband with two or more sisters. In Murdock's sample of 132 societies that had some form of polygyny, 53 per cent either required or permitted the sororal form. Some writers maintain that sororal polygyny tends, on the whole, to reduce the threat of friction among the wives since the sisters have already learned to adjust to each other. The present writer is inclined to question this generalization. In his study of Mormon polygyny he found that although wives who were sisters often got along reasonably well, there was a solid fraction of instances where they did not.

Household Arrangements

The household arrangements in plural families show certain variation. In some instances the wives and their families lived together in one household; in other cases each wife had a separate establishment. Then, too, there were situations where some wives had separate households while other wives resided together in one household. Mormon polygyny was an example of the latter pattern. According to Murdock's data, sororal polygyny was particularly well suited to the single-dwelling type of residence. Of his identifiable cases of sororal plural families, 85 per cent of the co-wives lived in the same dwelling. In contrast, for his sample, 50 per cent of the nonsororal families occupied separate domiciles.

Household arrangements are further complicated by the fact that residence may be patrilocal or matrilocal, depending largely on the systems of descent in vogue in particular tribes or societies. There is some pull and haul in working out a satisfactory correlation of the forms of marriage with the rules of residence. Yet sororal polygyny, says Murdock, seems particularly well "adapted to matrilocal residence." He believes that, on the whole, in the

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matter of residential locus "the relative efficacy of the marriage forms is greater than that of residence rules."

Economic Arrangements

Not only is place and form of household arrangement important, so too is the division of economic tasks among the wives. There is no uniform pattern of such division of labor, but some differential assumption of work is found everywhere, whether the families have a common household or separate ones.

For example, among the Cuna, in the Caribbean, one wife was put in charge of the housekeeping operations, another in charge of the cultivation of bananas and maize, and a third had charge of the cocoa trees. In the Mormon plural family system a wide variety of patterns of work arose. Sometimes the division was similar to that of the Cuna—particularly where there was a single dwelling. In other cases the household tasks were divided so that one wife was responsible for the cooking and serving of meals, another for the washing and ironing, another for the house cleaning, and still another for the garden and poultry.

Status of Wives

The status of the various wives differed considerably from one tribe or society to another. The relation of status to economic obligation is close. In a canvass of the Human Relations Area File by the present writer it was found that in three-fifths of the tribes the first wife clearly had the highest status. This did not mean, however, that she had complete dominance over the other wives. However, in one-fifth of these groups, the first wife did have considerable control over the assignment of economic tasks to the other wives.

The first wife did not always have the highest status, since a younger and more attractive wife might be the husband's favorite. Yet, if one is to judge from the author's Mormon data, the introduction of a younger wife into the family ménage often led to conflict. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that with few exceptions women have held a distinctly inferior place to menfolk, and this is true of both nonliterate and more advanced societies.

Despite the generally inferior position of women, it is worth noting that not infrequently a wife or the wives would act together to advise or suggest that a husband take an additional wife or wives, in order to lighten the burden of their economic or household duties. Such conjoint action is reported from many primitive tribes, and it was not uncommon in ancient China or among the Mormons. So, too, on occasion the wives might act in common to protect what they regarded as their rights.

Although data regarding the husband's distribution of time among the wives are scanty, the available evidence clearly indicates that some more or less regular schedule was the general rule. This might be a night-by-night rotation, a two- or three-day plan, or some longer cycle. The author's Mormon data show clearly that some regular and equalitarian rotation of time among the wives was an important factor making for more harmonious relations among the plural families.

Property and Inheritance

Ownership of property varies so greatly in tribal societies that no generalization as to pattern is possible. Sometimes the husband and father controlled the agricultural land, in other circumstances it might be an uncle or the oldest patrilineal or matrilineal member of the extended family. Often new marriages facilitated the accumulation of additional wealth. The whole matter, however, is complicated by the fact that among many nonliterate tribes all the property a wife brought from her own family remained under her control. Moreover, it was a common practice for the wife who had her own garden and poultry to keep for her own use and disposal whatever she made from the sale of the products.

An equitable distribution of income by the husband tended to make for harmony among the plural families. This was certainly the case among the Mormons: failure to treat all the families fairly as to property and income often made for conflict.

Systems of inheritance also differed considerably depending on the patterns of descent, on the systems of ownership, and on the rights of the wives. Among the Mormons special pro-

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vision had to be made for the plural wives, since legally they were not married. Hence, unless a husband made special arrangements for them through a will or by gift, they had no claim on his property. Their children, of course, had claims, although under the law they were regarded as illegitimate.

Discipline

Discipline and control of polygynous families ultimately rested with the husband and father. Certainly this tradition obtained in Mormon plural families, deriving not only from the general cultural pattern of patriarchal control but also from the ecclesiastical system under which only men could hold the sacred priesthood. However, within this larger framework, in some instances the first wife had some control over the other wives, especially in the assignment of economic duties. Then, too, each wife more or less disciplined her own children, particularly the younger ones. The right of one wife to exercise any control over the children of another wife varied from tribe to tribe. With the Mormons, the extension of such rights varied from family to family. There was no formal rule on the matter.

Child Training

Whiting and Child (1953) contend that under sororal polygyny, where the co-wives usually reside in one house, early child training is likely to be more indulgent and "less severe in subsequent socialization" than in either nonsororal polygyny or monogamy. In nonsororal polygyny the wives usually occupy separate dwellings; moreover, rivalry among the wives—not so likely in sororal polygyny—easily prevents cooperation and sharing in child care.

The status of children will vary according to the relative status of their mothers. Where the first wife has top status and some control over the other wives, her children may then assume positions of superiority toward the children of other wives. There is considerable evidence of this kind of differential status among the Mormons, and this sometimes made for conflict. Again, since the first wife was the only legal spouse, her children were quite aware that they were the only legitimate children and in conflictive situations among the families often traded on this fact.

Conflict and Divorce

One common problem in polygynous families was rivalry and attendant jealousy among the wives, although some anthropologists believe that sororal polygyny made for toleration among the wives. Again there was considerable variability in this matter.

In some societies rivalry, jealousy, suspicion, and paranoidal tendencies become culturalized and all members carry on feuding as a routine matter. Regarding the Azande, Evans-Pritchard (1937) writes: "Within the household there is often bitter, though it may be concealed, jealousy between the wives, between brothers, between sisters. In a family itself a wife often hates and tricks her husband, and the husband is unceasingly jealous of his wife and bullies her. Children fear and sometimes hate their father. . . ."

Every society develops some institutional means of terminating conflict between the spouses. In most tribes divorce is relatively easy, although it often involves some return of property, such as the bride price. This was as true of polygynous as of monogamous marriages. Conflict among the plural wives was doubtless the most common cause of divorce. If there was a good degree of cooperation, as in sororal polygyny, there should be less incidence of divorce than in the nonsororal form. Another reason for divorce was sterility of a wife. Among the Mormons—aside from the central one of infidelity—other causes of divorce were continuous conflict among the wives or conflict between the husband and a given wife.

Justifications for Polygyny

In concluding our section on polygyny we may examine the justifications put forth in defense of this form of plural marriage. The chief "reasons" seem to be, in order of importance: economic value of plural wives; status and prestige of the husband and father; provision for more children; and an excess of women. Religious sanctions were noted in some societies and this is definitely the core of justification among the Mormons, as it was among the an-

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cient Hebrews. In addition, where tribal intermarriage was permitted, it might be a device to maintain peaceable relations with neighboring tribes.

Polyandry

Polyandry, Murdock says, is a form of marriage "socially sanctioned and culturally patterned" involving "residential cohabitation as well as sexual rights." However, it occurs so infrequently that it may be regarded as an ethnological curiosity. Although some cultural anthropologists have described the occurrence of polyandry in certain North American Indian tribes, this is, strictly speaking, not the case. What has been mistaken for polyandry, Opler (1943) notes, was usually an example of extramarital sex relations of a woman with a number of men, sometimes the brothers of her husband. Sexual rights with the siblings-in-law of the opposite sex were not infrequently granted to either spouse. But this does not constitute marriage.

There are but two tribes where polyandry is stable, preferred, and regarded as the normative form of marriage. These are the Todas of Southern India and the Marquesans of Polynesia.

The Todas

Among the Todas the preferred form of polyandry is fraternal, that is, the wife marries a series of brothers. Only occasionally is the nonfraternal type to be found. Among the Marquesans the nonfraternal form is common. In Toda polyandry several brothers establish a common household with one woman. Paternity of the children is determined by a ritual in which one brother presents the wife with a toy bow and arrow and all the offspring following this rite are credited to the husband who executed the ritual. Only when another husband carries out the bow-and-arrow ceremony does the paternity go to him, but again all the children are ascribed to the last husband to carry out the rite, even though he has been dead for years.

Among the Todas polyandry is definitely associated with low economic status. In fact the nobility not infrequently practices polygyny. When the co-husbands are brothers they occupy one house, but in the occasional examples of nonfraternal polyandry they have separate dwellings and the wife rotates her visits among them.

The Marquesans

In the Marquesas polyandrous marriage is as stable as any other. There is usually a main husband who acts as an agent for the wife in the management of family affairs. The other husbands are not his brothers but the younger sons of families of lower rank. They are accorded considerable latitude and may leave one household to join another. Here, too, economic conditions are severe. Cultivation is difficult and the islands are subject to periodic droughts leading to crop failures, water shortages, and severe epidemics. Fishing is difficult and dangerous in the deep waters off the mountainous islands.

Group Marriage

Group marriage is sporadic and is never found as a societal norm. In the Human Relations Area File, the most frequent occurrence is among the Kaingang of Brazil. Yet even here only 8 per cent of recorded unions are group marriages, whereas 14 per cent are polyandrous, 18 per cent polygynous, and the balance monogamous. In some tribes, as the Chukchee of Siberia and the Dieri of Australia, sexual privileges may be practiced by a group of men and women of a given age range. But the economic responsibilities upon which genuine marriage must rest are not required. There is no evidence that group marriage exists or ever did exist as the prevailing type of marriage.

The form of marriage developed by John Humphey Noyes and put into effect in the Oneida Community was not really group marriage. Rather, it was a system, known as stirpiculture, of selecting mates in terms of certain physical and mental criteria.

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KIMBALL YOUNG

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Marriage, Sexual Adjustment in

GIVEN adequate information and a mature emotional attitude, adjustment of the physical side of sexual activity is achieved with relative ease.

There has been some change, fortunately, in the last fifty years since the end of the Victorian Era, but not nearly enough change. Most young people still marry burdened with distressing questions. What will their first sexual experience be like? Will they be well mated sexually? Will there be great disparity in sexual desire? If there is, is it an insurmountable obstacle? Will the one suffer great pain, and must the other inflict such pain to consummate the marriage? May the vagina of the one or the penis of the other be too small or too large to make it possible to have intercourse and to give and receive the unique type of pleasurable experience that should be a part of sexual intercourse? If one overindulged in intercourse would it undermine the health?

The Basis of Adjustment

Real emotional adjustment in marriage comes to those couples who are brought up to, or come to, accept wholeheartedly the fact that basically marriage is an institution to provide sexual satisfaction. No one denies the joys of parenthood. But the basis of a real marriage is a completely satisfactory adjustment of the sexual side of marriage.

The mere fact that we are human makes the achievement of such adjustment difficult. We have all the desire, all the will, all the capacity of our most primitive mammalian ancestors. The difficulty is that we have a much larger cerebrum. This gives us the capacity to remember and to foresee.

Some ten to twenty-five thousand years ago man discovered the connection between sexual intercourse and childbirth. From that moment it could never be quite the same. He could no longer indulge in intercourse just for the instinctive pleasure it gave him. Either he was afraid of having more children or, as was frequently the case, he was most interested in having more children (witness the fertility rites of many primitive peoples), and must have wondered if this time it would succeed, and his wife would become pregnant. Intercourse became something to be concerned about, not to be practiced merely for pleasure. This changed its whole aspect.

And of course some women died in childbirth. Thoughtful males certainly could not laugh off their responsibility in the matter. That they could fall back upon the thought that it was "God's will" was poor comfort, at best.

The "Rights" of Marriage

During the Victorian Era it was accepted that sex could mean nothing to a "lady." She might submit to the desires of her husband, but that she would take an active part, or gain any pleasure from it, was unthinkable. Al-

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though we are no longer the prisoners of that attitude, we have still made only a partial escape.

Then along came another factor to further complicate the situation—women's rights. Women became entitled to a voice and a vote. Unfortunately, too many women interpreted that to mean that if they did not want sexual intercourse, married or not, they did not have to have it. That there are anatomical and physiological differences that need to be considered was never pointed out to them.

In our culture, as it is organized today, when a man marries he presumably gives up his right to pursue other females for the purpose of sexual pleasure. By the same token, when a woman marries, she undertakes to satisfy the sexual needs of her husband, and renounces her right arbitrarily to say no, women's rights to the contrary notwithstanding.

A young woman, lying on the examining table for her six weeks' postpartum check-up, recently replied to my question about refitting her with a diaphragm that it would not be necessary—her husband was suing for divorce. Under further questioning she stated that he accused her of never having been a real wife to him. Married only a few weeks before she became pregnant, she had had no desire for intercourse after that, and since she did not want it, she did not see why she had to submit to it!

Marriage is a sexual relationship. Whatever else it may be—culturally, socially, economically, financially—it is still basically a sexual relationship. The pleasure of sexual intercourse, the satisfaction it brings, the release from tension it confers upon the individual is all the reason that anyone needs for indulgence in it, and each member of a married pair has the responsibility of seeing that the other is sexually satisfied.

Reasons for Intercourse

Love, the strange human emotion that fixates our sexual attention upon one of the opposite sex, certainly contributes to the intensity of the sensations incident to intercourse. And just as the intensity of the sensation is greater with a desired and desirable partner, so the satisfaction achieved is more complete. But certainly, if we could be freed from our inhibitions, intercourse with any physically acceptable partner should be at least minimally pleasurable, as Havelock Ellis pointed out many years ago.

Thus, within the framework of marriage intercourse may be undertaken for a variety of reasons. In its most desirable form, it is the expression of a deep and abiding love and affection. Under these circumstances it may be preceded by a considerable period of affectionate display, leading only slowly up to the climax of the whole process, actual intercourse and the attainment of release from tension through orgasm.

But on other occasions, for no assignable reason, it may be what might be termed merely physically desirable. Affectionate display may be reduced to a minimum, with the purely physical aspects of sexual contact leading to almost immediate orgasm. The whole process may take a matter of a very few minutes, and still be a very satisfactory experience.

Each member of a married pair must be able to accept both types of experience—and various intermediate stages—if they are to work out the most satisfactory adjustment in marriage.

Approaches to Courtship

Being human is complicated! We remember and we foresee.

The male is the seeking partner in the majority of marriages.

These two propositions need to be appreciated and accepted. Why it is so we do not really know. But something in the male sex hormone does condition the nervous system so that it makes the individual more conscious of sex desire. This applies to both sexes. A woman, given male sex hormone as a therapeutic measure for any cause, may find herself with a well-nigh uncomfortable increase in sex desire.

It is well known that mental imagery, imagination, affects the male more than the female. Thus a man may sit looking at his wife through a comfortable evening of reading, listening to the radio, or watching television, and be quite ready to carry her off to bed, emotionally excited to the point of imperative sex desire. His

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wife may be quite unprepared for it. Here a little information makes possible a satisfactory adjustment. He must be willing to give her an opportunity of warming up to a consciousness of desire. But for her part, she must accept his advances and not try to avoid them.

A bride should train herself from the day she is married to accept her husband's affectional demonstrations. But being human is complicated. We remember and foresee. She will be married only a very short time before she learns that these demonstrations may lead to intercourse. She thinks she is too busy, or does not have time, or just does not feel like it. So she seeks to avoid it physically, by pushing him away, or refuses to accept it emotionally, even though she may, very virtuously, say to him, in effect, "Oh! All right. Go ahead if you want to. I'll be a good wife and let you." But she has tightened up and rejected his advances emotionally if not physically.

In either case she handicaps herself by so doing. One must move through a period of time and space, or experience, from the beginning of love-making to the achievement of its climax and the release from tension that it brings. The woman who consciously or unconsciously tightens up and rejects her husband's advances must move through a considerable space of negative feeling before she even gets to the starting point, as it were.

The common experience, then, is that if her husband does desire intercourse enough to go on with it, by the time he has achieved orgasm and release from tension she has moved only through her negative feelings and has just become interested. If now he would start all over again, she would be very happy to accept his advances.

The solution is simple. A woman can train herself to accept her husband's advances. She simply remains neutral—passive, if you will. She does not push him away, she does not tighten up emotionally; she lets herself literally melt back into his arms. She lets his hands roam over her body and accepts them, happily, as a demonstration of his desire for her and his satisfaction in possessing her. And when she does this she will almost invariably find that, within a matter of minutes, being carried off to bed will become a very satisfactory experience, and complete release from tension will be achieved relatively easily.

Many wives have no idea of their own sexual capacity simply because they have never given it a chance to develop. When each experience of sexual intercourse comes as the result of a contest between her and her husband, with him finally overcoming her reluctance or her grudgingly permitting the relationship, her chances of finding anything approximating the maximum in emotional pleasure is very slight.

Occasionally a wife will want intercourse more often than her husband. Where this is true it is something of a special case. If a woman makes a man feel inadequate sexually, she may literally emasculate him and render him impotent.

One husband seemed content with intercourse once a month, which, said his wife, simply left her "climbing the walls." Fortunately, each was mature enough to accept the situation. About once a week she would ask him to take her to bed. When she did this he accepted it with good grace and they invariably ended the evening with complete satisfaction for both.

The Channels of Communication

This brings us to another all-important proposition that needs be dealt with before considering specific instances. The channels of communication must be kept open! A wife would think nothing of it if her husband asked to have the morning coffee a little stronger or a little weaker, his shirt cuffs starched a little stiffer or a little softer, his steak cooked a little more or a little less. But how would she react to his suggestion that she tip her pelvis this way or that, or that she change position in intercourse, or that she caress him in a certain manner or a certain place? Will she accept it in the same spirit and respond in the same way by trying to do what pleases him? Or will she take it as an insulting criticism?

And what of him? If she dares suggest that he continue petting a little longer, will he do so gracefully or be insulted because it implies a shortcoming in his love-making technique? Does she dare indulge in some sexual experiments of her own, or would he be shocked by it?

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One 30-year-old woman admitted that she only enjoyed intercourse about twice a year, when she dared to let herself go. When asked why she did not let herself go more often she replied with some vigor that if she did, her husband would think she was crazy!

Another 29-year-old appeared at the office, the most utterly crushed young woman I believe I have ever seen. She had just been divorced after a year of marriage. She had married a successful public accountant, 33 years old, who had waited to marry until he was secure in his profession and could afford a real honeymoon. They had started upon a two-month tour of the United States. Ten or twelve days after the wedding she had begun to menstruate. They thought, as many young people do, that they could not indulge in intercourse during this time. Two or three days later it was apparent from the turgidity of his erection that he was actually uncomfortable. Indulging in what Kinsey *et al.*, have appropriately termed "good mammalian behavior," and, as she said, for no reason she could explain, but merely because she had the impulse to do it, she curled herself down in bed and kissed his penis. From that moment he remained cold to her, and within the year they were divorced.

A 50-year-old woman, wife of a successful Methodist minister and mother of two grown children, came to the office with a problem, centered around the sexual impulse, that she was willing to discuss with no resentment or antagonism. Her trouble lay in the fact that she was sure she was going insane. It was this fear, and the knowledge that it centered around sex, that made her seek help.

To the question, "Do you enjoy sexual intercourse?" she replied in lukewarm fashion, "Oh —yes." But to the next question, "Do you reach orgasm?" she replied crisply, "Oh, yes." If she reached orgasm—and she did every time—what was the matter? What did she want? From her reply to the first question she was obviously lukewarm in her enthusiasm for it.

When asked a question that implied that the fault might be her husband's she would have none of it. She delivered a panegyric, describing him as a most kind, thoughtful, patient, and loving husband. He had always done everything he could to see that she enjoyed intercourse and reached orgasm.

When asked, "Do you ever reach orgasm more than once?" she jumped as though she had been stuck with a pin. Words tumbled out in a torrent, to the effect that that was exactly the problem. She had been married for thirty years to a kindly, considerate, thoughtful, patient man. He had always seen to it that she enjoyed intercourse enough to reach orgasm—once! And she had never been satisfied! She had wanted to have the experience more than once. She was a thankless ingrate. And the Lord was going to punish her by making her insane!

Think of it! Married for thirty years to a kindly man—yet not once in that time had the channels of communication opened sufficiently for her to suggest that he continue love-making long enough to grant her the experience of reaching orgasm enough times to give her complete relief from all sexual tension!

Professional Advice

Patients will go to a physician readily for any and every complaint *except* those connected with the primary sex organs. Then they will go only when the distress is so acute that they are driven to it. If it concerns discomfort in sexual relations they are ordinarily even more reluctant to seek help.

The patients themselves are not always or perhaps even primarily to blame. Just as a child learns very quickly not to ask his mother questions that distress her, so patients learn not to ask doctors questions they cannot handle easily. And, of course, doctors were children long before they were doctors. Despite knowledge of the anatomy and physiology of the primary sex organs, not infrequently physicians are little better equipped, emotionally, to handle sexual problems than their patients. However, with the growth in knowledge and the change in attitude today, one should be able to find help with relatively little effort, from psychologists, marriage counselors, psychiatrists, or physicians.

The Differences of Sex

Men and women are very different people, and there is no reason why we should not re-

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joice over that fact. But it makes it much easier to live together if each sex appreciates that there are differences and makes allowances for them. A woman's sense of smell is usually keener than a man's. Men commonly indulge in heavier work or more vigorous exercise than do women and perspire more freely. Fresh perspiration has no offensive odor, but it is quickly affected by bacterial action. Men, therefore, must be willing to bathe often.

The vulvo-vaginal glands of a woman secrete a great deal of mucus. That in the vagina is affected by Doederlein's bacillus and is broken down into lactic acid, the component of sour milk that gives it its characteristic odor. For a woman, therefore, bathing frequently is also essential. And adequate care must be taken to cleanse the vulvo-vaginal area. One does not use the flat of the hand to wash around, in, and behind an ear; one uses one's finger. The same technique must be used around the vulva and the vaginal introitus. When little girls are brought up to believe it a sin to touch themselves in that area it may mean that they have to go through a whole emotional revolution to be able to do it. But in marriage it is essential.

Nowhere in the ordinary course of activity will one be as close to another as in bed at night. A bath before going to bed is therefore far more important than a bath in the morning. If a cold shower gives you a sense of invigoration and serves as a quick stimulant to get you into the day's work, fine, but the really important bathing rite, a bath before getting into bed with your spouse, should not be neglected.

Pain in Intercourse

Pain in intercourse is uncommon for a man. Occasionally, of course, there may be irritation of the skin or mucous membrane of the penis or glans that will be sensitive. When this is the case he should feel as free to consult a doctor as if he had a painful ear.

The mucus of the vagina is a perfect culture medium for bacteria. Hence the vagina may harbor pathogenic organisms as well as the harmless kind. These may set up irritation, even inflammation. Intercourse, instead of being a pleasurable experience, may actually be painful. If this occurs, a physician should be consulted. Forty-nine times out of fifty it will be something easily amenable to medical care.

The clitoris is the primary seat of sexual sensation in the female. It is located about an inch anterior to the opening of the vagina where the labia minora (small lips) of the vulva come together. The fold thus formed is called the prepuce and commonly covers the clitoris. In a considerable majority of women it is adherent to the clitoris and frequently almost completely covers it. This greatly lessens normal sensation. To make the situation worse, small, pinpoint to pinhead-sized clumps of epithelial cells collect under the adherent prepuce. When this is so, stimulation of the clitoris, far from being a pleasant experience, may feel like having one's eye rubbed when there is a grain of sand in it. To free the adhesions is a matter of three minutes' work with a blunt probe by a competent physician.

Can a vagina be too small to permit intercourse? Or can a penis be so small as to fail to give the female partner sexual satisfaction? The answer to both questions is the same: only in the extreme case. True, some women have rudimentary vaginas and some men have pathologically small penises. But in the great majority of cases the individual would have been aware of this before reaching the age of marriage.

If a man is capable of having an erection, it is still possible even though the penis is smaller than average, to have satisfactory intercourse. If the penis is unusually large it is still possible. The vagina is capable of being contracted by voluntary control of the sphincter muscles until it can firmly grasp something no larger than a little finger, and it can be dilated or stretched to permit the entrance of something as large as one's wrist with no serious discomfort.

Occasionally the vagina may be foreshortened—because of a retroverted uterus or for some other reason. Deep penetration may be uncomfortable, even to the point of actual pain. This problem may be solved by varying the position. The wife may be above the husband, or, with the wife beneath, the husband may put his legs outside her slightly separated ones. He can then get all the satisfaction of pushing as hard as he wishes, but will not need to have

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any fear that he will penetrate deeply enough to cause pain.

Relaxation

Real sexual adjustment can come about in marriage only when a couple feel free to work toward such an end. They must free themselves from all sense of sin and guilt regarding sexual actions and activity. They must be willing to take time out to enjoy it. They must not put off attempts at intercourse until they are under such tension that they cannot take time to get the greatest amount of pleasurable experience from it.

One young couple with three children had a very practical solution to the problems of occasionally having a very good time together. Rather than spending money on night clubs or drinking bouts they spent an evening alone together. They hired a baby-sitter, bought a bottle of champagne, and went to a hotel room. There was no danger of interruption, no phone to ring, since only the baby sitter knew where they were. And emotionally it took them back to their first night together and the thrill that such a memory can bring.

Sexual intercourse is not exhausting. It is relaxing. But it does take some nervous energy to generate the spark of desire. Late, late, *late* TV shows, keeping one or both up until all hours, leave little in the way of the necessary spark to beget a pleasant sexual experience. If desire is present it is felt that the sooner it is over the better, because then each can roll over and go to sleep. Taking time to see that each benefits by the greatest amount of pleasant tension, ultimately relieved through the achievement of orgasm, just consumes too much time. Hurried through, it gives some physical relief, but a minimum of the emotional satisfaction that can be a part of intercourse.

From my conversations with hundreds of young couples I am convinced that one of the great hindrances to normal sexual adjustment in this central-heating-electric-light-radio-television age are all the benefits these confer. In the day of the fireplace, the pot-bellied base-burner, and the kerosene lamp, it was much more comfortable during much of the year to be in bed than out, and with all the emotional handicaps incident to the Victorian age, the comfort of being "early to bed" undoubtedly helped achieve some significant degree of sexual relaxation.

Sexual Technique

Enough has been said in many other places about positions in intercourse so that any detailed discussion here seems unnecessary. Any position that is mutually pleasurable is completely permissible. And any position that is desired by one should, if not difficult or uncomfortable for the other, certainly be tried, if for no other reason than the pleasure of variety. Whether or not a position will work is a matter far more of mental than of physical adjustment.

One young man was unable to persuade his wife to try any other position than face to face with him above. By a fortunate chance, for him, he met and had intercourse with a completely uninhibited young woman. To his surprise almost every position attempted worked very well, with little or no difficulty in achieving perfect union. His problem was to get his wife to attempt the positions and to yield sufficiently mentally and emotionally to let them work. It took two or three years of effort, but she finally found out that it was possible to do many of the things she was certain could never be done. And she finally came to enjoy the variety of experience which she had previously objected to most bitterly.

Havelock Ellis pointed out, many years ago, that when engaged in amative actions and reactions the ordinary criteria of esthetics simply no longer apply. Kinsey and his colleagues expressed the same thought in a somewhat different manner when they referred to many of the most intimate types of caresses as "good mammalian behavior."

The purpose of sexual intercourse, as far as the individual is concerned (and in this discussion we are not interested in the perpetuation of the race or any other consideration), is the pleasurable experience of a very intimate human relationship that has its climax in the achievement of orgasm (or orgasms), bringing

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release from the peculiar type of emotional tension known as sexual desire.

It does not matter how this is brought about. The all-important thing is that complete release from tension should be achieved. But it should be remembered that orgasm is not necessary in every case to bring about this release from tension. Certainly there will be occasions in everyone's experience when the mere act of love-making and caressing and the enjoyment of intimate bodily contact will yield complete satisfaction. Although acknowledging that this is true—in some instances—the really satisfactory experiences in the great majority of all instances end in orgasm.

Recent studies have explained the why of habit formation. They have shown that when nerve pathways are used it becomes progressively easier for stimuli to traverse these pathways because of actual anatomical changes. This applies especially to the achievement of orgasm in intercourse. The pathway must be formed by experience, and, with experience, becomes more and more firmly established. Although age—physiological and psychological—and hormonal components play a part, the establishment of the pathway of sexual experience undoubtedly contributes to the fact mentioned by Havelock Ellis sixty years or more ago and confirmed by the Kinsey studies: that women, as they grow older, achieve orgasm in a greater proportion of experiences of intercourse.

The Mutuality of Sexual Experience

Sexual adjustment in marriage is easy when a couple will throw away most if not all of their preconceived ideas about it and strive only to make it a mutually pleasurable experience. A husband need not feel called upon to demonstrate that he is the "great lover." What he ought to do is to try to find out what tactile sexual stimulation his wife, individually and particularly, enjoys. Are her breasts, buttocks, thighs, small of the back—or any part of her body—pleasantly sensitive to gentle—or firm—caresses with fingertips, lips, or tongue? And she should not hesitate to let him know what is pleasurable to her. One good rule to follow is that whatever caress one spouse has tried should be returned by the other, since the one who initiated it probably thinks that it would be pleasant. If this rule is followed rapid progress may be made with very little vocal communication. But vocal communication should not be avoided when it may help.

The idea that orgasm must be attained simultaneously has great vogue. When it can be achieved easily there is certainly no objection to it, and it very possibly may add some emotional thrill to the experience. But a large part of the satisfaction of sexual intimacy is the feeling that one has conferred pleasure upon the other. As Dr. W. F. Robie pointed out years ago, to watch the other enjoy the experience of orgasm is in itself a very pleasant experience. Since a man usually loses his erection more or less promptly after orgasm and is then incapable, at least for a time, of further intercourse, it is usually better for him to see that his wife achieves sufficient satisfaction in one or more orgasms and to enjoy the knowledge that she has been satisfied. Then let her have the pleasure of knowing that she gives to him a similar experience.

It not only confers satisfaction to know that the other enjoys being petted and caressed, it also gives pleasure to know that the one doing the caressing enjoys doing it. The motions should not be gone through mechanically, with obvious signs that it is being done from a sense of duty. Let your imagination run riot if it wants to, and let yourself enjoy it and act as if you do.

Frequency

How frequently should a couple have intercourse? As often as they wish. As often as it is pleasant and satisfactory. They cannot do it too often, in the sense that they can do themselves any physical or physiological harm. They may become so relaxed that they will spend twenty-four hours in bed, but long before they could possibly be in any danger of starvation the "mortal pangs of hunger" would rouse them to the need for something in the way of sustenance other than love.

Some people have intercourse upon a more or less regular schedule; others prefer to go without for several days and then have intercourse several times during one evening or a weekend. Frequencies as well as positions, con-

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ditions, methods, and attitudes may be the subject of experimentation.

The greater the tension leading to the explosion of orgasm, the greater the release from tension, and the greater the real benefit to the individual. The greatest philosophers have failed to solve the question of the "why" of sexual desire. The continuance of the race depends upon it, and it was bred into us a million years ago. But sexual intercourse can—and should—be thoroughly enjoyed, be a mutually delightful experience.

It should be a mutual effort as well. It is not a question of a great lover or a great coquette striving only to please the other. It is a coordinated investigation of the mysteries of lovemaking with two people trying to achieve the maximum total of mutual pleasure. To do this they must be willing and able to laugh at some of their failures and to avoid taking offense at the seeming indifference of the other under certain circumstances.

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LE MON CLARK

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Menopause

WHAT a source of fearful apprehension was the old concept of the "change of life!" Even as an adolescent male this writer vividly recalls the uneasy attitudes on this supposedly painful and dangerous period of transition. The impression at the time was that every woman had to pass through four or five years of suffering and anguish—and that she might not even pass through it alive.

A marvelous alteration of these false ideas has taken place in recent decades. Fearful misgivings about this time of transition in a woman's life may still linger among those who even now listen to "granny tales," but among the great majority of womankind there is far less fear of the approaching "change" than there is of approaching middle age or of the middle-age "spread." There are many reasons for this wholesome new attitude. First, the majority of women, about four-fifths in fact, pass through this period without any ill effects whatever and, as far as their health is concerned, without even being aware of it. In most of the other 20 per cent the symptoms are mild, and in the few who really do have untoward effects medical science offers assurance of easy alleviation. Of course, the more nervous a woman is the more likely is she to undergo the discomforts she expects—or to imagine she is undergoing them.

Some important changes do take place in the reproductive organs of the female during this time. As a result, the ability to produce offspring comes to an end: the ovaries cease to produce and liberate the eggs (ova) and the womb gradually abandons its monthly cycle of shedding the old lining and regenerating the new one. But otherwise a woman is still very much what she always was, and she can enjoy freedom from two previous worries: the possible fear of becoming pregnant and the periodic need of pads or tampons.

This does not mean that the change itself is the choicest time of life or that it leads to the most satisfying period in the life of a woman. Each period of life, from childhood to old age, has its joys and trials, but it must be emphasized that the transition period between the years of childbearing and those that follow is not to be dreaded. Indeed, it has its compensations, and can become an era of great fulfillment leading to years of happiness and calm.

Nothing to Fear

It is true that a small percentage of women can expect to have some nervous symptoms and mild disorders during the change, but these are easily abated under the care of a physician. One's physician must be consulted in those rare cases where symptoms are pronounced enough to cause fear, worry, or discomfort. Certainly it is reassuring for every woman to know that change of life is a physiological alteration that terminates the childbearing era and that it is not in any sense an abnormality or a disease or an illness.

(It is of course possible that women may become ill from other causes during the course of the change, but these are the coincidences that may have given apparent support to the gloomy forecasts of the crepehangers.)

The slowing down and final cessation of certain functions of the ovaries are the immediate cause of the alterations in the reproductive lives of women during this period. The ovaries

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themselves are not independent glands, however: they are constantly receiving stimuli from the anterior lobe of the hypophysis or pituitary gland, which is located at the base of the brain. These relationships and the anatomy and physiology of the ovary will be described and illustrated later.

During the menopause the ovaries stop "laying eggs," the production of female sex hormones lessens, and the womb ceases its periodic changes and the resultant bleeding. Many women may "flood" during a portion of the change. but there is no reason to become alarmed about it. If hemorrhaging should become too severe it is best to see one's physician, as it may not have any connection with the menopause. It may be due to polyps inside the womb, in which case a dilatation of the neck of the womb and a scraping of its lining will be indicated.

No one should associate the time of the change with old age. In the modern era there is a great difference between middle life and aging. Nowadays women during and after the menopause may look years younger than they really are and live the kinds of lives they have always wanted to live but did not have the time to while rearing and caring for children. After the change a woman can really blossom out in many ways, spending more time than ever in creative endeavors and in the fulfillment of long-postponed dreams. Women may hope to live more healthful and more satisfying lives after release from the functions and duties related to the reproductive years.

If a woman thinks the change of life means a marked change in her sex life, she is probably right—a change for the better. After the reproductive years are over there is no need to worry about the onset of the next menstrual period or to be bothered with the urgent hygienic necessities of the four to six days. Nor is there any longer that excuse for postponing affectionate proposals of her husband—on the contrary, there is more likely no desire for postponement.

During the months or short years of change the sympathy and loving understanding of the husband will greatly lessen any unusual degree of symptoms. The children, with the possible exception of nearly grown daughters, will not be aware of what is going on—and, fortunately in most cases, neither will the mother. If there are other grown women in the family it is wise that they, as well as the man of the house, be sympathetic and understanding; and the less said the better. There is always the family physician to turn to in those unusual cases in which definite symptoms of discomfort arise. The whole period may be over in less than two years even in the most severely affected; in many in far less time; and in the vast majority the change will hardly be noticed.

Onset and Duration of the Menopause

Any woman, after having reached the age of 35, may wonder from time to time whether or not some symptom or other means that she is beginning the change. Most probably at that age she is not, and it may be even ten years or more before positive proof of the menopause exists—cessation of the menses. The menses do not always cease all at once. A month or two may be missed, or there may be prolonged periods, or very short periods, or other variations until finally there is no show at all.

At what age does the menopause begin? There is a wide variation in the ages of women when the change actually begins. It is not too unusual for it to start as early as 35. However, it is much more apt to begin at 45 to 47, although it may not occur until the early or even the middle fifties.

Statistics show that in women in whom the menarche, or start of menstruation, occurred early (age 10 to 12) the menopause begins late, whereas in those in whom the onset was late, the pause begins early. These tendencies appear to run in families.

Early cessation of monthly flow may be caused by disease, especially when anemia occurs, as in tuberculosis. This cessation serves to protect the patient, for it conserves strength when it is vitally needed. A hormonal dysfunction, amenorrhea, also results in consecutive missed periods. If a woman is 40 or older she should not be surprised at such an event, and even less so if she is 45 or older. In any case it is a fine time for that annual physical examination.

Besides hormonal dysfunctions and disease, particularly those affecting the circulatory sys-

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tem, and in addition protracted emotional strain, there are several factors that appear to be related to early onset of the change. Some of these are a hypothyroid state with obesity, nursing babies too long, having babies too close together, frequent abortions or miscarriages, very cold climates, hard manual labor, and excessive output of energy.

On the other hand, the opposites of the foregoing conditions will in the majority of cases ensure a later onset of the menopause. These are good health with an excellent circulatory system along with equanimity (peace of mind), a euthyroid state with a lean body and an acute mentality, shorter periods of nursing offspring, proper spacing of children, avoiding abortions and miscarriages, a warm or temperate climate, and a normal output of energy.

One of the questions most frequently asked by women who have begun the change or who feel they are about to start it concerns the relationship between lack of menstruation and pregnancy. As long as there are any periods at all, there is some possibility of ovulation, and as long as eggs leave the ovary there is a possibility of becoming pregnant. The consensus seems to be that a woman who has entirely stopped menstruating for six consecutive months can be assured that ovulation has finally ceased and that there is no chance of conceiving. A pregnancy that occurs in a woman whose menses have been absent for six months or more is caused by an unusual and untimely ovulation. Normally, after the menopause no conception is to be expected, but to be absolutely certain some authorities advise waiting for a full year.

Some women can tell when they ovulate by a slight pain in the region of the ovary; on one side one month and on the other side the next. This is called *Mittelschmerz*, or middle-pain, because it occurs in the middle of the cycle during the childbearing years.

Pseudocyesis, or false pregnancy, is most apt to occur during the menopause. A neurotic woman with false pregnancy can even feel fetal movements and have imaginary breast changes. Some appear to have tumors in their abdomens —and a few may have, but the "tumors" are not pregnant wombs. The most prolonged case of pseudocyesis this writer has known was that of a woman in her seventies who wrote letter after letter insisting she was pregnant; and as long as the correspondence lasted (for months), she still expected the "blessed event." This occurred long after tests for pregnancy had been discovered, but the woman persistently refused to have one done.

The duration of menopausal changes in women who have various symptoms of the menopause is usually from less than a year to two or three years, but somewhat longer periods of change have occurred. It is comforting, as we have emphasized before, to know that three-fourths to four-fifths of women pass through this period of life with no discomforts that can be called symptoms. When some of the usual signs and symptoms of the change, such as hot flushes or nervousness, do occur, modern medicines in the hands of well-trained physicians can remove or at least greatly ameliorate them.

Importance of the Glands

The various glands of the body have the function of preparing certain secretions which have specific functions. Exocrine glands pour their secretions through ducts to their destinations, whereas endocrine glands turn their secretions, or hormones, into the circulating blood. The first are called glands of external secretion because their products reach either the exterior of the body as perspiration, or the cavity of some internal organ as saliva in the mouth or gastric juice in the stomach. The second are called glands of internal secretion because their products remain in the circulating blood within the body proper until their functions have been served. Then they are broken down by chemical action and excreted.

In a sense the ovary is a gland of both external and internal secretion. In it develop the ova, one of which during the reproductive period of a woman's life is cast off each month, alternating on right and left sides. Each egg passes into the uterine tube and, if fertilized by a spermatozoon, enters the womb and starts a new life there. In addition, the ovary manufactures certain female sex hormones that pass

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into the blood stream and then to organs, such as the womb, the vagina, or the breasts, where they stimulate or inhibit function.

If one or more of these glands becomes overactive or underactive, harm is almost certain to result to the general health. This is particularly true of the glands of internal secretion, all of which are more or less dependent upon the normal function of the others.

The hypophysis (called the pituitary gland in the old anatomical nomenclature) is one of the endocrine glands whose functions are related to the reproductive processes in a direct manner. This little gland, located just beneath the brain, is about the size of a shelled hazelnut and is divided into three parts, or lobes. The anterior lobe is of primary importance in the development of the reproductive organs. In the female, hormones from the anterior lobe of the hypophysis stimulate the proper development of the female organs of reproduction, both internal and external, as well as of the secondary sex characteristics, such as feminine voice, hair distribution, and so on. Without these stimulating hormones the ovaries, the tubes, the vagina, and the external female parts would not form fully or, if formed prior to deprivation, would cease to function.

Ovaries: Focal Point of the Change

The internal organs of generation of woman are the ovaries, the Fallopian tubes, the womb (uterus), and the vagina. The ovary has two essential functions: to elaborate hormones and to develop ova. The act of conception is the fertilization of the ovum and its attachment to the wall of the womb, where it continues its development.

One ovary lies on each side of the upper portion of the pelvis near the upper end of the womb. These glands are of solid consistency and have an oval shape like an almond. They are about one to one and a half inches long and a quarter to a half inch in thickness. Until the onset of menstruation, at the average age of 12 to 14, the surface of the organ is smooth. With each ovulation a small protrusion known as the follicle stands up from the surface of the ovary. It grows larger and larger, although only a small fraction of an inch in diameter, and on about the twelfth or fourteenth day of the average menstrual cycle it ruptures so that the ripe egg within may escape.

As this is repeated over the years little scars form and eventually the ovarian surface develops an uneven appearance. Toward the end of the reproductive years, usually around the age of 45 or 50, the gland becomes a mass of scar tissue. Eventually no more follicles develop and only the tissue that secretes hormones is active —and its activity continues to diminish. These changes are gradual and the body adjusts itself to them by compensations of one kind or another. The chief compensation is the increased activity of the outer or cortical portions of the adrenal glands, which are capable of elaborating sex-stimulating hormones.

As long as the ovary is actively performing its reproductive functions in a normal manner, one ovum each month may be expected to be expelled from one of the follicles. It is sucked into the upper end of the Fallopian tube by the action of thousands of tiny hairlike processes, or cilia, that line the upper extremities of the tube. This suction is exceedingly strong: instances of pregnancy have occurred following the removal of the ovary on one side and the tube on the other. This means that the ovum had to be drawn across a space of several inches, from one side of the pelvis to the other.

After the egg enters the tube it begins its descent toward the womb, which requires about four days. It has already been fertilized if pregnancy is to result, for the spermatozoa pass from the vagina, through the womb, and up the two tubes, where, at the upper ends, they lie waiting. As soon as the newly escaped egg cell is drawn into the upper end of one tube, one of these sperm cells pierces its coating and fertilization occurs. The fertilized egg passes down the tube into the womb, where it nests at some point on its wall. When the nesting of the fertilized ovum has taken place the earliest stage of pregnancy has begun.

The principal function of the womb is to nourish and retain the developing embryo, later called the fetus, until the pregnancy is over, and then to aid in its expulsion, which is the act of birth. During the childbearing years,

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the lining of the womb undergoes certain changes that around the middle of the cycle result in complete preparation for the reception of the fertilized egg. If a fertilized egg is not available the womb passes through another cycle and, following menstruation, gets ready for the fertilized egg again. Unless pregnancy occurs this repetition continues month after month throughout the years of normal activity of the ovary. If pregnancy does occur menstruation terminates because the lining of the womb has received what it was being prepared for and an ovarian hormone inhibits this cycle until well after the baby is born, sometimes as long as six months if the new offspring is breast-fed.

The ovaries are put in action by the hypophysis, which pours into the circulating blood hormones that regulate the cycles that take place each month. One of these, the follicle-stimulating hormone, brings about the development of the egg in its follicle up to the point of its rupture and the liberation of the egg.

After the rupture of the follicle a secondary structure is formed that lines the crater or interior of the follicle from which the egg escaped. This is known as the yellow body, and its formation and growth are stimulated by another hormone from the hypophysis. Its function is to secrete still another hormone, progesterone, which prepares the lining of the womb (the endometrium) for the reception of the fertilized egg. If conception occurs, the yellow body continues to develop and becomes a *true* yellow body, persisting until the end of pregnancy. As the end of pregnancy approaches this true yellow body begins to degenerate, the follicle-stimulating hormone regains the ascendency, and birth takes place.

After the follicle ruptures and the egg escapes a yellow body always develops, whether the egg is fertilized or not. If the egg is not fertilized, however, it will last only about two weeks and as it disappears the follicle-stimulating hormone will again become active. When the yellow body decreases in quantity menstruation takes place.

The ovaries have another important function. They have tiny cells within their substance which produce the female sex hormone, or estrogen. One of the principal functions of this hormone is to produce the estrus or sex desire, known also as libido. It also tones up the lining of the vagina and prevents soreness and irritation in that organ.

The entire mechanism of the female reproductive system is therefore a very complicated one that runs smoothly when all of its parts are healthy and working harmoniously together. In the childbearing years in healthy women that is the picture. As time goes on there is a gradual lessening in the activities of the hypophysis, which turns out smaller and smaller quantities of hormones that stimulate the ovary, so that menstruation becomes more or less irregular and then stops entirely. No longer is a yellow body formed and no longer does the lining of the womb undergo the monthly changes. Gradually the hormone cells of the ovaries become less active. There follows a period of readjustment that is more or less noticeable: most women scarcely observe anything more than the cessation of the menses; some have minor symptoms of discomfort; a very few have more distressing symptoms.

What we have been describing is the natural menopause. Artificial menopause is the cessation of menses that follows destruction of the ovaries by disease or by loss through surgery. The younger the woman the more severe will be the results of the loss of hormones of the ovaries; the nearer the menopause the loss takes place the less is she apt to suffer. In either case, early or late in the childbearing years of life, substitution hormone treatment will relieve the symptoms of the change.

Physical Symptoms of the Menopause

Only a very small percentage of women suffer to any marked degree from any of the discomforts that may accompany the menopause.

Hot flushes would seem to head the list of these discomforts. The basic cause is the same as that for all of the discomforts during the change: the slowing down of the functions of the ovaries with a resultant lessening of the hormones that have been keeping the body in equilibrium. In this instance it is the tone of the small blood vessels in the skin that is affected. There are tiny muscles in the walls of these little arteries and tiny nerves that supply

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them. Some of the nerves are constrictors and carry impulses that make the vessels smaller, forcing the blood elsewhere and blanching the skin. The other nerves are dilators and their function is to carry impulses that relax the tiny muscles in the walls of the arteries and make them larger, so that more blood enters the skin. This suffuses the areas with blood, particularly the areas of the face, head, and neck, and results in a reddening of the skin and a feeling of heat—commonly known as blushing.

These attacks may be light or severe. If they are severe they can be uncomfortable or even embarrassing. In extremely severe attacks the whole body may be affected. Occurring during sleep, they may bring about marked perspiration, wetting sleeping garments and even bedclothing, both of which may have to be changed. Fortunately, this degree of flushing is most unusual and even when so marked can be treated readily and successfully.

Nervousness, irritability, and anxiety stand high on the lists of menopausal symptoms. Nervousness, of course, can cause irritability, anxiety, and other discomforting states of mind. Women who have been inclined to be nervous for ten or twenty years before the change will suffer more from an intensification of anxieties and worries than women who have been of calm temperament. It is not unlikely that many symptoms can be laid at the doorstep of nervousness, for this state of mind can easily take on varied manifestations that resemble a wide variety of discomforts.

Every woman is familiar with the variations of moods that can affect her sex, ranging from mild upsets to severe emotionalism, and in rare cases even to hysteria. It would be superfluous to try to catalog them here. If they are truly a part of the picture during the change, one's physician can allay the cause by appropriate treatment.

The symptom that appears to be third on the list is *fatigue*, or a sense of listlessness—even exhaustion. Some authorities think this condition causes more patients to visit their doctors' offices than any others, as it may be among the first symptoms to indicate what is happening and it may outlast all others, or tend to. It must be remembered that the basic cause of any feeling of tiredness, fatigue, or lassitude is the same as that of all these discomforts—failure of the ovaries to perform as they used to. This results in temporary alterations in the nerves and blood vessels that deprive the body of the required tone for energy and alertness. As with the symptoms discussed above, this tone can be restored by substitution treatment.

It would be unwise to lay the blame for fatigue automatically on the menopause, as fatigue may be a symptom of many diseases, which must first be ruled out by careful physical and laboratory examinations. Only after a clean bill of health has been established can the menopause be positively determined as the causative factor of the fatigue. Then the course of treatment is clear. If this course of treatment were instituted at the onset and it was found later that the fatigue was symptomatic of some disease, valuable time would have been lost. Some of the diseased states that can cause tiredness are lack of proper vitamins, insufficient hemoglobin in the blood (anemia), hardening of the arteries, heart disease, tuberculosis, diabetes, and failure of the adrenal glands. There are many others.

This sense of lassitude may not be consistent. It may alternate every other day; there may be days of abounding energy and days of extreme fatigue. This is because the ovaries do not simply stop functioning all of a sudden—there may be little spurts of renewed activity from time to time. This is shown by the usual lessening of the menstrual flow, or by spotting from time to time, before the menses cease entirely.

The next condition attributed to the menopause is *sleeplessness*, or varying degrees of *insomnia*. It may consist of an inability to fall asleep as easily and naturally as one has been accustomed to do, waking during the night and lying awake, or waking early in the morning and not being able to go back to sleep. These three manifestations of insomnia are not common to the period of the menopause. Sleeplessness is a very frequent complaint among humans, even among those in moderately good health. In some women, however, in whom insomnia appears to be related to the time of the change it may in fact be caused by other symptoms, such as sweats occurring from severe hot flushes during the night. In other words, sleeplessness occurring during the menopause can

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be caused by various hormonal and other changes. If so, it will respond to the appropriate treatment. Patients suffering from menopausal insomnia should not take hypnotics or sleeping pills for this condition; they should consult their physician, who will direct the treatment at the cause.

The next alleged symptom that women have during the menopause is *general aches and pains*. Sometimes the type or location of the pains may be clear, as in the back part of the skull, in the neck, or at the back of the neck, but often they consist of vague, transient aches in the joints, pains in the chest that may be misinterpreted as heart disease, and so on. It must always be borne in mind that aches and pains are the symptoms of many different kinds of diseases and that it is necessary to rule out such possibilities before blaming them on the change. If the general health is found to be good, specific substitution treatment to compensate for waning ovarian hormones should remove all such discomforts.

The sixth and last of the alleged discomforts are *simple headaches* and *sick headaches* (migraine). All kinds of headaches occur in individuals of nearly all ages, although not as often in young children. It may appear to many women that during the change they have more and worse headaches, and perhaps some of them do. If other causes are ruled out the standard treatment for the various discomforts of the menopause will in all probability give relief to all types of headaches that may accompany the glandular alterations of this period.

Although this writer does not take too seriously the menopausal role of cause and effect in the following conditions, they may be mentioned as symptoms that are reported by some authors to be occasionally related to the change:

Abnormal rapidity of heart action and difficulty in breathing; sighing breath; decreased memory and concentration; blind spots in the visual field; a crawling-ant sensation in the skin; digestive disturbances with nausea, mild indigestion, and loss of appetite; needles-and-pins tingling of the skin; hands and feet falling asleep; cold hands and feet; numbness and tingling; forgetting of small things; frequency of urination; and last, but not least, psychoses (insanity). The less said about the allegation that the menopause is a causative factor of insanity the better!

In summary, approximately four-fifths of women will not suffer any serious discomforts during the change—and the one-fifth who do can receive medication that will alleviate those discomforts that really are related to the menopause. This applies to those symptoms caused by the slowing down of the glandular functions. The many types of aches, pains, and discomforts that may affect anyone at any time require a different kind of therapy.

Endometriosis (Misplaced Womb Lining)

Endometriosis, a condition that is terminated by the menopause, is caused by the passage of bits of womb lining (endometrium) upward through the uterine tubes and into the cavity of the abdomen. Here they become attached to various organs such as the ovary, the outer surface of the womb, the intestines, and so on.

These attached areas of womb lining are so-called chocolate cysts, and they may cause pain, especially during the menstrual period, for they respond to the monthly changes just as the lining of the womb does. Some cases are painless or almost so, depending upon the locations of the chocolate cysts, while others are severely painful. Another important symptom of this condition is dyspareunia, or pain during marital relations. Treatment alleviates this unfortunate disease; the menopause cures it.

How to Avoid Cancer

Since the change usually occurs in the middle or late forties it coincides with the time at which the so-called "cancer age" begins. Every one at this time of life, male and female, should be more alert than ever to detect early signs of cancer. Cancer, of course, occurs at any age, but is far more apt to affect the middle-aged and the old than it is the young, and if the beginning cancer is discovered early enough, it can be completely removed or irradiated.

Some conditions, termed precancerous conditions, may lead to subsequent cancer. Examples of this are dry, scaly, brown patches fre-

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quently seen on the temples, forehead, ears, and back of the hand during or after middle life, although more often in elderly persons.

The origin of cancer involves so many factors that a single or universal cause is unlikely. There is a wide variety of types of cancer and of the conditions that lead to them. Some of the theories concerning factors that contribute to the development of cancer are: (1) inherited susceptibility, (2) embryonic rests, (3) viruses, (4) biochemical agents, such as hormones, and (5) agents that may cause cancer by irritation (carcinogens).

1. That susceptibility to cancer occurs is borne out by the fact that in some families cancer has occurred in the same part of the body in more than one member. This is particularly significant when identical twins have the same type of cancer in the same organ. There seems to be an inherited susceptibility for some types of malignant tumors in the human, and in small experimental animals it has been proved that susceptibility to cancer can be transmitted to the offspring.

2. In embryonic life misplaced cells (embryonic rests) may eventually develop into cysts, benign (harmless) tumors, or even into malignant tumors (cancer).

3. Although some tumors that have been produced experimentally in chickens are believed to be caused by viruses, no virus has been found to be associated with cancer in humans.

4. Although it is true that large doses of male hormone can alleviate suffering in some cases of cancer of the breast in women and that large doses of female hormone seem to do the same in cancer of the prostate in men, the opposite has not been shown to occur: that is, small (therapeutic) doses of male and female sex hormones have not been shown to cause cancer. If sex hormones are a causative factor in cancer, malignant tumors should occur much more frequently when the sex hormones are more abundant in the body. How, then, can one explain the fact that the so-called cancer age (after 45) has its onset when the sex hormones are decreasing in quantity, whereas when the sex hormones are quite plentiful (up to 45), cancer is much less prevalent?

5. Any substance that may irritate to the point of inciting cancer is known as a carcinogen. The substances number in the hundreds. Some are coal-tar products such as soot, pitch, creosote, crude paraffin oils, and anthracene oil. Others are products of petroleum, shale oils, chromates, arsenicals, and exposure to X-ray, radium, and the actinic rays of strong sunshine. The presence of carcinogens in tobacco smoke is borne out by the much higher rate of cancer of the lungs of male smokers, by the increasing rate of lung cancer in women since they have become heavy smokers, and by the efforts of tobacco companies to prove that their filters are better than others.

What are the danger signals of cancer? In an excellent book entitled *The Truth About Cancer*, Cameron gives the following sound advice:

LEARN THE DANGER SIGNALS

First, learn the early warning signs of cancer. Here they are summarized as "Cancer's Seven Danger Signals":

1. Any sore that does not heal.
2. A lump or thickening in the breast or elsewhere.
3. Unusual bleeding or discharge.
4. Any change in a wart or mole.
5. Persistent indigestion or difficulty in swallowing.
6. Persistent hoarseness or cough.
7. Any change in normal bowel habits.

These seven signs are your life-savers. They are easier to memorize than a simple multiplication table.

Take a few minutes, *now*, and fix them in your mind.

During and after the change every woman should go to her physician twice a year for a thorough physical checkup, with particular reference to the breasts and womb. A Papanicolaou smear, taken in a minute or less while a speculum is in place in the vagina, is absolutely painless and is strongly indicated at this time of life. The smear is sent to a cytology laboratory, where it is stained and examined under the microscope. An experienced cytologist can distinguish abnormal (precancerous or cancerous) cells from those that are normal, and if there is marked abnormality a biopsy of the womb is indicated. This consists of the excision of some small pieces of tissue, which are examined by a pathologist to determine whether precancer or cancer is present.

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Speed is of the essence in dealing with cancer. If the affected organ can be removed before cancer cells have spread through lymphatic channels to lymph nodes and to other organs, that is the end of the cancer. But if the tumor continues to grow and invades surrounding tissues, the chances of such spread (metastasis) are greatly increased.

Sex at the Menopause

What about sex life during the change? There is no reason why a woman should not continue her sex life as usual, for if she has enjoyed it before she should continue to do so. Her libido or sex desire will not undergo any change just because she is passing through the change—at least not for quite some time, or even then.

It is difficult for a woman who has always enjoyed sex to understand what is meant by frigidity. Sexual fulfillment comes so easily and naturally to her that aversion to sexual intercourse or failure to reach a climax is foreign to her. Unfortunately, there are many married women who have no strong urge for intimacies and are glad when it is all over. According to Kinsey (1953), 75 per cent of women attained orgasm during the first year of marriage, with fair percentages in the first, second, or third month. After the first year the percentage increased each year, and fifteen years after marriage was up to 90, but there was no increase after fifteen years, even up to the thirtieth year. There were, however, 11 women who attained their first orgasm between the fifteenth and twenty-eighth years of marriage.

During the change is a good time for a woman to take stock of her sexual self and to ascertain if she has really reached the pinnacle of marital bliss with her husband. Even if she has missed this pleasure all these years, it is not too late for appropriate treatment to change the picture. Certainly, if some women achieve orgasm between the fifteenth and twenty-eighth years of marriage (at age 50 in a patient of this writer), there is no reason why the usual methods of treatment should not be tried.

It must be emphasized that women who have always or nearly always enjoyed marital relations to the fullest may expect to continue to do so for many years to come. Those who have never achieved sexual fulfillment now have a wonderful opportunity to explore and find the paradise of married love.

In so far as this writer can ascertain, there is no opposition to the consummation of their love by a man and wife during or after the menopause. Even the rhythm method of contraception under certain conditions is not banned. A special encyclical issued by Pope Pius XI in 1936 entitled "On Chaste and Christian Marriage" states:

> Nor are those considered as acting against nature who use their marital rights in the proper manner, although on account of natural reasons either of time or of certain defects new life cannot be brought forth. For in matrimony as well as the use of matrimonial rights there are also secondary ends, such as mutual aid [and] the cultivating of mutual love.

It is necessary at this point to call attention to one condition that will prevent a woman from having pleasure during or after the menopause; it may even cause very severe pain. This is dyspareunia, or painful intercourse. The cause is entirely different from the dyspareunia of endometriosis. During or after the menopause (and in some women approaching this time of life), an insufficient quantity of female sex hormone (estrogen) causes the lining of the vagina to thin out and to become raw and painful. The administration of estrogen by injection, by mouth, and/or by suppositories in the vagina will thicken the epithelium lining the vagina and repair the damage.

Sex after the Menopause (Second Honeymoon)

Once the change has definitely arrived and the reproductive capacity is finally a privilege of the past, a couple should take stock of the future of their marriage with the idea of correcting any errors and of perfecting the partnership. Possibly there were faults on the part of one or both, and these may have caused bickering, fear, or criticism. Now is the time to discuss them in a quiet and cooperative spirit with the purpose of working together to remove all deficiencies that can be remedied.

What are some of the reasons couples do not

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fully enjoy the most intimate of human relations? Has the wife been more or less on the frigid side? Or was she desirous enough but disappointed because her husband was always too quick for her? Was the husband too ardent or not ardent enough? Has the wife been dissatisfied because she was one of those fortunate women who needed multiple orgasms while the husband could not pace himself and give her the complete relief she required and longed for? Or were husband and wife perfectly suited and every union perfect bliss for both, with simultaneous climax (even if he had to wait to arrive with her on her final one)? Unfortunately, this type of couple is not average. If it were there would be far less dissatisfaction with the marriage relationship on the part of both men and women.

If everything was not as it should have been, what was done about it? Many women, sad to say, still think frigidity is just "their lot" and take it for granted. Yet only the most resistant cases of so-called frigidity are refractive to adequate treatment nowadays. The type of treatment will depend upon the underlying causes, and if the woman will accept treatment in a hopeful and cooperative spirit it is not likely that she will be disappointed.

It is just as likely that sexual maladjustment may have been due to failure on the husband's part. Unfortunately, many men assume that the sexual act is the same for women as it is for men—that they can become aroused just as readily and that they can be satisfied just as quickly. It is quite true that a small percentage of women can, but most women are like the bride who spoke for many when she said it was all over before she knew it had started. This may be due to premature or rapid ejaculation: the former before entry, the latter just afterward. Or it may simply be due to ignorance on the part of the husband. Sexual intercourse is an art, and some men do not understand that. They think they must start out at a fast rate and keep it up, instead of beginning slowly and occasionally slowing down or even stopping if necessary, in order to keep apace with the wife and to reach a climax with her.

Again it may not be excessive speed on the part of the male; it may be impotence—inability to start at all. This unfortunate situation may occur in men of all ages and the cause is nearly always some sort of fear. One of the most common fears is fear of failure, especially in men who have had this happen. Fear of any kind is one of the greatest enemies of successful marital relations. It is generally conceded that in over 90 per cent of cases the impotence is psychogenic, and according to Kinsey (1948), it is "in actuality a relatively rare phenomenon."

All of this indicates that there should yet be a long period of normal sex relations between the husband and wife who reach the age of the wife's menopause together. Even if there are some difficulties there is much that can be done if proper help is sought. The statistics are reassuring.

In couples otherwise incompatible even complete sexual harmony will not make for happiness and often it will not even prevent divorce. It is an axiom that marriage based only on physical attraction is not likely to endure. Love is based on the finer and deeper things of life, including sex in its right place, and similar tastes and interests will make for a spiritual union in marriage that sex alone can never bring about.

The time of the change brings a real opportunity for a couple to achieve a stronger union through development of an improved sense of teamwork and through mutual interests, of whatever kind; it also brings an opportunity to correct any sexual inadequacies that may exist.

The Best Years Ahead

Although the menopausal woman is far from growing old she has reached at least the midpoint of life. It is a good time to take stock of life with her husband and plan ahead for the good things of life—children, grandchildren, nephews, nieces, relatives, and friends; new activities; long-postponed associations that time and circumstances will now permit. There is no end of possible worthwhile and engrossing activities, including charity and civic enterprises, P.T.A. or girl-scout activities, writing, painting, sewing, entering business.

It is a time to participate with one's mate in sports such as hunting, fishing, golf, or to have him participate in the things that interest one-

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self, such as landscape gardening, growing flowers, and cooking.

And it is a time for reading. A world of fine literature is available: history, biography, poetry, fiction, science. Truly, now one should have leisure to live!

If three-score and ten represents the age that men and women aspire to, it is also close to the number of years that one who has reached middle life may expect to live. It has been said that everyone begins to grow old from the moment of birth, but it is closer to the truth to say that one begins to grow old from middle age. In that sense we can understand what Robert Browning meant when he wrote:

> Grow old along with me!
> The best is yet to be,
> The last of life, for
> which the first was made.

The change can indeed lead to wonderful new vistas. For a fair percentage of women in former times this period of life was a trying one, but the modern woman can live with added zest in "The best is yet to be."

The menopausal woman is a mature woman. From her forty or fifty years of living she has acquired much from observation and experience and is able to adjust to whatever requirements life may set before her. The experiences of her adult life, whether she has borne and reared children or not, has rounded her personality and taught her the niceties of human relationships. She is therefore thoroughly equipped to cope with the ordinary problems of living and to enjoy the activities and leisure time in the years ahead.

Truly the best years are ahead because of the learning that has gone on before. Now she can really live.

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G. LOMBARD KELLY

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Menstrual Cycle

THE commonly used term *menstrual cycle* identifies the female sexual cycle of the higher primates by its most overt sign, menstruation. This recurrent phenomenon results from the thwarting of the reproductive purpose of the sexual cycle. During the menstrual cycle the endometrium, the mucous membrane of the uterus, is prepared for implantation of the fertilized egg, or ovum. If fertilization and implantation does not occur, the especially prepared endometrium regresses and is cast off along with blood from the vessels within the endometrium. While the endometrium is being cast off, the process of preparing for implantation begins again. Each menstrual cycle is considered to begin on the first day of menstruation and to end on the first day of the succeeding menstruation.

The female sexual cycle is controlled by the interplay of physiological and psychological forces established in the course of psychobiological maturation. The physiological rhythms of the cycle are basic to the development of sexual behavior. Thus, the dynamics of the female sexual cycle cannot be understood without a thorough knowledge of these rhythms.

First Menstruation

The first menstrual cycle terminating in the first menstruation, the menarche, heralds the onset of sexual maturity. In the human female the menarche usually occurs between the ages of 9 and 16, but younger or older ages have been reported in apparently physiologically normal women. The average age at the menarche in North America is 12.5 years. The first menstrual cycles are often irregular in occurrence and variable in rhythm. Variations of from 2 to 6 weeks between menses and even absence of cyclic phenomena for as long as 6 months or so have been reported. Furthermore, some cycles may manifest all of the physiological phenomena except discharge of an ovum from the ovary. Such anovulatory cycles presumably explain the relative sterility of adolescence.

Irregularity of Menstruation

After the first few years of sexual maturity ovulation is the general rule and the menstrual cycles become fairly regular. Absolute regularity, however, is almost certainly a myth. Eighty per cent of women have cycles averaging 28.6 days, with a span between 26 and 34 days. The remaining 20 per cent have either shorter or longer cycles, or exhibit considerable variation in cycle length. Variations of between 21 and 90 days occur in women who appear to be physiologically normal. Occasionally even longer intervals are encountered but these are apparently due to infrequent ovulations rather than to excessively long cycles. A few women in whom no physiological abnormality can be found ovulate only once or twice a year.

Toward the end of reproductive life the menstrual cycles again tend to become irregular in length and occurrence, and anovulatory cycles are frequent. At an age between 40 and 52 (the North American average being 48) the menstrual cycles cease. This is known as the menopause. It may occur between 35 and 40 or not until the late fifties. In general, the younger the age at menarche the older the age at menopause will be and vice versa.

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Morphological and Physiological Processes

The menstrual cycle involves morphological and physiological processes occurring periodically and simultaneously in the uterus and ovary. The alterations in the endometrium of the uterus are governed entirely by the hormones produced in the ovary. The processes going on in the ovary, on the other hand, are independent of the endometrium and are under the control of the secretions of the pituitary gland.

The ovaries at birth contain, among other structures, several hundred thousand round clear cells with large nuclei, each cell surrounded by a layer of small spindle-shaped cells. The central cell in each of these cell clusters is the primordial ovum, and the whole cell cluster is referred to as a primordial follicle. Apparently the number of primordial follicles present at birth represents the entire supply for reproductive life. It has been suggested that new ova are formed continuously during reproductive life, as is the case with the sperm cells. However, no one has ever been able to present incontrovertible evidence for new ovum formation after birth. Before puberty, most of the primordial follicles have disappeared, so that at the onset of the menstrual cycles only about 30,000 remain. During reproductive life about 500 mature ova at the most are ovulated, but large numbers degenerate during each menstrual cycle so that after the menopause there are usually no remaining primordial follicles.

As puberty approaches the anterior lobe of the pituitary gland begins to elaborate at least three ovary-stimulating or gonadotropic hormones. Apparently a fine balance between two of these hormones (the follicle-stimulating hormone and the interstitial-cell-stimulating hormone) is necessary to produce an orderly sequence of events within the ovary. Under the influence of the follicle-stimulating hormone several primordial follicles begin to grow and under the influence of the interstitial-cell-stimulating hormone the cells of the growing follicles begin to secrete estrogen.

The increase in estrogen secretion produces progressive growth of the endometrium. The uterine mucous membrane increases in thickness and its blood vessels become more numerous and begin to grow toward the surface. The glands of the endometrium become more branching and show signs of preparing for secretory activity. Shortly before ovulation the endometrium appears to be slightly swollen due to the presence of extracellular fluid. Often early secretory activity occurs in the glands at this time.

Ovulation

As the growth of the primordial follicles continues, usually one begins to outstrip all others and also begins to move toward the surface of the ovary. It is from this largest of the growing follicles that the discharge of the ovum, or ovulation, will occur. The remainder of the stimulated follicles cease to grow at various stages in their development and degenerate. Occasionally, and more commonly in the later years of reproductive life, more than one follicle will achieve maturity. Two out of every three sets of twins is the result of such a double ovulation. Six out of every ten sets of triplets result from double ovulations; and three out of every ten are the result of a triple ovulation. Data on quadruplets and quintuplets also indicate the existence of multiple ovulations in these circumstances. However, quadruple and quintuple ovulations must be exceedingly rare.

The mature follicle is usually known as the Graafian follicle after the seventeenth-century Dutch anatomist, Regner de Graaf, who first described it in mammals. At full maturity the Graafian follicle is about one-half inch in diameter, and its cavity is filled with fluid rich in estrogen. Within the follicle are two important layers of cells. The inner layer, the granulosa, is made up of tiny cells and is extremely thin in the area at the ovarian surface. Opposite the ovarian surface the granulosa forms a pyramid many layers thick, in the center of which lies the largest known human cell, the mature ovum. This is a large clear cell with a good-sized nucleus, and is barely large enough (0.004″ in diameter) to be visible to the naked eye. The layer just beneath the granulosa, the theca interna, is composed of large clear cells

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and is richly endowed with blood vessels. This layer is the principal source of estrogen, which it is by now producing in large amounts.

The high preovulatory peak of estrogen secretion produces an alteration in the balance of the pituitary gonadotropic hormones. The secretion of follicle-stimulating hormone is partially suppressed, while secretion of the interstitial-cell-stimulating hormone is enhanced. Current opinion holds that this altered ratio of pituitary gonadotropins induces rupture of the Graafian follicle and hence discharge of the ovum.

As the hour of ovulation approaches, the expanding follicle thins out the surface of the ovary causing destruction of ovarian cells until the follicle bulges out from the ovary. At the same time the pyramid of granulosa cells begins to loosen about the ovum so that the ovum and a few surrounding cells almost if not actually float free within the follicle. The outer wall of the follicle becomes thinner and thinner until it gradually begins to break open, and discharges the ovum. Thus, actual rupture of the follicle is a gradual and gentle process.

Postovulatory Phase

Ovulation signals the end of the first portion of the menstrual cycle. For obvious reasons this first portion can be referred to as the preovulatory, the proliferative, or the follicular phase of the cycle. It can be of various durations. On the other hand, the second portion of the cycle, which is referred to as the postovulatory, the secretory, or the luteal phase, is of rather fixed duration. It has been fairly clearly established that the occurrence of ovulation is generally 12 to 16 days before the menstrual flow begins. Thus, the duration of the preovulatory phase may be as short as 5 to 9 days if the total cycle length is 21 days, or as long as 44 to 48 days in cycles of 60 days' duration. In the average cycle of 28.6 days, the two major phases of the cycle will be about equal in length. Accordingly, most ovulations would be expected to take place on the fourteenth day of the cycle. Many careful studies of the time of ovulation indicate this to be so, but all such studies report a few ovulations as early as day 8 or as late as day 20, presumably in shorter or longer menstrual cycles respectively.

Although discharge of the ovum is a relatively gentle and gradual process, many women have noted on occasion a sudden sharp lower abdominal pain in mid-cycle, which can easily be correlated with the time of ovulation. On occasion this ovulatory pain is quite severe and may be followed by several days of dull aching lower abdominal discomfort. These ovulatory pains have been variously attributed to the breaking of the ovarian surface or to the discharge of small to moderate amounts of blood from the ruptured follicle. Indeed, infrequently there may be a minor degree of vaginal bleeding at ovulation time, which may last for several days. Even though vaginal bleeding is only rarely seen at ovulation, vaginal washings obtained at this time (when examined under the microscope) almost invariably contain a large number of red blood cells. The origin of this blood is not clearly understood. It may come either from the ruptured follicle through the Fallopian tubes and the uterus, or from blood vessels in the endometrium which shrinks, with loss of its extracellular fluid, due to the sudden decrease of estrogen support at ovulation time.

After ovulation the follicle wall partially collapses but the follicular cavity becomes filled with blood. The cells of the granulosa layer rapidly increase in size and probably also in number, compressing the central blood-filled cavity. Within a few days they are surrounded by blood vessels and show signs of considerable secretory activity. The follicle has thus been replaced by a new structure which has a bright orange-yellow color and has, therefore, been known since the Middle Ages as the corpus luteum, or yellow body. The corpus luteum is obviously from its appearance an endocrine gland. It is formed under the stimulus of a third gonadotropic hormone of the anterior lobe of the pituitary gland, luteotropin, which makes its appearance at the time of ovulation. Furthermore, luteotropin stimulates the corpus luteum to secrete progesterone, which prepares the endometrium for implantation and early maintenance of the fertilized ovum. There is evidence that the interstitial-cell-stimulating hormone influences the granulosa cells to store

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up precursor substances for progesterone production and that a little progesterone is actually manufactured before ovulation. However, no appreciable quantity of progesterone is secreted until after ovulation.

Hormonal Influences

Under the influence of progesterone a more or less orderly progression of changes occurs in the endometrium. These changes are sufficiently progressive for an experienced observer to be able to estimate the length of time since ovulation within a day or so from a portion of endometrium obtained at any time during the luteal phase. Similarly, the progressive changes in the corpus luteum as it waxes and wanes have been shown to be subject to dating within a day or so.

The progesterone-induced changes in the endometrium involve a gradual increase in its thickness. Also the endometrial glands become more complex and begin vigorous secretion. Blood vessels reach the upper layers of the endometrium. Special small coiled arteries or arterioles make their appearance. These vessels are essential for the blood supply of the ovum if pregnancy occurs. About the coiled arterioles the endometrial cells take on a swollen appearance, which gradually involves all the cells of the upper layers. These upper layers also show evidence of considerable extracellular fluid accumulation.

At this stage of the cycle, about 10 to 12 days after ovulation, estrogen, progesterone, and luteotropin secretion are at their peak, while interstitial-cell-stimulating hormone secretion is declining and follicle-stimulating hormone secretion is on the rise. Apparently, progesterone suppresses interstitial-cell-stimulating hormone and allows follicle-stimulating hormone secretion to increase, for at this time a new crop of follicles begins to grow in preparation for the next menstrual cycle.

If implantation of a fertilized ovum, which takes place on the sixth day after ovulation, has not occurred, estrogen and progesterone secretion soon wane. The mechanism by which further hormone production on the part of the corpus luteum is curtailed is not clear. It may be that the increasing estrogen secreted by the theca cells of the corpus luteum inhibits production of luteotropin, thus causing regression of the corpus luteum due to withdrawal of the stimulus for secretory activity. On the other hand, progesterone secretion may decrease simply because the supply of precursor substances is exhausted. The first suggestion is the more likely since, if implantation occurs, the implanted ovum secretes a gonadotropic substance that is capable of prolonging the life of the corpus luteum and the production of progesterone.

As hormone secretion wanes, the cells of the corpus luteum and of the endometrial glands show signs of secretory exhaustion, and the endometrium decreases in thickness due to loss of extracellular fluid. This endometrial collapse is associated with intermittent constrictions of the coiled arterioles. This intermittent shutting off of blood supply (ischemia) causes tissue damage both to the endometrial cells and to the walls of the blood vessels so that blood leaks into the tissues from both arterioles and veins. Tissue destruction releases toxic substances which promote further tissue destruction. White blood cells, scavenging destroyed tissue, are present in large numbers. This process does not occur simultaneously in all areas of the endometrium. However, within 24 to 48 hours sufficient areas have been involved that vaginal bleeding begins. The upper layers of the endometrium are eventually completely cast off.

The corpus luteum also shows rather marked changes during the menstrual flow. Intracellular and extracellular fluids are lost so that there is usually a considerable decrease in the thickness of the corpus luteum. Granulosa cells can be seen in all stages of death and destruction. Scavenging white blood cells are present in large numbers. Often the collapse of the corpus luteum leads to bleeding into the substance of the organ.

Menstrual Phase

From one-half to three-fourths of the menstrual discharge is blood. This blood is almost entirely venous in origin since at about the time menstruation begins the arterioles have constricted completely. The remainder of the

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discharge is composed of mucus, fragments of endometrium, and desquamated vaginal cells. The quantity of blood lost during menstruation varies from individual to individual and also from month to month in the same individual, the average total blood loss being from 1 to 6 ounces. The duration of the menstrual discharge also varies considerably. The average duration is 5 days, but the range is from 1 to 10 days. For most women, however, the length of menstrual flow remains fairly constant from month to month.

Even as menstruation begins the repair process is under way from the most basal layer of the endometrium, which is never cast off. Epithelium to cover the surface grows out from the bases of the glands and new blood vessels begin to make their appearance. In the ovary the new follicles are in active growth. The old corpus luteum is gradually shrinking and eventually, by the time several more menstrual cycles have taken place, will be replaced by scar tissue.

For purposes of descriptive convenience the ovarian and uterine cyclical morphology and physiology have been divided into phases. However, since this is a continuous biological system involving the influence of a fine balance of hormone production upon variable target organs, it must be realized that the menstrual cycle does not proceed with the precision of machinery. The characteristic picture of the follicular phase may persist up to the time of ovulation, or early luteal phase changes may take place before ovulation. The preovulatory, postovulatory, and menstrual states may vary in duration. Furthermore, the premenstrual ischemia largely responsible for the menstrual bleeding is usually preceded by the luteal phase, but bleeding may appear at the expected time even though there has been no ovulation and no corpus luteum formation. This bleeding, or anovulatory menstruation, occurs from a proliferative estrogen-dominated endometrium when estrogen secretion wanes. Similar bleeding from a proliferative endometrium occurs when estrogen administration to a woman whose ovaries have been removed is abruptly stopped. In the ovary in anovulatory menstruation complete follicular maturation does not occur, presumably due to an improper balance between follicle-stimulating hormone and interstitial-cell-stimulating hormone. A number of follicles may all reach the same stage of development and then simultaneously cease development and degenerate or become cystic. This arrest of development may occur early in follicle maturation so that all the follicles will be small, or may occur late so that a number of large cystic follicles are produced. In other instances a single large follicle may almost reach complete maturity, only to collapse and become filled with blood, producing an appearance quite similar to ovulation.

Since menstruation can occur without ovulation, it is obvious that menstrual bleeding cannot be explained on the basis of progesterone deprivation alone but must be related to waning of both estrogen and progesterone secretion. Therefore, the convenient hypothesis that menstruation represents the destruction of a prepared nest is not completely tenable. In early pregnancy, about the time after ovulation that menstruation would occur if there had been no pregnancy, vasoconstriction and bleeding take place about the developing ovum when progesterone and estrogen secretion wane temporarily. Menstruation can thus be regarded as an exaggeration of a physiological process for pregnancy. In pregnancy, when hormone secretion is higher, the changes are localized to the implantation site, and this localized injury facilitates maintenance of the embryo by providing blood and tissue substances for its nourishment until its own blood supply or placenta can be established.

Menstrual cycle changes occur not only in the ovary and endometrium, but also in the other tissues of the generative tract, in the breasts, and in mucous membranes throughout the body. These extraovarian and extrauterine changes are not as marked but the cyclic changes are sufficient to permit a rough correlation with the phases of the ovarian and uterine cycles. For example, definite follicular, luteal, and menstrual phase changes have been described in the Fallopian tubes. The immediate preovulatory changes favor transport and nourishment of the ovum during its four-day passage down the tubes.

In the early follicular phase the uterine cervical glands are uncomplicated and show little

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secretory action. What secretion there is has been shown to be inimical to the passage of sperm. As the follicular phase proceeds these cervical glands become more complex and actively secretory. At the time of ovulation the cervical secretion is abundant, full of glucose, thin, watery, and highly permeable to sperm. Indeed, cervical secretion at ovulation is so abundant that many women have considerable thin clear vaginal discharge at this time. After ovulation, secretory activity in the cervical glands rapidly disappears, and the cervical secretions again become inimical to sperm.

Changes in Vaginal Epithelium

The cyclical changes in the vaginal epithelium can also be correlated with the ovarian and endometrial cycles. Vaginal smears or washings can, therefore, be used to evaluate the degree of estrogen and progesterone production during the cycle. The change from estrogen domination of the cycle to progesterone domination is not, however, so clear-cut in the vaginal epithelium that the time of ovulation can be determined therefrom. Estrogen causes the vaginal epithelium to thicken and its superficial cells to cornify and desquamate in large numbers. These cornified cells are free of granules and their nuclei are small, fragmented, or entirely absent. White blood cells and bacteria are uncommon. In the luteal phase, on the other hand, white blood cells and bacteria are present in large numbers. Mucus and fragments of cornified epithelial cells are also in evidence. Most of the epithelial cells, however, have large nuclei and a granular cytoplasm. During menstruation the upper layers of the vaginal epithelium are shed, so that the smears show many more cells along with large numbers of red and white blood cells, much mucus, and many bacteria.

Changes in Breasts and Body Tissue

Whereas the cyclic changes in the Fallopian tubes, endometrium, cervix, and vagina are entirely due to estrogen and progesterone, the cyclic changes in the glandular apparatus of the breasts are under the influence of luteotropin as well as of the two ovarian hormones. Apparently all three hormones are necessary for development of the secretory apparatus, for it is only during the luteal phase of the cycle or in pregnancy that secretory elements develop from the ducts which are the only glandular elements present in the mammary gland tissue during the follicular phase. The amount of extracellular and intracellular fluid in the breasts also increases during the luteal phase of the cycle. Thus, premenstrual enlargement and sensitivity of the breasts is a fairly common occurrence in women.

Premenstrual congestion and swelling of mucous membranes and other epithelia of the body are noted to some degree in all women, for all body tissues take part more or less in the luteal phase accumulation of intracellular and extracellular fluid that is so evident in the tissues of the genital apparatus. Premenstrual weight gain due to fluid accumulation averages at least five pounds. In some women severe generalized edema is a regular accompaniment of the luteal phase of the cycle. The arteriolar spasm seen in the endometrium during the 48 hours before the menstrual flow also affects arterioles throughout the body. In rare instances this generalized vasospasm is sufficient to evoke extragenital bleeding during the menstrual flow. The nasal mucous membrane is the most sensitive of all the extragenital mucous membranes to estrogen and progesterone. Accordingly, most of the cases of extragenital bleeding during the menstrual flow involve bleeding from the nose, but such "vicarious menstruation" has also been reported from the gastrointestinal tract, the lungs, the retina of the eye, and even from the skin.

Other Factors Controlling the Menstrual Cycle

The pituitary-ovarian mechanisms initiating and controlling the menstrual cycle have been outlined above. There are, however, a number of other factors involved in the basic control of the menstrual cycle. The mechanisms by which these factors influence the phenomena of the cycle are very poorly understood. It is obvious, for instance, that adequate nutrition is necessary for normal function, since cessation of menstrual function is extremely common when-

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ever women are subjected to a diet inadequate in calories and nutritional elements. It is not clear whether inadequacy of calories or inadequacy of some basic constituent of the diet is the principal factor. Recent evidence however, suggests that certain protein elements are essential to pituitary gonadotropin formation. Similarly, it is known that normal liver and kidney function for excretion and degradation of hormones is essential to menstrual rhythmicity.

Furthermore, it is recognized that well-balanced endocrine interrelations are necessary for normal menstrual cycles. Inadequate thyroid function, for instance, is associated with irregular and infrequent menstrual cycles, sterility, and even absence of cycles (amenorrhea). There is some evidence to suggest that adequate thyroid hormone production is essential for adequate luteotropin secretion by the anterior lobe of the pituitary. Similarly, the occurrence of menstrual cycle disturbances in certain types of endocrine malfunctions of the pancreas and adrenals suggests that proper function of these glands is necessary for menstrual rhythmicity.

The relationship between the central nervous system and the reproductive cycle is basic to an understanding of all these processes. An intact nervous system has long been known to be essential to the regulation of all aspects of the reproductive cycle. Transection of the spinal cord or interruption of the principal autonomic nervous system pathways to the ovaries and the uterus, for example, is always promptly followed by menstrual-like flow from the uterus. Indeed, neurological abnormalities at all levels of the nervous system from the cerebral cortex to the nerve endings in the ovary and uterus have been reported to be responsible for deviations from normal function.

It is only recently, however, that we have begun to understand the mechanisms by which the nervous system and the endocrine glands interact to integrate the reproductive cycle. There is now a large body of evidence, especially from subprimate forms of animal life, that the endocrine glands must be considered to be specialized end-organs of the central nervous system. As end-organs they are acted upon by the autonomic nerve centers in the hypothalamus and related nerve structures and, in turn, as end-organs they act upon these so-called "visceral brain" centers. In other words, both nerve pathways and hormonal mechanisms function in neuroendocrine systems. Furthermore, there is evidence that "visceral brain" control of the endocrine glands is partially mediated by neurohumoral mechanisms, whereby these nerve centers elaborate chemical substances having specific effects upon endocrine glands and discharge these substances into the blood stream for transport to the glands upon which they have action.

From studies of the neuroendocrine mechanisms for integration of the reproductive cycle in lower animals it appears that certain hypothalamic centers control pituitary gonadotropic secretion under the influence of stimuli from the rhinencephalon and the brain stem reticular formation. These centers in turn are influenced by the effect of the ovarian steroids and possibly by the pituitary hormones. In other words, regulation of the pituitary-ovarian cycle is a function of an intrinsic "visceral brain" rhythm, which is in turn affected by the pituitary-ovarian hormones. It is within this area of the brain that the interplay of hormonal and psychological forces influencing the female sexual cycle takes place.

It must be realized that both hormonal and psychological forces serve only to modify the reactivity of the sexual apparatus. In psychologically mature and well-adjusted women, in whom sexual behavior is more or less subservient to the well-being of the total individual, fluctuations in sexual reactivity may be so subtle as to be unrecognized by either the individual or her environment. On the other hand, cyclic fluctuations will be exaggerated in neurotic individuals. For this reason, Theresa Benedek's (1952) studies of many sexual cycles in a group of neurotic women undergoing psychonalysis are particularly valuable in elucidating the influence of hormonal forces upon sexual reactivity. The psychoanalytic method is particularly useful because it focuses on unconscious attitudes that otherwise might escape attention. Benedek's view of the underlying cyclic pattern of emotional responses to hormonal activity has been substantiated by others and also closely parallels the impressions of observant gynecologists concerning the cyclic

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nature of the behavior patterns of less disturbed women.

Menstruation and Sexual Arousal

The follicular phase of the cycle, with its rising estrogen production, is associated with a sense of well-being and an integrated effective alertness leading to well-coordinated activity at all levels of the personality. In the more specific sexual sphere, active heterosexual activities can be recognized in overt and disguised sexual behavior as well as in dreams and phantasies. Unconscious destructive tendencies toward men can be recognized, but an extroverted positive orientation toward the male predominates. Sexual gratification will relieve the increasing sexual tension to some extent and hasten the ovulatory phase of well-integrated psychosexuality, in which the biological and emotional readiness for conception is expressed by the desire to be loved and possessed.

Whether or not the sexual tension of the follicular phase is relieved by sexual gratification, the early postovulatory phase is marked by a relaxation of tension. Psychosexual energy becomes concentrated upon introverted concerns of the body and personal welfare. The woman becomes more interested in her own bodily appearance. Readiness to receive the sexual partner gradually gives way to sexual passivity as progesterone production increases. Biologically, this outward passivity may be regarded as a sign of preoccupation with the nurturing of the ovum. The unconscious psychological material of the early luteal phase is concerned with the positive and negative aspects of motherhood. When pregnancy does not occur this period of introspective passivity is short-lived.

Psychological Effects of Menstruation

In the late luteal phase, as progesterone and estrogen secretion wane, feelings of anxiety and depression become apparent. Psychobiologically, this premenstrual state represents recognition of the frustration of the reproductive urge. The hormonal deficiency of the premenstrual phase leads basically to less well integrated sexual activity and to resigned passivity. However, the emotional import of the preparation for menstruation is so fundamental to the personality structure that marked variations in behavior are to be expected. The low levels of hormone secretion allow psychic forces more related to the psychosexual development of the personality than to hormone levels to dominate. Accordingly, it is not surprising that the premenstrual phase is characterized by marked variations in behavior such as depressive reactions, apprehension, irascibility, resigned passivity, compulsive overactivity, and even hypomanic states.

Premenstrual tension of some degree is present in all women. In addition to the factors cited above, it appears that the physiological stimuli arising from tissue edema, and possibly from the changing hormone levels, either energize basic psychic forces or depress controlling forces within the personality. Thus the degree to which premenstrual tension manifests itself overtly might be considered a measure of the maturity of the personality structure. The importance of tissue edema in initiating the emotional changes of the premenstrual phase is indicated by the fact that administration of agents which reduce the edema usually improves or abolishes the overt manifestations of tension. Similarly, factors in the external environment of the individual can reduce or enhance premenstrual tension depending upon their significance to the personality structure. On the other hand, the virtual absence of premenstrual tension in anovulatory cycles indicates that progesterone secretion has an important role in the establishment of premenstrual tension.

Just before menstruation, when hormone levels are at a low ebb, there is often a recrudescence of sexual drive. The emotional import of this return of sexual libido may be due to hormonal influences, to factors basic to the personality structure, or simply to the multiplicity of physiological stimuli from the ischemic tissues of the generative tract.

The onset of menstrual flow is followed, once the flow is well established, by a decrease in tension and excitability, and hence a feeling of relief. While the hormonal levels remain low the predominant attitude is one of mild depression and depreciation of femininity. After a

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few days, normally still during the flow, the influence of the early follicular development of the new cycle reawakens the interest in sexual activity. This immediate postmenstrual peak of sexual interest suggests a drive to reassert the positive aspects of femininity. Thus, the primitive emotions liberated during the premenstrual and menstrual phases can be brought under control. Then, as estrogen secretion rises, the emotional content of the follicular phase reasserts itself.

During the follicular, ovulatory, and early luteal phases hormonal influences are dominant and usually in control of the basic psychological determinants of sexual behavior. However, it is possible for psychological forces to overwhelm the fundamental rhythmicity of the cycle. Gross disturbances, especially anemorrhea, occur in association with the psychoses. Suppression of the menses or even false pregnancy (pseudocyesis) occur in some women who are either extremely fearful or extremely desirous of pregnancy. Similarly, psychic shock, worry, fear, and even sudden changes in environment may produce profound disturbances of menstrual rhythmicity. Indeed, both gynecologists and psychiatrists report that all types of menstrual disturbances may result at times from purely psychological forces. Considering what dramatic events the menarche and the menopause are in the life of women, it is quite possible that the irregularities of early and late cyclic function are due more to psychological forces than to neuroendocrine influences.

On the other hand, during the premenstrual and menstrual phases of the cycle, when hormone levels are low, psychological forces largely determine the pattern of behavior. These psychological forces are primarily concerned with the many meanings of menstruation. Many of these meanings are centered around the conflicts encountered in early psychosexual development. Whether or not these conflicts have been settled, the menarche reawakens them. Thus the achievement of sexual maturity and reproductive capacity constitutes both a threat and a promise to the pubertal girl. Her physiology demands womanhood, but the old conflicts have opposing imports, and regression to the prepubertal state offers protection from both the new and the old conflicts. Each succeeding menstruation will recapitulate to some extent this same struggle between feminine sexuality and antisexuality.

Of course, the menstrual cycle is significant emotionally not only because of its relationship to sexual maturity and reproduction, but also because it manifests itself as bleeding. From the beginning of time menstruation has been associated with ideas of horror, with danger and fear of contamination in the mind of others, and with fear, shame, and guilt in the mind of the woman herself. To the pubertal girl the first sight of her own menstrual blood fills her with terror and shame connected with her unconscious castration fears, and with her unconscious conflict over excretory functions. She fears, on the one hand, that she has injured herself, has some horrible disease, or is being punished for forbidden sexual activities and phantasies, and, on the other hand, she is shamed by her inability to control something that bears a strong resemblance to a "dirty" excretory function.

Primitive Menstrual Beliefs

In primitive cultures the menstruating woman has always been regarded not only as dirty, but also as dangerous. She is believed to be particularly dangerous to all other manifestations of reproductive functions. Thus, her influence is especially damaging to crops, to domestic animals, and even more devastating to men. It is usually imperative, therefore, that menstruating women withdraw from the household, if not from the community itself. Menstruation is, accordingly, surrounded by many strict taboos, rituals, and strange superstitions. Elaborate rituals for purification following menstruation are common in some cultures, especially in the Hebrew and Mohammedan religions. In virtually all of the older cultures coitus during menstruation is specifically interdicted.

All of these primitive ideas represent basic human feelings that find overt expression among semienlightened people, but are more or less repressed into the unconscious among the more sophisticated. Thus, the primitive prohibition of coitus during menstruation is

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probably the most widely accepted of all restrictions upon human sexual behavior. Many sophisticated and sexually liberal individuals may rationalize their avoidance of coitus during the menstrual flow in terms of its "unesthetic" or "unhygienic" aspects, and indeed, this attitude may be related to the concept of menstrual blood as an excrement. However, the real attitude is more likely the unconscious fear of danger.

Conclusion

Thus, the premenstrual and menstrual phases of the cycle, the phases of little or no hormonal influence, are periods when basic emotions operate. The material presented accounts for the usual menstrual emotional content of depression and depreciation of femininity. Moreover, the wide range of unconscious concepts possible makes the range of behavior patterns encountered at this critical time in the female sexual cycle comprehensible. Similarly, it is understandable that suicides, deaths, illnesses, and crimes among women should be most common during menstruation and the premenstruum. It should be pointed out, however, that the attitudes depicted are by no means inevitable. They represent implicit rather than explicit orientations, not so much overt as potentially ready to seek expression at the first opportunity. The extent to which any of these attitudes may be apparent will be modified by individual differences in endowment, environment, and experience. Thus, most studies show that the time of ovulation does not represent the time of greatest sexual desire in the conscious minds of many women. There seems little doubt, however, that at the unconscious level ovulation is the time of greatest desire for heterosexual activity.

In this presentation of the female sexual cycle we have followed the historical pattern of developing twentieth-century scientific knowledge. Attention was first focussed on basic generative tract physiology. Recently we have begun to understand that other physiological mechanisms are intimately related to the establishment of cyclic phenomena. Finally, we have sought to integrate the emotional life of women into our understanding of the female sexual cycle as a function of the psychobiological unit. Although considerable information has already been accumulated, we are far from having an adequately clarified or coordinated view of the rhythms of female sexual behavior.

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GEORGE W. CORNER, JR.

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Movement and Feeling in Sex

THE act of sexual intercourse, unlike other human activities, is shrouded in mystery. We know truly only that which we personally experience.

One's body sensations cannot be adequately expressed in words. It is even more difficult to describe the qualities of body movement. In the face of these handicaps, standards of response and reaction are very difficult to determine.

Sexologists have two sources of information about sexual behavior. The first is accumulated clinical experience. The second is the result of surveys and statistical studies. Kinsey's monumental work in the latter area is well known. Its evaluation as well as that of clinical observation depends, however, upon the framework of thinking that assigns to the sexual act its specific meaning and purpose. In the following study of the feeling and movement in the sexual act, some of the meanings in the total experience will be indicated.

Healthy sexual intercourse combines intense feelings and strong, active movements. To the best of my knowledge, this is as true of the woman as of the man. In the act of coitus itself, the feelings and movements are so fused and blended that the total act is a unity of emotional expression. For purposes of study and in dealing with cases of disturbance in the sexual function, much can be gained by a consideration and discussion of each component separately. It must be emphasized, however, that in the experience itself of sexual intercourse these two are not so easily separated.

Feeling

Like all other biological functions, the sexual act depends upon the build-up and release of tension. In bioenergetic analysis, we also speak of this process as one of charge and discharge. A feeling arises through a change in the bioenergetic charge, either locally or in the total organism, if the variation is of sufficient intensity to impress itself upon consciousness. We can add the observation that the perception of the feeling coincides with the arrival of the charge at the surface of the body (and of the cerebrum).

Although as yet no one has determined exactly what creates the attraction that draws two people of opposite sexes together, we are aware of the excitement, the tension, and the feelings it arouses. This attraction, or the force that creates it, can be equated with Freud's Eros. We also call it love. Love is our name for the drive that draws us to another person, unites us with them in spirit, and urges to physical closeness or intimacy. We cannot in this article elaborate upon other aspects of love, such as the love of God, but even here the concept of closeness or nearness is important.

Love is not sex, but contrary to what some psychologists believe (if the above definition of love is accepted), there can be no sex without love. To the degree that love or tender feelings are present in sex, to that degree will the sexual contact be experienced as pleasurable. It is questionable if one can voluntarily engage in sexual activity with a total absence of feeling. It is hardly likely that one can do so without any movement. The absence of pleasure in the sexual experience must be explained, therefore, by the presence of conflicting impulses.

The pleasure of contact, whether social or sexual, with a loved person is related to the amount of tender feelings or heart feelings evoked by and invested in the relationship.

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This holds true for the relationships between mother and child, between friends, and between lovers. The feelings that are aroused by the attraction, or which grow out of the relationship, excite and charge the parties to it. They also tense them. They are pleasurable per se, and they are also pleasurable because one anticipates the pleasure of the release and discharge of the feelings by appropriate action. A person is not happy unless he can do something for a friend; a mother is frustrated unless she can take care of her child.

We must not assume that tension is necessarily unpleasant or harmful. Life itself depends on the maintenance of a certain tension or tone. The pleasure of appetite depends upon the tension of hunger; the satisfaction of sleep results from the tension of fatigue. One could multiply these examples manifold. We recognize the corollary, too. Nothing is so deadly as boredom, ennui, or the lack of excitement. A tension becomes painful only when the possibility of its release is too long delayed, or is obstructed. One calls to mind, as examples, hunger, the need to urinate, the holding in of strong anger and, certainly, a strongly aroused sexual desire.

The excitation resulting from the attraction between two individuals increases in intensity as the two individuals draw closer to each other. With the first physical contact, in kiss or embrace, this may be experienced as a streaming or melting along the front of the body from the heart region to the genitals. In the sexual relationship, the heightening of feeling through physical contact prior to the commencement of the act itself is called fore-pleasure. It is engaged in for that purpose. It is the pleasure of excitement and charge, and it also anticipates the end-pleasure of satisfaction. When the feelings reach a certain high intensity, the closest possible physical union of the two individuals is sought. This is arrived at by penetration of the penis into the vagina. In the course of penetration the pleasure of contact increases sharply until penetration is full and complete. When this is accomplished, there is a subsidence of the excitatory state, a change in the feeling tone. Love has achieved its object; the two are as close together as possible.

When one inquires into the feelings of the man at this point, one is told that he feels in, at home, or where he belongs. It is a contented feeling, one of relaxation. Ferenczi (1938) pointed out that the act of sex was, for the man, a symbolic return to the womb, to his original home. It is literally true for the male germ cells. The woman does not feel the same. She has no identification with the man in this return to the womb. Several whom I questioned reported that they felt full, complete. Others said that they felt that now they had the man in themselves, that he was part of them. And this, too, was a contented feeling. If the man symbolically returns to the womb, the woman, symbolically, is the womb that receives him.

The feeling of rest and contentment, as after a journey finished, does not last. New tensions arise, new needs make themselves felt. The new situation calls forth the specific movements of the sexual act which create new sensations and feelings. These we will study as part of our analysis of the sexual movements. Before we do so, however, let us examine some typical disturbances of feeling in this first stage of the sexual function.

What common disturbances are found in these feelings? Broadly speaking, the most important is the fear of falling in love. That is, the individual is afraid to experience an intense and overwhelming desire for another person. We may ask why anyone should be afraid of something that promises so much pleasure. The answers patients give all indicate earlier disappointments, the fear of rejection, the lack of hope, etc. One hears such remarks as: "What's the use." "There is no one." "I feel too vulnerable when I open up." "I don't want to be hurt again."

Analytic investigation of these reactions can generally trace them back to traumatic experiences in the relation of the individual to his parents. The mother who lets the child cry himself out, or cry himself to sleep, is creating future difficulties for that child in his adult love life. Such an experience can easily create deep-seated feelings of "what's the use, no one responds." The father who ignores the femininity of his daughter, because he had hoped for a son, handicaps the girl in her ability to relate as a woman to a man. Parents who per-

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vert the parental relationship to satisfy their own emotional needs, the father who sleeps with his pre-adolescent daughter, or the mother who turns her sexuality toward her son, create such doubt, distrust, and confusion in their children that, later, adult patterns of give and take become almost impossible. The analytic and psychiatric literature is full of case histories that illustrate these points.

Another problem that patients present is that their love is of an infantile quality. The attraction and desire for the other person are strong, but are determined more by the need to be loved, to be held, and to receive pleasure than they are by the adult feeling of give and take, charge and discharge. In these individuals there is an unconscious conflict between the need to be excited and the need to release the excitement. They never seem to get enough love, to fill up. Their demands upon their partners are excessive. Their disappointment turns into reproach and the relationship suffers. Such individuals find that end-pleasure and satisfaction frequently escape them.

In our culture, men face a special problem in respect to love. Too frequently love is regarded as a commitment which the man feels will bind him to a permanent relationship. Love is equated with marriage, responsibility, and the loss of freedom. This may make a man hesitate to express his feelings, and this in turn reduces the feeling and the pleasure of the relationship.

If we have spoken of the feeling as separate from the movement, we have not meant to imply a lack of movement. Approach, contact, play, and penetration require movements that are appropriate to each stage and situation. In the fear of heightened feeling, the emotionally disturbed individual manifests an important aspect of his disorder by an inability to make the appropriate movements. The prolongation of forepleasure reveals the neurotic's fear of deeper intimacy and love. More seriously disturbed, the pervert avoids the closeness and unity possible only in the normal sexual act.

Movement

A distinction must be made between pleasure, which we have equated with love feelings, and satisfaction, which results from the expression of feeling and consists in the discharge of tension and energy.

The excitement of love has a different quality from the satisfaction of consummation. Whereas the first is stimulating, the second is calming and soothing. Love takes one out of the self. The satisfaction of discharge returns one to the self. Each has its place in the scheme of life.

When a person complains of a lack of *pleasure* in the sexual act, this should be interpreted as the denial of love or tender feelings. It may be a temporary condition, it may be limited to the one partner, or it may be due to factors external to the relationship. Feelings are not permanent fixtures. When a person complains of a lack of *satisfaction,* this must be interpreted as a failure to discharge the feeling or tension. Further, the amount of satisfaction depends upon the fullness of the discharge and also upon the intensity of the charge or feeling.

We said earlier that the act of coitus has two stages. The first stage is characterized by the drive for increased closeness and intimacy. It leads to complete penetration, which is followed by a momentary lull in the excitatory process. Symbolically, the man has returned to his original home, the womb; the woman receives the wanderer and is now full. Very soon new tensions appear. Let us pick up our study of the sexual movements at this point.

It must be emphasized again that movements do not occur apart from feeling. Feeling determines movement, but the movement may enhance or diminish the feeling. As early as 1872 Darwin observed that the expression of an emotion tends to increase the feeling.

The position and rhythm that the sexual partners adopt should be whatever suits their individual needs and mood at the time. The amount of thrust is dependent on the man's feelings, and the woman's receptivity. Normally, the movements of the man are more aggressive and forceful than those of the woman, but this pattern may be reversed to suit the mood. It is rare that both parties will move with equal vigor. Ordinarily, one partner dominates and the other takes a more passive role. Movements need not be continuous during this phase. They may be interrupted by short periods of rest or for adjustment of position. But the pro-

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longation of the sexual act is functional only if its aim is to achieve a higher peak of excitation through a slower buildup.

For our discussion it is important to recognize that there are two phases in the rhythm of sexual movements: a first phase of voluntary movement and a second in which the movements are involuntary. These phases relate directly to charge and discharge. During the voluntary movements, the excitation increases. Discharge occurs only through the involuntary movements. If the involuntary movements fail to occur, the feeling fades away or "peters out" and the person is left with a sense of dissatisfaction.

The early movements in the act of coitus are slow and relaxed. The healthy male feels no desire to pierce the woman; on the contrary he has a sensation of "being sucked in," corresponding to a feeling in the woman of "sucking the man in." W. Reich, in his book *The Function of the Orgasm*, points out that in this period the body is less excited than the genitals. Consciousness of both parties is directed toward the perception of pleasure, and all movements are ego-controlled to heighten sensation.

In the second stage of the sexual act, the pleasure of contact becomes secondary to the pleasure of movement in relation to the sexual object. It is a change from pleasure based on sensory sensations to pleasure derived from kinesthetic sensations. The change-over is gradual and depends upon the rhythm of the pelvic movements. This rhythm increases to the climax. In the orgasm one loses sight of the specific quality of sensation in the overwhelming flood of feeling.

The kinesthetic pleasure depends upon the motility of the pelvis. Civilized human beings are ordinarily restrained in their daily movements. Their hips are not so free and their pelves are more bound than those of people who live under more primitive conditions. This restraint of pelvic movement must be overcome if the act of coitus is to be fully satisfactory.

During the first phase of movement this restraint is released. With increasing body sensation, the pelvic movements tend to become looser and freer. The pelvis regains a motility that enables it to move as if it were an independent segment. Slowly the pelvis begins to swing, like the free swing of a dangling leg. As the pelvic movements in both partners take on this free-swinging quality, the tempo of movement increases. New and strong sensations of excitation appear in the pelvis and gradually spread through more of the body. The excitation in the genitals, meanwhile, tends to stay at the same level.

This first phase of the sexual movements occupies the longest time period of the sexual act. Its function seems to be to involve as much as possible of the body in the sexual movement. It prepares the way for passage of control of the movements from the head to the genitals and pelvis. It smoothes the transition from ego function to id function, which dominates the second phase. This phase should end when these functions have been accomplished. It terminates earlier in premature ejaculation because of the fear of the transition.

The second phase begins with a sudden increase in genital excitation. One experiences it as the opening of a dam with the release downward of a flood of feeling. Now the excitation rapidly mounts to a peak and is discharged. Any attempt to control or restrain the mounting genital excitation at this time is unpleasant and may be painful. Such a procedure frequently results in a shock to the body. For that reason the practice of coitus interruptus is bioenergetically harmful.

At the peak or acme the pelvic movements are definitely involuntary. These movements are the same thrust and withdrawal as before, but now they occur by themselves without conscious effort. Concomitant with the release of the dam, another series of muscular contractions occur in the man, leading to the ejaculation of the semen. The ejaculation is produced by the contraction of the smooth involuntary musculature of the prostate and seminal vesicles and consists of pulsatory squirts of the semen.

The orgasm in the man ordinarily combines the two involuntary responses. It is a matter of record that one can have an orgastic discharge without the ejaculation of semen (Kinsey). It is also known that one can ejaculate without the involuntary body reaction we have described above (Reich). Each in itself would be only part of a total orgasm. If neither involun-

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tary reaction takes place and the semen is discharged as a flow without any pulsatory or ejaculatory contractions, it must be regarded as a failure on the part of the man to achieve orgasm.

In the woman, the counterpart of the ejaculation is the contraction of the smooth musculature surrounding the vagina. This action is felt by the man as a "pumping" of the penis. In addition, the woman also experiences the rhythmic involuntary movement of the pelvis exactly as the man does. This is a total body phenomenon in contrast to the limited response that involves only the genital apparatus. If the woman reaches her climax at the same time as the man, both responses are intensified.

Let us proceed with our analysis of the movements on the assumption that each partner has a total response, i.e., a full orgasm. After that we can decide how to evaluate partial responses, or incomplete orgasms.

The ejaculation in the man is accompanied by a sensation of heat in the penis. As the discharge occurs, in waves, the feeling of heat spreads through the pelvis and through the rest of the body. It is as if the body became on fire. When this occurs, the phenomenon of glow results, which may last long after the fire has died away. The experience of "glowing" must be regarded as the true ecstatic experience of the sexual act. The woman experiences her heat in a similar fashion, and she is also capable of experiencing the glow.

A total orgasm means that the total body is involved in the involuntary movements. This happens when the pelvic movements become strongly involuntary. Each forward swing of the pelvis is accompanied by an expiratory grunt and a wave of contraction that envelops the entire body. In this phenomenon, and only in this phenomenon, the organism pulsates as if it were one big cell in a convulsive reaction.

At the acme, there tends to occur a loss of ego-consciousness. This is a temporary eclipse of the ego and is not to be confused with a feeling of abandonment. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the organism tends to lose consciousness of the self. Not only is there a perception of complete unity and identity with the partner, one also feels part of the total pulsating universe.

With the subsidence of the excitation following the discharge, consciousness of self returns. However, it is still somewhat clouded, and frequently it is dimmed by a strong desire for sleep. Reich believed that the discharge of tension was the result of a "flowing back of the excitation from the genital to the body." I should like to offer another interpretation.

The orgasm is a convulsion. It ends in the complete withdrawal of the man from the woman's body. If the first stage of coitus can be regarded symbolically as an attempt on the part of the man to return to the womb, the second stage must be considered as an emergence from the womb. In its very intensity it makes one think of the birth process. Man is reborn through orgasm. The whole act of sexual intercourse can be understood for the man as a symbolic return to the womb and rebirth. What of the woman's role? Since her first stage is a filling up, her second stage is an emptying. Where the man is reborn, the woman has given birth to him, symbolically of course. This may explain why some women have an orgastic experience when they do give birth. Others relate that they found the capacity to have an orgasm only after having given birth to a child.

Orgasms in the man and in the woman are identical bioenergetic processes and they are similarly experienced. We face the problem, however, of a lack of definition of orgasm. Because of this, there is widespread disagreement among sexologists in the evaluation of individual responses. I have attempted to show that the total or complete orgasm is an involuntary convulsion of the entire body concomitant in the man with the ejaculation of semen. The experience leaves one with a feeling of deep satisfaction and glow. Since discharge as an energetic phenomenon is a function of the involuntary movements, the complete absence of such movements, either of the smooth musculature or the striped musculature, would preclude any orgastic experience. Between these extremes there are all degrees and kinds of involuntary response, some pleasurable and some painful. The latter reactions must be regarded as defenses against the surrender to orgasm, and as such they reduce or prevent the achievement of satisfaction. We shall now discuss a few of the disturbances of sexual movement.

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Every neurotic disability acts as a hindrance to the full orgastic experience. Every insistent pressure of reality impedes one's surrender to pleasure and to the id. These principles are elucidated in my book, *The Physical Dynamics of Character Structure.*

We have said before that the natural movement in the sexual act is based on a free-swinging pelvis. One of the most common distortions of this movement is the action of "pushing" the pelvis forward instead of allowing the natural thrust of a free swing. Let us see how the push works.

To make a forward movement with the pelvis when it is not swinging freely, many individuals tense the anterior muscles of the thighs, draw up the pelvic floor, and then contract and squeeze the buttocks together. This type of movement pushes or squeezes the genitals forward. In the man it concentrates feeling in the penis at the expense of pelvic sensation. One frequent result of this maneuver is premature ejaculation. Pushing and squeezing are typically found in patients with masochistic tendencies. In contrast, the natural swing of the pelvis is like the swinging of a dangling leg, neither pushed nor forced. The impulse for the natural movement comes from the legs; in pushing, the impulse comes from the buttocks.

An obstacle to full movement occurs when the muscles that unite the pelvis to the thighs below and to the lumbar spine above are chronically tense. Particularly in the rigid type of character structure one finds that these muscles are severely contracted as a part of general body rigidity. Since full movement of the pelvis is seriously impeded, the person substitutes a body sway for a pelvic swing. The body moves as a rigid tube and the whole sex experience tends to take on a mechanical quality. It is the "doing" of sex, not the experience of sex.

Another mechanism used to effectuate forward motion of the pelvis when free swing is impossible is the contraction of the abdominal muscles. By sucking in the belly, the pelvis can be brought forward. However, this procedure, which is *pulling* the pelvis forward as opposed to *pushing* it forward, stops the flow of feeling along the front of the body. Its consequence is the reduction of pleasure.

For all that the pelvic swing in a healthy individual is free, it is also the expression of body unity in movement. Even a leg in a dangling position cannot swing freely if the total body is not part of the motion and feeling. The head, too, must partake of this total movement and flow. If it is held stiffly, aloof, indifferent, the totality of the motion is destroyed. In the more severe emotional disturbances, this totality of body response is frequently absent. In schizophrenia, for example, the fragmentation that characterizes the personality also marks the body movements. The split between ego and sexuality that underlies the psychopathic condition is represented on the somatic level by a split between the feelings of the upper and lower halves of the body. This split destroys body unity and the natural sex movements.

The disturbances that occur in the involuntary movements parallel those that are found in the voluntary movements. The descriptions of orgasm in the man that are found in Kinsey's report show that the ability to surrender fully to the sexual release is most rare. Either there is little or no involuntary body reaction, or the involuntary movements are spasmodic, jerky, or hysterical. Instead of the release of body tension, many individuals experience increased muscular tension and rigidity. No one reported a feeling of glow and few had any marked pleasurable aftereffects.

When it is considered that every emotional problem and conflict has its counterpart in a somatic tension or spasticity, it becomes more understandable why full and complete orgasms are so rare. If the sexual experience is regarded as the emotional flower of one's love life, it will reflect in every way the plant that gives it sustenance and meaning.

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ALEXANDER LOWEN

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Music and Sex

THIS article is written from a subjective point of view because of the very nature of music, surely the most expressive and least tangible of the arts. Not only does music differ greatly from continent to continent (and only the music of the Western world will be treated in this discussion) but it also varies from nation to nation. Little is known, scientifically, about the interrelationship of music and sex (only some eight studies have been made on the subject and none of them is definitive) so that it is impossible to dogmatize about it. Accordingly, the principal purpose of this article is to offer a generalized exploration of the subject.

Of the eight writings on sex and music, all but one were devoted exclusively to classical music.

An attempt will be made to discuss, at least *en passant*, the four genres of classical, popular, Latin-American, and jazz music.

Main Difficulties

In dealing with music-and-sex, three principal difficulties are encountered at once which may be designated as negative aspects of the topic: (1) confusions of definition, (2) cultural-emotional differences, and (3) factors of association.

Definition

The theme music-and-sex encompasses the entire spectrum of the emotional aspects of love from the apotheosis of idealized love as found in many famous operatic arias, notably *Fidelio* and in various *lieder*, to the depiction of savage, sensual lust as in Richard Strauss and especially *Salome*, and including the mystic-romantic (Schoenberg's *Verklaerte Nacht* and perhaps his *Gurrelieder*), the amorous-flirtatious (*Der Rosenkavalier*), and the voluptuous-erotic (*L'Après-midi d'un Faune*). Admittedly these are arbitrary, subjective "classifications" to which not all listeners would agree. At least, however, they are fairly accurate generalizations.

Cultural-Emotional

The degree of cultural-emotional difference in the response pattern of listeners is very great. From observations of the bodily—and vocal—antics of younger listeners, for example, it is clear that they are "sent," both emotionally and —in varying degrees—erotically by popular singers, jazz artists, and rock 'n' roll musicians. Generally speaking, their over-all musical education is negligible; consequently, their emotive reactions to some of what is usually considered to be the (Western) world's most moving music—the Bach Chorales, the Verdi ensembles, and certain "symphonic" compositions of Wagner—would be atypical if contrasted with those of more "sophisticated" listeners.

Association

Association, or rather the cumulative effects of a variety of associations, plays a much more important part in creating an amorous mood than is usually realized.

According to the general public, "Star Dust" (music by Hoagy Carmichael, words by Michael Parrish) is recognized as perhaps "the most romantic American popular song ever written." But would it still be thus designated

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if it were not named "Star Dust" and if its lyrics did not personify the more or less abstract, self-identificatory romanticism that it does?

This is also the case with jazz—especially the blues—a music whose repertoire has a large number of compositions frankly sexual in theme, as for example: "My Daddy Rocks Me," "Gimme a Pig's Foot," "Cherry Red," etc. Although it is true that there is much in the music of jazz that is sexual, such selections as these do not necessarily and automatically fall into the sex-and-music category since a great deal of the erotic implications are derived from the title and the lyrics.

Sex and Music Instruments

Music has been identified with sex for a much longer period than is usually assumed. As a matter of fact, many kinds of musical instruments have had their origin in sexual symbols, or rather as representations of the genitalia. To primitive man one of the principal uses of musical instruments if not the chief use, was to celebrate life's primordial functions of sex and/or fertility.

Thus, in New Guinea the natives used a trough of stone, representing the vulva, which they pounded with a pestle, representing the penis of a spirit. One of the most important early instruments was the split drum, found in the Pacific Islands, Africa, and in certain areas of Asia, which was symbolic of the female sex. It was frequently in the form of a large tree trunk with a slit in the middle and was played by ramming it with a stick. When women played the drums—especially in East Africa—the drumstick was a phallic symbol. In other areas the drum was utilized at such sexual ceremonies as circumcision. In the Malayo-Polynesian area, such slit drums were an important form of sexual symbolism.

Later developments included the friction drums which, with their suggestive to-and-fro movement, indicated sexual intercourse. Among the Ba-ila of Northern Rhodesia young women were initiated into sex rites by a maternal aunt who placed a drumlike object made of an earthenware pot covered by a piece of hide between her legs and played it, with obvious gestures, with a reed. Sachs (1940) says:

> The connection of friction drums with fertility and initiation rites is preserved in European traditions. Martinmas and the days before Christmas and Epiphany—the festivals which the Christians substituted for the rites of winter solstice—are the seasons in which boys go from house to house to sing old verses and rub the *rommelpot*, as the Dutch say, which often is artlessly made of a kitchen pot or a flowerpot and a bladder.

There are other "primitive" instruments associated with sex, including the so-called bull-roarer from Brazil with its elliptical fish shape that signifies procreation and the "scrapers," especially the bone scrapers of the North and Central American Indians.

An instrument that has long been identified with sex in general, and with life and rebirth, is the flute, which is discussed at considerable length by Sachs (1940). Although this symbolic identification might seem naive to us, it has had great significance in many sexual manifestations—circumcision, menstruation, ceremonies, dances, rituals, etc.—around the world. In a number of European languages the word "flute" has definite sexual connotations, cf. the English expressions "the living flute," "the silent flute," "the one-eyed flute," etc., as in "The Cupid" (1736) Farmer:

> The flute is good that's made of wood
> And is, I own, the neatest;
> Yet none the less I must confess
> The *silent flute's* the sweetest.

Among certain ethnic groups magic sexual influences were attributed to this instrument. Thus, again according to Sachs (1940), young braves of the Cheyenne Indians played the flute:

> . . . in order to help them in their courtship. Some flutes had a special power to influence girls. A young man might go to a medicine man and ask him to exercise his power on a flute, so that the girl he wanted would come out of the lodge when she heard it. The young man began to play the flute when he was at a distance from the lodge, but gradually approached it, and when he had come near to the lodge he found the girl outside waiting for him.

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The connection between Eros and music instruments has not been limited to so-called "primitive" tribes. The most famous of European instruments in this category is the *viola d'amore*, which was used fairly extensively in the baroque and post-baroque periods, especially by Antonio Vivaldi (*Concerto in D Minor, Concerto in A Minor*). A second such instrument is the *oboe d'amore*, which appeared around 1720. Bach admired it for its ingratiating tone (*Cantata 37: Wer da glaubet*, 1725) and it was also used by Richard Strauss (*Sinfonia Domestica*, 1904) and Ravel (*Bolero*, 1927). Another "love-instrument" should also be mentioned—the *clarinette d'amour*, which appeared briefly in the last decades of the eighteenth century and was used by Johann Christian Bach (*Temistocle*, 1772). And finally, the cittern, a flat, pear-shaped (usually), nine-stringed instrument, was very popular in England, especially in the seventeenth century. These citterns were used in barbershops much as we read magazines to while away the time while waiting for a haircut. Citterns were also "associated with immorality, a cittern-girl being synonymous with a person of doubtful character" (Welch, 1911). Thus, in Morose's furious words (Ben Jonson, "The Silent Women," iii.5): "That accursed barber! . . . I have married his cittern that's common to all men."

Catholic Religious Music Versus Secular Music

When the music lover of today thinks of the heritage of European music, the glorious instrumental and/or operatic tradition of Western music usually comes to mind.

However, this is a popular conception and one that rarely takes into consideration the fact that up to a certain undefinable point in the period 1450-1550 the European musical tradition did not consist of instrumental and operatic works. The music of the Middle Ages and an important part of the Renaissance was created by the Church principally as a kind of theological *Gebrauchsmusik* to glorify that autocratic institution. As such it was predominantly vocal. In this connection these observations of Wooldridge are pertinent:

> But it is not until the recognition of the triad, i.e., a chord of three tones—a particular note and its third and fifth—(about 1500) as a musical factor of importance and the consequent discovery of modal harmony, which before had not been in the least perceived, that the true distinction between sacred and secular composition becomes obvious in music.

Here, indeed, was a conditioned situation without parallel in the history of mankind. In each of the great preceding civilizations there had been no autocratic force to dictate musical tastes; accordingly, many kinds of music, including love songs, had been composed, depending of course on the civilization's musical culture. But during the Dark Ages Christianity effectively stifled the composition of secular "emotional" music, resulting in a thousand long years in which virtually no love songs, certainly one of the fundamental urges of the human heart, were composed! Although the musical dictatorship of the Church was ironclad for centuries, it could not restrain the natural, inherent desire of man to sing of nonchurchly things. Consequently, secular influences began some time toward the end of the first millennium of the Christian era to creep into sacred music.

Thus, two religious songs, O *Filii* and *Orientis partibus*, of the tenth century, are based on secular melodies. However, such compositions lie outside of the great tradition of European "classical" music, and it was not before the sixteenth century that woman or love entered into the music of the most outstanding composers. Although the great "Prince of Music" (Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina, 1525?-1594) did write secular songs that were fundamentally spiritual in essence, he is best known as a composer of religious music. Love in his madrigals is an abstraction. In none of the titles of his works does he give the name of a specific woman, in spite of the fact that he was married twice. This is additional evidence of the control of the Church, for what composer in love can refrain from writing music to, for, and of his beloved? During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the madrigal was the most popular form of musical expression that dealt with love.

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The First European Vernacular Love Songs

Even before the madrigal, the theme of love, which had been repressed by the Church for more than ten centuries, made its appearance in European music, at first among the troubadours in southern France (Provence) and the *trouvères* in the north of the country in the period 1100-1300. Mention should be made of Guillaume duc d'Aquitaine (1070-1127), who is credited with writing the oldest lyrics in a modern European vernacular yet discovered. By any standards, this "Goliath of Prostitution," as he was admiringly known—van Bolen (1951) also called him "der groesste Wuestling des elften Jahrhunderts," freely, "the sexiest man of the eleventh century"—was remarkable. His two great pastimes were song-writing and whoring. He was a dedicated enemy of the Church, and, when he was not lusting after moon-breasted wenches, enjoying them, satyr-like, in the sun-soaked meadows of Provence and singing of them with ribaldry drenched with wine, delighted in constructing bordellos built exactly like abbeys.

This new genre of love poetry (and music) spread from Provence into Spain, somewhat into Italy, and especially into Germany where the Minnesingers (1150-1325), chivalrous love-singers, developed another distinctive school of lyric-musical expression. The German poems were less formal, less distant (cf. the famous Provençal concept of *"amor lontanha"*—"far-away love"), and less neurotic. Under any circumstances, the writings of the troubadours and the minnesingers during the period 1100-1325 were of great importance in the history of music-and-sex in Europe, as they presented a completely new concept of woman: a feminine creature to be loved and to love.

The Development of Opera and the Depiction of Woman in Music

Around the turn of the seventeenth century in Florence a new kind of musical expression was being formulated—the opera—with such works as *Dafne* (Giulio Caccini and Jacopo Peri, text by Ottavio Rinuccini, 1594), *Euridice* (Peri-Rinuccini, 1600), *Orfeo* (Claudio Monteverdi-Alessandro Striggio, 1607). This was to introduce more and more the concept of sex, or rather of woman, into European music. To the majority of the great "presecularized" composers of the sixteenth century—Adriaan Willaert, Palestrina, Orlando di Lasso, etc.—the thought of dedicating a work to a woman, especially with romantic implications, was practically unheard of. Three hundred years later Romantic composers such as Chopin and Liszt were dedicating a sizeable number of their works to women to whom they were attracted. In the case of Chopin, who wrote about 225 compositions, some 54 of them fall in this category, while of the 701 works of Liszt, approximately 69 are dedicated to his feminine friends.

Obviously a great change had taken place in the concept of the role of love in music. As late as the latter part of the sixteenth century, woman as an active, motivating force in music was, generally speaking, nonexistent; by the end of the eighteenth century—thanks chiefly to the incomparable Mozart—she was a vital part of the classic operatic tradition. Although Gluck's *Orfeo ed Euridice* is earlier (1762) than Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro* (1786), Susanna, the Countess, and Cherubino (although the latter is a masculine page whose role is sung by a soprano) are the first really human women in opera, as Euridice is more a symbol of femininity than a living female. From that time on women continued to play a greater role in music and in the lives of its creators. Naturally the concept of women varied from one composer to another, and it is interesting to see how different musicians interpreted love.

To Paul Rosenfeld (1932), the late critic, Mozart's concept of woman is a "tender, warm, smiling divinity" in whom desire and gratification are equally matched. Beethoven, ever concerned with moral ideas and ideals, composed *Fidelio* as an impressive tribute to woman—and matrimony—in their loftiest estates. Because Rosenfeld's description of love in music is so felicitous, he will be quoted below, as it is no mean accomplishment to describe the emotions evoked by the most intangible of arts. To Brahms, woman was "a benign queen, stead-

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fast," who represented "endurance and courage." In Chopin's intensely personal compositions she stood for "infinite grace, capriciousness, delicacy, pride, sensuous delights, suavity of bodily lines, intoxications and icy torments." The conception of love of Richard Strauss is "romantic irony: infatuation into disgust—*Don Juan* (1888), idealization into disillusionment—*Don Quixote* (1897), concordance into opposition—*Sinfonia domestica* (1903), passion into sadism—*Salome* (1905), and childlike love into demoniac hate—*Elektra* (1909)." And he might have added the suggestive orchestral machinations during the off-stage seduction of the virgin Diemut by the young sorcerer Kunrad in Strauss' satirical opera *Feuersnot* (1901).

The following list of compositions that woman has inspired or in which she plays a major role is purely random and arbitrary. Although Liszt dedicated a tenth of his works to women, he did not compose an excessive number of works devoted to that theme. His masterpiece, probably, the *Faust Symphony* (1854-1857), with its intriguing themes including the Gretchen motif (oboe playing against an *arpeggio* movement), is a beguiling portrayal of artless love. The pianist-composer's *Dante Symphony* (1855-1856), the inspiration for which Liszt had read together with Countess Marie d'Agoult, his mistress and mother of his three children, is also a depiction in tone of the love of Paolo and Francesca. This theme of incestuous love was also the basis of a composition by Tchaikovsky in which a moving picture of the pathetic Francesca is painted by the tender melody of the clarinet playing over strings.

Hector Berlioz' *Symphonie Fantastique* (1830), which was composed for his adored Harriet Smithson, is a musical study of obsessive compulsive passion in which the melodic *idée fixe* (first expressed in C major, in the *allegro*) represents the ubiquitous Beloved One.

Anyone who was as expressive with the orchestral palette as Rimsky-Korsakov would quite naturally be expected to glorify Eros. This he has done more than once, perhaps most eloquently in the third section—"The Young Prince and the Young Princess"—of *Scheherazade* (1888). There is of course little need to mention the sex-infused *Carmen* (1875) of Bizet, perhaps the most popular opera ever written, whose sensual beauty seemed to bewitch Nietzsche, as, indeed, it has many others.

Of all the great composers, Achille Claude Debussy occupies a unique position. For he, perhaps to a greater degree than anyone else, had the ability to recapture in luminous sound the wondrous workings of Nature, as in *Nuages* (1893) and *La Mer* (1903-1905). His concept of woman and love is also uniquely Debussyian, as witness the intangible, never-never atmosphere of his mystique-tinged opera, *Pelléas et Mélisande* (1892-1902). The famous *Prélude à l'Après-midi d'un Faun* (1892-1894), with its nymphs, pagans, and lovers, fairly sighs with sensuality, as does his *Sirènes* (1899) with the languorous loveliness of its choir of women. To quote Rosenfeld's words again, woman was, to Debussy, "divine, incommunicable, mysterious, unknown."

Other compositions of this century that have been inspired by the theme of love and/or woman are the following: The corrosive, barbaric force of woman as portrayed in the mimodrama, i.e., a musical pantomime that resembles the ballet but does not have the usual formal stylization of its dance elements, such as *La Tragédie de Salome* (1907-1910) by the French composer Florent Schmitt; the hyper-French erotic romance of Gustav Charpentier's opera *Louise* (1900), whose title role was so vividly created by Mary Garden; the tragic love of the legendary King Waldemar IV for the Princess Tove, as depicted in Arnold Schönberg's gigantic and poignant orchestral cantata *Gurrelieder* (1913), his "monodrama" *Erwartung* (1909), in which love is an enticing disillusion, and his musical drama *Die glückliche Hand* (1913), in which love lures its victims to delusional rapture; the enchanted folklore of love in Stravinsky's "conte dansé," *L'Oiseau de Feu* (1910), the violence of sex in his frenzied *Le Sacre du Printemps* (1913), and the pathetic frustration of love in his *Petrouchka* (1919).

Of all the composers who sang of physical desire, Richard Wagner is by far the most famous in the realm of musical eroticism, and his

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Tristan und Isolde (1865) is a deliberately conceived, soul-moving apotheosis of carnal love. Despite its flamboyant and exaggerated prose, the description of this work by Charles O'Connell (1935) conveys to a remarkable degree the delirious rapture and agonizing beauty of Wagner's masterwork:

> The ultimate, and the only complete meeting and union of man and woman is in the embrace of love. . . . It is no disembodied love, immaterial, spiritualized and denatured, that Wagner celebrates here. No such incandescent ecstasies were ever born of meetings of the spirit. Here is love that is fierce and exigent and consuming and insatiable; love which at a look, a word, a touch, races through the blood like flames; love which laughs at barriers, forgets enemies, and knows no loyalty but to itself; love which is normal and carnal and human. . . .
>
> Now through the long night that passes, Tristan, all dour scruples done away, all knightly vows forgotten under the magic and the spells of love, holds the white loveliness of Isolde in his arms. Now the young girl, the innocent, the beautiful princess of Ireland, becomes heiress overnight to the ageless stratagems and arts of womankind. Now are celebrated the immemorial rites of love, the lovers heedless, careless, forgetful of all but the night, and their own hearts beating close, one upon the other. . . .
>
> Now with the esurient senses appeased, come interludes of exquisite lethargy, sweet warm magical languors, mystical moments when the heart eases itself of burdens and confidences, of secret hopes and longings. Now as the lovers reflect upon their plight, they despair and long for death; now remembered ecstasy again besieges them. The handmaiden Brangaene warns in vain of approaching day; the henchman Kurneval bursts into the bower but a step before envious Melot and outraged King Tristan, his heart in Isolde's body, defends himself without hope or despair or fury, and takes a not unwelcome mortal wound.
>
> Only music, vibrating in the invisible air, could dramatize such a moment. And what shall we say of such music as this? What magic is there, in wood and wind and brass, that can make this deathless song? What man is this who in his music evokes so surely and so terribly the longings and the sorrows and passion of all the lovers in the world? Answer there is none, for music speaks from heart to heart; to reason with it is to slay it.

In his intriguing book of musical memories, *The Other Side of the Record,* Charles O'Connell comments upon Stokowski's "Symphonic Synthesis" of the music that he arranged from *Tristan und Isolde* and defends the conductor's alleged emphasis upon the "sensual and erotic." Stokowski is of course keenly conscious of the role that sexual desire plays in music—particularly in the *Tristan* score. O'Connell narrates engagingly of an incident in a broadcast of the Love Music from the second act of *Tristan*—"music the erotic content of which he emphasized to the point of indecent emotional exposure." The denouement of this episode is quite unexpected and readers are referred to O'Connell's own version of what he called a "twenty-two minute orgasm."

The Perverse-Atypical Emotional Responses of Certain Types of Music

One of the most interesting aspects about music-and-sex is the singular fact that certain compositions that were specifically written to portray love or romance or woman are *not* particularly erotic. In this category are, oddly enough, many operatic arias and any number of the most famous *lieder*—including some of the greatest love songs in the Western musical tradition.

Conversely, a number of compositions have been written whose nature is in no way connected with sex—indeed whose subject matter is far removed from the erotic—which nevertheless tend to evoke an emotional-susceptible reaction. Among such works are certain of Chopin's Etudes and Nocturnes. It is remarkable that such stylized forms should have, for certain people at least, a definite emotional appeal—as do some of Bach's religion- and heaven-soaring chorale preludes and, oddly enough, Wagner's *Parsifal,* probably the most "religious" opera ever composed. It is of course not to be inferred here that there is anything intentionally erotic in this masterwork of religious mysticism – specifically redemption through, in Wagner's own words, "Love—Faith, Hope?" but its sheer, almost painful beauty cannot but affect the interested listener emotionally. This is especially true in such parts of the opera as the "Vorspiel" and the "Char-Freitags-Zauber," when the massed chorus of

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strings, all a-shimmer and luminous with celestial sound, actually seems to sigh forth in poignant loveliness—particularly in the Promise Theme (or the Guileless Fool theme as it is also known—*Parsifal* being an inversion of the Arabic "Fal parsi," "guileless fool") and the ethereal Nature Redeemed motive when the aging knight of the Grail, Gurnemanz, exclaims to Parsifal that the beauty of vernal nature is a tribute to Jesus Christ: "Das ist Char-Freitags-Zauber, Herr!" ("That is the spell of Good Friday, my lord!") Thus affected, i.e., thus put in a receptive, emotionally conditioned mood, as it were, many females find that their standards of resistance are emotive rather than "empirical," and as such are very susceptible to the allure of Eros.

The Castrati

Mention might be made here of a singular development in music history—the famous *castrati*, or eunuch singers, who might, wryly, fall into the "Music *without* Sex" section of this investigation. In the seventeenth and especially in the eighteenth century in Italy it was common practice to castrate gifted boy singers before their voice changed at puberty. Thus male singers remained contraltos and sopranos during their entire careers and maintained their characteristic high pitch as long as they were active.

Due to certain physiological changes as a result of this operation, the bodies of such eunuchs exhibit a greater development than is found in ordinary men, and often the voice was very powerful. Thus, one witnessed and heard the unusual spectacle of men of striking physique singing in some of the highest ranges of the human voice. Through this combination the *castrati* achieved enormous popularity and the most gifted—Caffarelli, Farinelli, Senesino, and Carestini—were the vocal idols of the day. Outside of Italy they were perhaps most in demand in London, where Handel wrote a number of operas featuring this kind of singing. An interesting aspect of their art, which *The Spectator* caustically designated "the shrill celestial whine of eunuchs," is the fact that in at least three famous more recent operatic roles female vocalists sing male parts (Cherubino in Mozart's *Le Nozze di Figaro*—soprano, Prince Orlovsky in *Die Fledermaus*—mezzo-soprano, and Octavian in Strauss' *Der Rosenkavalier*—mezzo-soprano).

The Dance and Sex

The interrelationship between dancing and sex is well known (see Sachs, 1937). That it is a profound relationship is obvious—from the wildest "orgiastic" dances of "primitive" tribes to the effete tea dances of the present day. Erotic themes in one way or another have also been portrayed in ballet, as for example in such representative works, again selected at random, as Ravel's *Daphnis et Chloe* (1912), as well as *Le Sacre du Printemps* (1913), *Scheherazade* (1888), and *La Tragédie de Salome* (1907–1910)—which three have been noted above—*Sylvia* (1876) by Léo Delibes, and Ravel's *Bolero* (1928).

This last-named remarkable orchestral feat, which Ravel himself called "une danse lascive," is actually not a true Spanish *bolero*—the two-centuries-old folk dance characterized in varying degrees by the use of a triplet, usually in the second half of the bar—but an instrumental tour de force based on this dance form. In the preparation of this article, a number of women were questioned in regard to music that aroused them; a large percentage responded with conviction that the *Bolero* was one of "the sexiest." This almost goes without saying, for it appears to be a very accurate tonal depiction of the act of love-making.

First, are the drums, marking the rhythm, definite and suggestive of sexual movements—more specifically of "pelvic thrusts" (in psychiatrist Sandor Rado's terminology). Then comes the gentle presentation of the theme—although *Bolero* is technically a monothematic work. This motive really consists of two different "subthematical" developments, the first consisting of the suggestive flute-*motiv*, and the second (marked *solo bassoon* in the score but actually played by clarinet), which gradually develops into the relentless pounding "crescendo orchestral" (Ravel's words) that characterizes this breathtakingly controlled rhythmic spasm. It is of course this rhythm, inexorable,

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implacable, that makes *Bolero the* "sexy" composition that it is.

Popular Music and Sex

When the subject of sex and popular music arises, one automatically thinks of that genius, Cole Porter, whose *oeuvre* is a kind of musical erotikon, to use an apt word. The lyrics that Porter writes are admittedly the "sexiest" of any writer and it is contended that he likewise composes "sexy music." It is undeniable that his songs, with their long, sweeping lines ("I Concentrate on You"), their swelling crescendoes ("Night and Day"), their use of minor keys ("You'd Be So Nice To Come Home To"), and their emphasis on pulsating rhythmic effects ("Begin the Beguine") do possess a haunting appeal that induces an erotic mood. None of the other composers in this same category (Broadway musicals), such as Gershwin, Rodgers, and Berlin, has this uniquely Porteresque quality.

Another outstanding representative of popular music and sex is Francis Albert Sinatra, whose voice has probably aroused more erotic feelings among women than any other vocal organ in history. "The Voice" is reported to have similar effects upon countless males. The squealing teen-agers who rioted over him in his theater performances in the late 1940's may have been musically and intellectually immature; still, in many ways Sinatra remains the most outstanding of popular singers. His concept of songs is as remarkable as his vocal equipment, which enables him to interpret them almost as he desires. One of the explanations, perhaps, of his "sexy" and/or romantic appeal is the lullabylike quality, the almost motherlike tenderness, that he can impart to a Tin Pan Alley ballad—"Where Are You?" for example. One could also see erotic allure in his skilled use of such technical devices as *vibrato, appoggiatura,* and *rubato*—all of which he exploits to wring the utmost expression, both lyrical and musical, out of each selection. Thus it might be said that Frank Sinatra is maximally endowed vocally to eroticize the majority of responsive females who are interested in this kind of music.

Latin-American Music and Sex

Despite the universal popularity of several Latin-American dance forms, the popular music (in a none-too-authentic form) of this area has not been extensively studied by foreign musicologists, and material by native specialists is difficult to come by.

There are, as is to be expected, hundreds of different kinds of dances and songs on the continent and in the nearby Caribbean Islands of which a goodly part are of definite erotic nature. Perhaps the most famous of all is the *rumba,* an outspokenly sexual creation of Cuban Negroes. Although officially a carnival dance, the Afro-Cuban *conga* often falls into the erotic category, as do the Hispano-Cuban *guaracha* in 6/8 time and the rhythmically complicated *son.*

From "drum-mad" Haiti comes: (1) the Hispano-Negro *meringue,* with its gyrating thighs and hips (the French, i.e., Haitian, equivalent, frequently in the minor keys, of the Spanish *merengue*—which is, as a rule, in the major—the most popular and perhaps most characteristic dance in the Dominican Republic); and (2) the Afro-French mixture of drivingly rhythmic songs that form such an important part of the voodoo ritual. Jamaica is represented by the torso-twisting *mento,* not unlike a slower version of the *rumba,* fundamentally an expression of sex. Similarly, one could include the *bambula* from Haiti and the Virgin Islands and the "lascivious" (so designated by churchly observers) *tambou* from the latter locale. Finally, from this area, the pulsing rhythms of the *béguin* from Martinique, immortalized in Cole Porter's masterpiece, "Begin the Beguine," which might well be the greatest popular song ever composed. This is another erotic dance whose very name in argot means "infatuation" and/or "flirtation."

Jazz and Sex

Of all the interrelationships between music-and-sex, that which exists between jazz and sex is perhaps the most obvious. Although the etymon of jazz is uncertain, it is apparently an orthographic variant of *jass*—a vernacular ex-

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pression with strong copulatory connotations. The attitude of the serious chroniclers of jazz—Stearns, Panassie, Ulanov, Shapiro and Hentoff, Smith, Russell, Ramsey, Hodier, Blesh, Finkelstein, Berendt, Feather, and Cerri (whose latest book, Luigi Cerri, *Antologia del jazz*, Milano, Nistri-Lischi, 1955, I would like to recommend as especially interesting and informative)—is a strange one: They describe vividly and in great detail the brothels of Storyville—the one-time center of prostitution in New Orleans, with its forty to fifty blocks of sex-and-music—yet there is no discussion of the relationship between sex and music. Longstreet is perhaps the most explicit regarding the "sinful" background and character of jazz and seems to delight in emphasizing, even glorifying it.

On the other hand, Farrell and Grossman, in their quaint tractate, which purports to present jazz as a sect of Christianity-four-to-the-bar, naturally take a very dim view of this relationship and stoutly maintain that it is overrated. However, a glance at such important works as *Hear Me Talkin' to Ya* (Shapiro and Hentoff), which is a collection of reminiscences of famous jazz figures, and *Mister Jelly Roll* (Lomax, 1955), a biography of the flamboyant pianist-composer Ferdinand Joseph Morton, whose business cards bore the legend "Originator of Jazz—Stomp—Swing," reveals the tremendous and inevitable role that sex has played in the development of "America's only original art form." The pages of such and many other studies are sprinkled with references to "pimps and hustlers," "some of the biggest prostitutes in the world" (Louis Armstrong, in Shapiro and Hentoff), "whorehouse, brothel, sporting house, cribs, house of assignation" (Danny Barber, in Shapiro and Hentoff), and "If a naked dance was desired . . . one of the girls would dance on a narrow stage. Yes, they danced absolutely stripped" (Jelly Roll Morton, in Lomax).

It was principally in such establishments as Miss Lulu White's "Mahogany Hall Stomp" (significantly enough, one of Armstrong's "classic" records was entitled "Mahogany Hall Stomp) and that of the Countess Willie Piazza that jazz came into being, and however intangible and unprovable it might be, it seems hardly possible that there was not a considerable amount of mutual influence between the prostitutes and their dancing and the music, or, between the music and the prostitutes and their dancing. Since much of the musical material, the words, is outspokenly sexual, as any number of compositions in this idiom reveal ("How Do You Do It That Way?" "Worn-out Papa Blues," "Cherry Red," "My Daddy Rocks Me"), it is natural to assume that—given the Negro's fundamental, if not primordial, drive toward sexual expression and the particular atmosphere of Storyville (the purpose of which was, after all, the glorification of the most primitive aspects of sex)—a very close interrelationship would inevitably develop, and subsequently did develop. As Hugues Panassie, the Grand Panjandrum of jazz, states, "Le jazz est une musique de danse," and he goes on to elaborate upon the supreme importance of "la pulsation rhythmique."

Thus, for more than one-third of its approximately sixty-year-old history (roughly from 1900 to Benny Goodman, who in the mid-thirties reawakened the nation to "Swing Music" and the audience's emphasis upon listening to and appreciating its instrumental virtuosity), jazz developed and was developed as primarily *dance* music whose emphasis was, and generally still is, upon its *rhythm*. Given the innate connection between sex and rhythm, the relation between jazz and sex may be considered to be a profound and inherent one.

Because of space limitations there is much omitted here: the attitude of the Greeks toward the subject—especially the views of Aristotle, Plato, Aristoxenus, and Athenaeus and their views about the "lascivious" Lydian mode; the use of certain harmonic constructions to denote tension; the question of tension (and dissonance) in music and its erotic effects; the psychophysiological dynamics of erection brought about by music; the role of music in Casanova's life; the sex drives and sexual expression in Wagner, Liszt, and Richard Strauss; some of the rhapsodic sequences that occur in certain sections of the *Third Piano Concerto* of Rachmaninoff; the anomalous fact that Tchaikovsky, the harassed homosexual, wrote some of the

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most sheerly romantic melodies ever composed; the homosexual and the ballet, and the question of whether there can be such a thing as "homosexual music"; the strange appeal of prostitutes for Brahms; the psychodynamics of the sexual attraction of certain types of voices (cf. Mae West's "Come up and see me some time," an ordinary phrase sexualized into a national-cultural symbol); the realistic portrayal of intercourse which occurs as an orchestral interlude in Shostakovitch's brutal opera, *Lady Macbeth of Mtsensk* ("disgusting," the Soviet officials called it), with its back-and-forth *glissando* passages for trombones; the abnormally sensitive reaction of certain critics to "erotic music" ("Shostakovitch is without a doubt the foremost composer of pornographic music in the field of art"—the famous critic, W. J. Henderson, in Slonimsky, 1955, "Listening to this screaming music, i.e., jazz, for a minute or two one conjures up an orchestra of madmen, sexual maniacs, led by a man-stallion beating time with an enormous phallos"—Maxim Gorky, "Here [*Johnny Spielt auf*] love is perverted into an animal, cattlelike concupiscience; there is nothing in it but . . . sticky, froglike sexuality"—V. Gorodinsky, "die erotische Flagellanten Musik der Liszt-Wagnerischen Schule"—Eduard Hanslick, some of the leading popular female singers whose voices are considered "sexy," such as Sarah Vaughan, rich and purling, Peggy Lee, an amorous, meaningful pout, Lena Horne, and Doris Day, and with special recognition of Helen O'Connell's version of "Green Eyes" with the Jimmy Dorsey Orchestra (1939) for the way in which she turned six words, "Those cool and limpid Green Eyes!" into a veritable vocal orgasm; the romantic operettas of Victor Herbert, Franz Lehar, Oscar Straus, Rudolf Friml, Sigmund Romberg, and other apotheosizers of musical sensuality; and many others.

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DUNCAN MACDOUGALD, JR.

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Nature of Sex

MERE recognition of sex, by both animals and man, is an old and ingrained capacity requiring remarkably little effort. It long antedates the origin of language. As written into the laws of earlier and modern nations, however, the words male and female, man and woman, have proved to be something less than definitive and unchallengeable. In other words, whenever numerous individuals of our species are involved or examined some persons unaccommodated by those two categories are readily found. On the other hand, the popular concept of the term "sex" is only superficially and terminally related to the immense area of intensely biological accomplishment and invention that should be discussed in this article.

Sex is somewhat less than a universal attribute of living things. Its absence comes nearest to being usual only in the lowest forms of life. It further differs from truly universal organismal properties such as irritability, metabolism, and self-duplication in that it requires two individuals for its full expression. Although distinct from reproduction, its several manifestations are oriented or associated with that universal attribute and with conjugation.

The distinction between sexual differentiation and sexual reproduction is important. Not all lower organisms that have sexual reproduction have (now discernible) sexual differentiation, although some of them may have lost it. Phages, for example, give no evidence of sexual differentiation even though they certainly perform a sexual recombination of genes as a result of the conjugation of single haploid chromosomes from different sources, which is followed by a process analogous to but not identical with crossing over. In some algae and fungi any cell may, apparently, conjugate with any other, although in the bacterium *Escherichia coli*, Lederberg found that this is not true; there the cells are of two types, which he calls male and female, the latter being the recipient and the former the donor of genes at conjugation. Thus it seems that sexual reproduction must have preceded sexual differentiation even though some forms now lacking the latter may have lost it while retaining sexuality. We do not know whether any present-day lower forms that lack sexual reproduction represent a persistence of the asexual evolution from earliest times; we do know that sexual reproduction has been lost by some now living groups whose ancestors possessed it.

The dimorphism observable at or toward the end of development of the body parts of two organisms of a species usually reflects the unequal influence on development processes of two genetically unlike zygotes. This is to say that the species prepares two kinds of zygotes in which the assortment of genes is such as will provide every offspring with one or the other of two rather regularly unequal impulses to sex differentiation. Each zygote (i.e., each completed union of two gametes) obtains its assortment of genes through the union (syngamy, amphimixis) of gametes, a sperm and an ovum.

In some large groups of organisms it is only the sperms that bring to zygotes the dissimilar genes that predispose to two unlike impulses to sex differentiation; in still other groups this inequality is carried in two forms of ova. In either case, within the species, every normal union of a sperm and ovum starts the organism —from its very beginning—with one or the other endowment that is ultimately expressed as a

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male or a female type or form. It remains to remark that an intricate series of "maturation" events or processes, collectively called meiosis, commonly occurs in sperms and ova and prepares them for sexual union. Those processes consist of chromosome conjugation and two cell divisions, in the course of which the diploid chromosome number becomes reduced to the haploid.

The usually persuasive role of genes, as thus described, is both vastly illuminating and much hedged or conditioned. The neatly established genetic mechanism that automatically produces fairly equal numbers of zygotes hereditarily predisposed to maleness and to femaleness provides the key to a comprehension of the existing distribution of sex in living things. Nevertheless, during the past half century it has also become clear that in widely different organisms, lower and higher, this "genic predisposition" to either of the two forms of sex can be overcome or reversed by some elements of the environment. Clearly, therefore, these facts require a substantial addition to what was stated concerning the form in which sex is represented in the zygote. Those foundations are indeed established in all unions of normal sperms and eggs, and in the quite simple manner partly noted above.

Presumably the preceding remarks make it evident that the *nature* of sex is an elusive topic —one that offers uncertainties and difficulties of approach. Its further pursuit requires an examination of several distinct areas of observation and inquiry.

Origin of Sexual and Sex-Related Processes

One naturally looks first to microorganisms of obviously lower and higher orders for evidence of stages through which the complex processes of syngamy and meiosis have been or could be attained. That search has proved both rewarding and confusing. At best it is an unfinished task. Simpler elements are indeed found, but how to read what is observed in the uneven record is often unclear. Though the viruses fail to exhibit sex differentiation (Visconti), there is good evidence that mating followed by genetic recombination occurs in some of these simplest of living particles (Levinthal, 1956). When different strains were mixed, bacteria yielded genetic evidence of recombination of genes that resembles syngamy and meiosis (Lederberg and Tatum, in Wenrich, 1954). In the blue-green algae, in which organized chromosomes apparently are absent, no similar "sexual" phenomena have been found. Are these forms degenerate, despite recent evidence (Dodson, 1953) that they represent the ancestral type from which all other algae—some of them sexual—are derived? In fungi the array of both asexual and sexual states extends practically from conditions commonly found in bacteria to those typical of animals.

Protozoa also exhibit both asexuality and sexuality in wide variety. Here it is evident that the groups in which syngamy is most commonly found are those that are most highly evolved. In some species of groups, such as Sporozoa and Foraminifera, diploid-haploid sequences are well established. In Ciliates, however, the better known conditions are so different and unusual as to require more extended description. In *Paramecium aurelia,* "mating types" were discovered and later subjected to a genetic study of the consequences of nuclear reorganization of the type exhibited there. This led to the significant result that, in each case, autogamy, or conjugation of sister cells or nuclei, occurred instead of true "endomixis" (Sonneborn, 1941). It is therefore still unknown how many of the earlier described but genetically untested cases of protozoan "endomixis" may prove to be autogamy or parthenogenesis.

The conditions attending and governing *conjugation* in several species of Ciliates were further analyzed by Sonneborn (1957) and that aspect of sexuality was much clarified in this group of Protozoa. It was found that every clone of every strain has a definitely assignable "mating type." Conjugation does not ordinarily occur between individuals of the same physiological class or mating type; it occurs between individuals of complementary mating types. Commonly the mating type is inherited by its asexually produced descendants. Clones of the same strain are either of the same or of complementary mating types. When complementary they conjugate, but they do not conjugate

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when they are of the same type. As a rule, there are two and only two interbreeding types within a variety.

In all these major divisions of microorganisms, asexual nuclear processes, various but simpler than those that deal with fertilization and meiosis, have proved their capacity to *maintain* the species—or a close derivative of itself—during millions of years. Such simpler processes, moreover, have partly replaced or succeeded the full expression of sexuality in several orders of higher Metazoa. Such considerations now lead one and another observer to ask: Is it profitable to suppose that "sex" arose only once in some ancestral group and has been handed down to all descendants? Or is it more probable that it has arisen sporadically in many different groups? The course actually taken in the evolution of sexual from asexual reproduction remains as unclear as that of many groups of microorganisms themselves (Wenrich, 1954).

The reasons for the existence of the function of sexuality and sex became known through studies in genetics. We know no basic biological reason why reproduction, variation, adaptation, and evolution cannot proceed indefinitely without sexuality or sex. We may rightly regard sex as a premium, a luxury. An adequate statement of the precise ways in which this function brings advantages to the species possessing it must be sought elsewhere (Muller, 1932, Altenburg; Wright). It is useful in long-term competition with an asexual species. Its advantages are sometimes conferred through providing a favorable amount of heterosis (by which is meant the increased vigor of hybrids as compared with their pure-breed parents). Of greater significance is the fact that along with the mechanism of sex determination there arose the mechanism of Mendelian heredity itself, involving segregation of homologous chromosomes, independent assortment of non-homologous chromosomes, and crossing over.

Occasional or common reversion to the asexual condition, as this is expressed by budding, has occurred in willow and fern, in sponges, in coelenterates, worms, and tunicates—where it ends. Again, hermaphrodite groups (e.g., parasitic worms) apparently have arisen from a dioecious state. This functional hermaphroditism can be accounted for in terms of "reproductive economy" (Altenburg). Finally, the various aspects of parthenogenesis, although rare in plants, are not uncommon in lower animals. Parthenogenesis is regarded as a degeneration from the ordinary sexual process, and in some forms the unfertilized cells that thus reproduce the organism are regarded as ova in which the division that halves the number of chromosomes is omitted; in such forms as rotifers and hymenoptera, haploid males are produced. Artificial, pathological, occasional, seasonal, juvenile, partial, and total parthenogenesis are to be distinguished. The first-named type has let us observe a few "fatherless frogs." Crustaceans, insects, and especially rotifers display most aspects of parthenogenesis to their fullest extent. Within the plant world one meets the observation that in parasitic fungi sexual reproduction tends to disappear; there the stimulation to cell division, which is usually provided by the sperm, is apparently replaced by the stimulating action of waste products of the host.

In the animal world behavior patterns arise in relation to the act of mating and even to the period or season of mating. Because the rewards were vast, some guidance and assurance of suitably related *behavior* eventually became recorded in the ever-evolving nucleus. Higher animal forms thus acquired a sex drive or instinct, and also the parental instinct whose activities cluster around the care, defense, and feeding of young. Thus the earliest of these finer and socially pointed activities emerge only in association with the sexual mode of reproduction.

In retrospect, it is clear that asexual reproduction has populated the soil, waters, and atmosphere of earth with many thousands of species, each represented by countless individuals. Mainly, however, that product consists of relatively simple organisms; none, apparently, has reached extremely high animal organization under continuous asexuality. On the other hand, it is equally clear that sexuality presides within the several peaks of animal organization, and has proved itself the fount of those animal attainments and values which make earth and man a meaningful place and being. Thus, within a very few *animal* groups, it has fur-

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thered or fathered the emergence of qualities such as sociality, love, ethics, purpose, and civilization. The older and bulkier plant world, although often and liberally touched with sexuality, was never mated to *neural* development. Its much more modest offerings—apart from a seductive variety of species—are found to relate to the exposure of a maximum amount of surface, to immense and well-scattered storehouses of sugar and starch, and to an ever-greening blanket for aged continents.

The Genetic Basis and Interpretation of Sex

Those species that consist of two distinct types, males and females, were early observed (Correns, 1907, among others) to be strikingly analogous with Mendelian genotypes—one being the homozygote and the other a heterozygote. But where the species is of one type that functions as both male and female, another and different mode of appraising the unlike sex determination, within two localized areas, had to be sought. In maize, for example, only the genotype is present; and there the female functions are localized in the ear-shoot and the male functions are in the terminal tassel. Presumably, both the chromosomes and the genes are identical in these two sexual regions. Hence this localized difference in sex must be put on the same basis as that of any other *organ differentiation*, for example, the difference between legs and wings in birds—both of which are modifications of ancestral limbs.

In a few animal species visible distinctions between the chromosome groups of the two sexes were known for some decades before the genic interpretation of sex assumed its present form. During that period "sex-chromatin" was assigned a quite rigid qualitative value in sex determination; and this period was one of sharp controversy over the rigid or the plastic nature of sexual difference. The outcome of this dispute is that everyone now grants the existence of a quantitative element, in one or another form, to sexuality. Nevertheless, the visible distinctions found in later cytological studies have proved to be extremely important. They have provided visual proofs of the location or even the translocation of numerous genes—in both sex chromosomes and autosomes. They have so helped to mature firm knowledge of genetic processes that this visual evidence is now often wholly unnecessary for genetic analysis.

Two notable *types* of visible sex-chromosome arrangements exist in male and female animals and these will be briefly sketched. In one type the sex chromosomes are designated *X* and *Y*, the latter being smaller or (after further losses) completely absent. In this chromosome configuration, somatic cells of females contain two *X*'s (*XX*); those of males, only one *X* and one *Y* (*XY* or *XO*). Here it is the heterozygous sex, the male, that produces gametes (sperms) of unlike sex potency and sex-determining ability. Species conforming to this type include most insects, some fishes, frogs, and mammals, including man. In the other type, the heterozygous sex is female producing eggs of two sex potencies and sperms of identical sex potency. The formula applicable here is *ZZ* for males and *ZW* (or *ZO*) for females. In some of these cases *W* has weakened through losses, as has *Y* in the former. Species having this type of sex determination include most separately sexed higher plants, moths, butterflies, toads, reptiles, and birds. Certain special items are immediately noted.

The sex ratio in the moth, *Talaeporia tubulosa*, has been modified at will (Seiler, 1920) both by "overripening" the eggs and by forcing them to undergo their maturation division under high or low temperature. This heterogametic (*ZO*) female more often retains the Z within eggs matured at 30°–37°C. and yields (with the Z found in all sperm) a 62 per cent excess of males. Matured at 12°–16°C., the Z is more often discarded into the polar body and only 39 per cent of offspring are males.

In the case of specific, generic, and wide varietal crosses it has been shown (Haldane, 1921) that if among the offspring one sex is absent, rare, or sterile, that sex is the digametic sex.

Some bisexual species of protozoa, fungi, and algae have produced strains in which only one sex appears. It seems that the mutation of a single gene here eliminates the missing sex.

For purposes of genetic analysis of sex, insects and plants are preferable to vertebrates. In insects the development of all sex character-

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istics is a direct expression of gene action and owes almost nothing to products of sex glands.

The fruit fly, *Drosophila melanogaster*, early became an extraordinary source of information on general genetic processes. Ultimately, studies conducted on this single species—an extremely complex higher organism—have perhaps had more influence in shaping current thought on "sex," as this quality exists in ourselves and higher Metazoa, than have studies made on any other organism. But this statement does not apply to microorganisms. There, partly in consequence of the more prevalent notion of sex that derives from higher animals, conditions have led Sonneborn (1941) to suggest that, "perhaps we should abandon the concepts of male and female in unicellular organisms and view sexual union as brought about by copulation-conditioning factors, some of which operate to bring together the cells, others the nuclei." The Drosophila studies do not illuminate those forces and "factors" most related to *conjugation*, although it is conceivable that such forces, tensions, and inequalities involve the whole of *basic* sexuality. Definitely, however, the Drosophila studies certify the existence and behavior of an array of genes and processes assignable to one or another order of relationship to sex in higher animals. Surely, too, those studies add a dimension to sex itself.

Much new light on the inheritance of sex was supplied by Morgan in 1913, and a clear understanding of cases of sex-linked inheritance was provided in 1910. Later, the occurrence of chromosomal nondisjunction, with resulting effects on sexual expression, was described. The nature of lethal factors associated with the sexuality there manifest was explored. Mutations, in great number, assisted all genetic interpretation. The "mapping" of gene locations on all of the four chromosomes became possible. Gynandromorphs and intersexes were met there after they had been given genetic study elsewhere (amphibia, birds, moths); but the Drosophila perspective outlined above proved useful to their more adequate interpretation wherever they are found. Among earlier associates who shared with Morgan the development of this genetic perspective were Sturtevant, Muller, and Bridges.

Of special concern here are the varied and numerous results which were utilized (Bridges, 1939; Muller, 1932, 1958) to frame the theory of "genic balance"—a theory involving sexual and nonsexual genes and applicable alike in the uniting gametes, in the entire normal organism, and in localized elements of the latter when these become sexually aberrant through loss or gain of chromosomal or genic elements. We quote Bridges (1939):

> The central idea of the genic balance formulation is that each character or feature of the adult is produced by the joint action of all genes of the entire complement of chromosomes. Some of these genes are tending to drive the development in a particular direction or to increase it while others are tending to drive development in the opposite direction or to decrease it. Each of the genes is a producer in this joint effect, though for each particular feature some genes are much more directly concerned or more effective than others. The stage of development shown by each feature of the normal adult corresponds to the net effect of these opposed tendencies or a point of balance between the plus and minus modifiers.

Bridges described three principal ways in which the normal balance can be shifted to cause a new end-point in character development. Castle and Jennings provided early information on the relation of genes to sexuality.

Early and significant facts concerning quantitative aspects of sexuality were reported by Goldschmidt from an analysis of intersexes obtained from crosses of varieties of the gypsy moth. European specimens of *Lymantria dispar* are sexually unremarkable, as are those of a related Japanese variety, *Lymantria japonica*. If, however, a Japanese male is mated with a European female, normal male offspring and females showing a number of modifications in the direction of the male type are produced. When these female intersexes are mated with their brothers, half of the females thus produced are normal, half are intersexual. The reciprocal cross, European male and Japanese female, produces normal females and males in the first hybrid generation; but when these individuals are interbred they produce a certain proportion of males with female characters. Analyzing these and related data, Goldschmidt (1911, 1915, 1920, 1938) drew several important conclusions: The potentialities of each sex

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are possessed by the other, since either can become intersexual. The type of sexual differentiation that the fertilized egg will pursue, including that for an intersex, is determined at the time of, and by the mechanism of, fertilization. The normal determination of sex is bound up with the usual (female = the digametic sex) mechanism. It is not, however, the mere presence of these factors that is decisive, but rather their quantitative effect during development. The mode of inheritance in these forms (ZW = female, ZZ = male) is described variously in the earlier and later studies. Normal sexuality as well as the array of intersexual forms all result from the activity of unequal ("strong" and "weak") genes starting their functioning at variable times and proceeding at uneven rates. Winge (1937) and Bridges (1939) have notably criticized some of these conclusions.

Max Hartmann has noted that he was early (1909) convinced that a general theory of sexuality and fertilization can prove correct only if an assumed bisexuality could be confirmed as relative, not absolute. His extensive experimental evidence in support of this conclusion followed appreciably later. He observed (1923), for example, in three parallel filaments of Spirogyra, that any cell of the left-hand member functioned as a proper male in fusions with cells of the middle filament (female); still other cells of this middle filament, however, simultaneously functioned as male with the filament apposed to its other (right) side. Thus, at some points of the long middle filament certain cells of this simple organism were behaving as males while other of its equivalent cells were behaving as females. Similar results were later reported for other algae (Hartmann), for fungi (Blakeslee), and for a protozoan (Cleveland). Hartmann and others obtained proofs for the existence of two physiologically different sorts of gametes; some evidence for the presence of sex-specific substances (gamones) in gametes, even in those of algae; and some information on the chemical nature of those substances and their governing role in fertilization. From these materials he formulated three theses as a basis and content for a general theory of sexuality. These include: (a) general bipolar (+ or −; male or female) double sexuality; (b) general bisexual potency; and (c) different relative strength of the male and female determination. Concerning the latter, it is conceived that this is attained either *hereditarily* through the relative strength of the male or female hereditary factors (genes) or *nonhereditarily* as modified by corresponding or matching action of outer and inner developmental conditions (Hartmann, 1943, 1956).

In vertebrates both differentiation and growth of several organs intimately concerned with reproduction, along with several other "decorative" characteristics, are *immediately* dependent upon a dominating presence of hormone of one or the other of two sex types produced, respectively, in (mainly) testis and ovary. For most of these, the genetic control rests on its initial determination of the gonad type, testis or ovary. The sex organs under this hormonal control include the sexual ducts (sperm; oviduct, uterus, vagina), prostate, penis, and mammary glands. The types of hormones involved include androgens (male), estrogens (female), and, in some forms, progesterone. From both types of gonad—from either aspect of the genetic determination—some or much hormone of the contrary type is often produced. A profusion of other and "secondary" characteristics—such as hair growth, voice, temperament, body size, and conformation—are all swayed by sex hormone, and some of them by a specific gene or genes in addition. In man and other mammals all male embryos are subjected to the often adverse influence of the estrogens produced by the mother.

The genetic interpretation of sex, in animals especially, has been concerned very largely with the numerous items that collectively give the species a very marked sex dimorphism. One may therefore well remember that many species high in the scale of animal organization show extremely little of such dimorphism, and in this they much resemble most of the plant world. Male and female starfish and sea urchins can be identified only by a biologist. In the gastropod, *Triton*, the sexes are practically identical. Many fishes and amphibians are dimorphic only in minimal degree. Crustaceans and insects provide examples of dimorphism far exceeding that observed in man—or any mammal. In view of this panorama one may ask whether,

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in which way, or to what extent, these occasional accompaniments of sex are actually related to *basic* sexuality—a nearly universal property of organisms?

Some years after Mendelian heredity had become well known and made much of its contribution to sexuality, a book by Doncaster (1914) stated: "It is a remarkable thing that apart from the fundamental attributes of living matter no single character is so widely distributed as sex . . . and yet of its true nature and meaning we have hardly a suspicion."

Sex Reversal

It is now established that, practically throughout the ladders of plant and animal organization, individuals provided with the full normal genetic endowment for either maleness or femaleness may and do develop into replicas —fair or complete—of the opposite sex. Some of these reversals occur "naturally," as responses to environmental *changes* normally encountered in the life cycle; other reversals result from rare or extraordinary but nevertheless naturally occurring conditions imposed during development or later life; still others occur only under experimentally planned changes in the conditions under which the organism is forced to develop or live. Examples will be cited.

Sonneborn (1957, 1958) observed that, in certain stocks of *Paramecium multimicronucleatum*, the "mating type" of each individual cell changes twice a day. For example, the animals of one stock are type A from about 4:00 P.M. to 9:00 A.M.; they are type B from about 10:00 A.M. to 3:00 P.M. This rhythmic changing persists in total darkness, the time of the changes being determined by when the animals last saw "dawn." That is, the rhythm is determined by an internal biological clock which is "set" by the transition from dark to light. Different stocks have different rhythms.

Females of some northern species of oyster become males soon after spawning; the male phase is of variable duration, apparently depending upon water temperature and time of the previous spawning; the next cycle of female and male phases then follows (Orton, 1924; Spärck, 1924; Coe). The crustacean *Angiostomum* functions as a male when young, as a female when older. In a large snail (*Limax maximus*) individuals undergo a much longer succession of sexual changes: female, hermaphrodite, male, hermaphrodite, female. The young larva of the worm, *Bonellia,* becomes a male if permitted to remain attached to the pharynx of a female but a female if denied that attachment (Baltzer, 1914). Sex reversal—ascribed to factors such as changed nutrition, length of day, etc.—has been observed in many plants. Schaffner (1921, 1929) induced reversal in hemp and hops and regarded change in "functional gradients, or metabolism" as mainly responsible.

Richard Hertwig (1906, 1912) and his students Kuschekewitch (1910) and Witschi (1914, 1924) "overripened" frog eggs before permitting fertilization and obtained almost or quite all male offspring. In these tests (also, Crew, 1921) the genetically female zygotes, one half the total, usually achieved sex reversal. Female frog larvae (*Rana sylvatica*), kept after the thirty-fourth day at or near the maximum temperature (32°C.) which they can permanently endure, were transformed to males; and reversals from male to female occurred under quite low temperatures (Witschi, 1929).

Forcing certain species of doves to rapid and continuous egg production (reproductive overwork) accented, in a seemingly progressive fashion, some feminine qualities in both males and females (Whitman, 1919; Riddle, 1912, 1914, 1917). In cattle the female co-twin of a male fetus is partially and variously masculinized (freemartin) following certain contacts of the two circulatory systems (Keller and Tandler, 1916; Lillie, 1919). The freemartin's own sterile testis seems to be the source of the male hormone that directs the development of accessory and secondary sex characteristics (Willier, 1921). In some fishes the physiological exhaustion of the ovary by egg production is later followed by the development of testicular tissue and the appearance of external male characters in females thus depleted. In suitably young specimens of common fowl the surgical removal of the solely functioning left ovary is often followed by the development of a functional *right* testis and other male characters (Benoit, 1923; Domm, 1924). Single parallel and more striking cases of sex reversal have

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been recorded for two adult birds. Both a fowl (Crew, 1923) and a ring dove (Riddle, 1924) that had laid eggs and reared young had their (single) left ovaries destroyed by localized and later restrained tuberculosis; after an interval they developed testes and the fowl fathered offspring.

This list of cases of sex reversal was not more narrowly restricted because there is a possibility that the "conditions" attending sex reversal permit a more intimate view of the "nature" of sex than does the full description given above of the genetic basis of sex determination. One must conclude that some impulse or feature of the "physiological state" imposed by the hereditary constitution can be overridden by one or another element of the environment. And one may assume that "genic balance" merely or mainly predisposes to one or the other of these two "physiological states" —also that these latter are and remain decisive both in normal sex determination and in its reversal.

The sex reversal, also its *next* re-reversal, may be provisionally regarded in various ways. Perhaps it can be considered an adaptive response to a changed environment. Perhaps one may find help in Crew's remark that, "the individual is a female when it may be and a male when it must." Perhaps, and more precisely, one may regard both of those changes as responses to and expressions of altered metabolic (respiratory; oxidative) rate or intensity—a view that is sketched in the next section. On that view the male-to-female reversals imply compulsion to a lower rate; female-to-male reversals, compulsion to a higher "metabolic" rate.

Metabolic Sexual Difference

To this point the term "sexual differentiation," when applied to higher forms, has been used in its commonly accepted sense, namely, to describe those sexual characteristics or acquisitions that *follow* zygote formation and become evident only still later as development proceeds; indeed, after sex hormones become active in the embryo or at adolescence. Certainly many and diverse characteristics do thus arise in some forms, although others are almost deprived of them; certainly, too, these items "associated" with sex are under genetic control.

But the studies for review here relate to a more primitive sexual difference that already exists in conjugant or gamete, and thus *precedes* all zygote formation and embryonic development. This core or basic difference can be viewed as one *source* (or perhaps the only one) of conjugation and of cellular union; and, conceivably, it could serve as a primitive impulse or ingredient for the meiotic mechanism. Its very early existence, in this stripped and basic form, would be in good accord with the deduction that sexual reproduction preceded *visible* sexual differentiation in microorganisms, and also with the observation that sex (like reproduction or respiration) is an almost universal property of organisms; at least its kinship with universal properties is sufficient to place it in a category perhaps higher than that which includes ordinary genetic characters. In any case, the following studies require a consideration of "sex" not as a consequence of cellular unions, but rather as a precursor and attendant of such unions.

A book, *The Evolution of Sex*, by Geddes and Thomson (1889; revised 1901) provided a naturalist's survey of sex in plants and animals, and the first "metabolic" theory of sex. The authors were not concerned with sex determination. They were most impressed by the great extent to which, in unicellular organisms, a smaller and more motile individual (male) pairs with a larger more passive one (female); and with the persistence of these same distinctions in the sexual elements, sperm and ovum, of all Metazoa and the higher plant world.

They regarded sexuality primarily as an early cellular differentiation that prepares such cells for conjugation. Their main conclusion was that the sexes express divergent metabolic function: "Male and female are the results and expression of relatively predominant katabolism and anabolism, respectively." Another prophetic but much emphasized part of their view (1901) maintained that, theoretically, environmental or experimental means are capable of overriding other factors involved in sex difference.

From certain wild species of doves an unusual distribution of the sexes in offspring was obtained by Whitman (1919) and Riddle (1917) when the parents were forced through-

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out the long breeding season to rapid egg production with no "nesting" permitted. This unexpected distribution was emphasized when the "reproductive overwork" was combined with crossing, i.e., pairing birds belonging to different genera (or species) which, in the *Columbidae,* still permits almost full fertility. Combining the preferred type of cross (its reciprocal might show no such effect) with crowded egg production usually resulted in a definite excess of males at the beginning of the breeding season but a fair or considerable excess of females at or near its termination late in the year. In these particular wild species it was also found to be more common for the "first" egg of the clutch of two to yield a male and the "second" a female.

This situation led to gross chemical study of the eggs, especially the yolks (ova) that yielded those quite aberrant sex ratios. Such studies seemed particularly promising because the female bird is digametic—producing ova prospectively male and female—whereas the sperms are sexually alike. The ova (yolks) obtained at or near the season's beginning were found to differ from those obtained later under forced or crowded egg laying in the following ways: Egg size and yolk size were smaller; the percentage of water and lipoids in the yolks was smaller; total energy *stored* in ova was less. These same differences were found, on the average, also to distinguish groups of "first" yolks from "second" yolks of the clutch. Thus, a double correlation of the chemical findings with the prospective sexuality was reported. The higher "storage" value found for the female-producing ova was held to be the equivalent of lesser *oxidizing* capacity. Here a clearly "metabolic" sex difference could be expressed indirectly in terms of oxidation rate or intensity —that of males being at a higher and that of females at a lower level (Riddle, 1912, 1917, 1927).

The twofold change of the *sex ratio,* observed in the preceding tests, seems beyond satisfactory explanation at present. A large excess of males in hybrid birds is usual; but when this is coincident with full fertility its explanation becomes questionable. Even the appeal to sex reversal leaves some observations unexplained. The observed excess of females under "overwork" conditions raises some questions now unanswerable. Does this procedure—like low temperature in the digametic moth, *Talaeporia tubulosa,* cited earlier—usually cause the Z chromosome to be discarded into the polar body? Perhaps so, but that too fails to account for the more than two grades or degrees of sexuality and of metabolism observed in the several studies on doves. Thus, typical copulation behavior in the hybrid females was found in highest degree among the females hatched after the longest terms of crowded reproduction (Riddle, 1914). And, parallel to this, their normally atrophying right ovaries persisted more often and became larger under the reproductive overwork (Riddle, 1916).

Furthermore, the measurements on chemical and metabolic difference represent conditions attained in ova prior to polar-body formation. They exhibit graduated or progressive change which, in terms of sex ratio, becomes reduced to two grades, male and female; these two, however, still further reflected the underlying metabolic difference—each showing more than one grade of masculinity and of femininity.

Since a metabolic sex difference was present and established in these dove *gametes* it was concluded that an identical sex difference in any or all later life stages of birds can no longer be *solely* or confidently regarded as a "secondary" sex character. Here that difference preexists as a primary one; and although the sex hormones unquestionably intervene in later life stages of birds—and there provide substantial warrant for characters termed secondary—that fact gives no warrant for wholly dismissing this primary differential which conceivably may extend into or through the critical embryonic development.

Female sporozoa were found by Joyet-Lavergne (1925) to store greater relative amounts of lipoid granules than do males. He later measured the Rh in several species of plants and in sporozoa, interpreted their sex difference in terms of rate or intensity of oxidation, and compiled a useful summary of such studies (1931).

Whatever is involved in fertilization is probably related to or involved in the origin or the nature of sex. It now seems probable, therefore, that Warburg's (1908) demonstration of in-

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creased respiration following activation of the sea urchin egg was a most important step in the biochemical approach to both fertilization and sexuality. That observation clearly acquires further meaning in the light of facts supplied by Loomis (1957) which demonstrate that additional pCO_2 (the unhydrated gas, not including the three forms of dissolved CO_2)—doubtless incident to all increased respiration—serves, specifically, in Hydra to provoke the change from asexual reproduction (budding) to the formation of male and female gametes. This change "is controlled by the environmental conditions under which they are cultured." Others had suspected that CO_2 is not merely a waste product and observed that it accelerates development in frog eggs (Bellamy) and in chick embryos (Spratt). Loomis says: "The extensive work of Child has shown that differentiation and morphogenesis are intimately affected by respiratory and metabolic gradients. It need only be mentioned here that all such gradients are, *ipso facto*, gradients of pCO_2." This intimate nexus of the active molecular end-product of the respiratory function with asexuality-to-sexuality control in Hydra, and with speed of early *cellular* embryonic differentiation in general, invites thought concerning its relation to a differentiation—sexuality—that appeared early, perhaps repeatedly, and persists in nearly all dominant classes of both plants and animals.

Two of the roots—the premises—of any "metabolic" theory of sex reach into areas scarcely open to observation or test; thus, traces of the vague and inexplicit necessarily now attach to such theory. Nevertheless, one is permitted to regard sex difference as *primarily* the outcome—initially in very simple organisms—of a preferential clustering of the universal respiratory (oxidative; "metabolic") function around *two* unequal (quantitative) levels. Internal conditions and tensions thus established —within and between two related microorganisms—may or may not have led to one or more of the items now observed in conjugation; many of the closely relevant facts are not merely now unknown but must perhaps forever remain so. That occasional advantage would have resulted from the union of two such cells, thus pitched or set at differing oxidation-reduction levels, can scarcely be doubted. That an advantageous difference of this type—a type that probably promotes the process of conjugation whose limits or domain so nearly coincide with those of sexuality itself—would fail to obtain or to *retain* a certain yet unique relationship with the genetic mechanism, seems quite improbable.

Sexual Drive or Sexual Instinct

In view of the nature of the volume of which this article is a part, few words on this topic belong here. By way of orientation, however, it is notable that many higher animals possessing a well-developed nervous system (insects), or this in addition to a sex-hormonal system (vertebrates), have acquired an innate and often compulsive sexual urge. The large role of neural, or of neurohumoral, mechanisms in this eroticism is unquestionable; but the inherited tie to sexuality requires further notice.

The *innate* aspect of this urge strongly indicates that a now unisolated gene (or genes) is involved; that, although not a "sex" gene, its inheritance and maintenance have depended upon the mechanism of sex determination; and that this "tie" to sexuality warrants the accrediting to sexuality—in contrast with asexuality—of certain biological patterns that have developed incidental to the existence of this urge or drive. In large groups of higher animals these patterns include the several activities of all or most members of the species—activities that give form to the social organization of brood, herd, flock, or troop. Presumptive evidence for the existence of a gene associated with this drive will be found in the description of the parental instinct that follows.

The Parental Drive or Instinct

Although this sex-related activity is evidently at least one step further removed from truly basic sexuality than is the sex drive, there is warrant for a brief reference to one of its chapters here. That chapter provides a rare paragraph on the identification and cooperation of a gene and a hormone. Moreover, the outcome of this cooperation, when framed and exercised

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in the nervous and muscular organization of vertebrate species, is both a form of love and ultimately an evident promoter and progenitor of love in general.

Weisner and Sheard (1933) showed that a substance contained in crude extracts of the anterior pituitary elicits this series of parental activities in young male and virgin female rats. The hormone actually involved was found to be prolactin, which was likewise responsible for inducing the onset of "broodiness" in actively reproducing fowl and doves (Riddle, Bates, and Lahr, 1934, 1935, 1942). In fowl an important and firm limitation on the hormone's effectiveness was verified. It induced these activities in all laying hens of races that carry a gene for "broodiness." It failed in all except one of several tests on White Leghorn hens—a race from which that gene has been almost entirely eliminated by selective breeding (1934).

Although certain hormones and other substances—progesterone, testosterone, desoxycorticosterone, intermedin, LH, and phenol—could also notably elicit the parental response in rats, it was made probable that they do so through release of prolactin from the rat's own pituitary gland. Pellets of each of the three substances heading the above list proved capable of causing a marked release of prolactin from the pituitaries of ring doves. Remaining substances could not be subjected to this test. (Riddle and Lahr, 1944).

The Abnormal Sexual Psyche

"Man not only loves, but he knows that he loves." Unlike his forbears, in man the sex impulses that he feels are subjected to repeated review by his reason, and also even to the haphazard ways in which his attitudes and impulses are regarded by his human associates. According to modern psychology, the imprints of this total experience are stored deeply in his unconscious self—in his developing personality. Thus, the equipment of adult man for a compulsory yet uniquely superior social role and for ethical choice is far greater than that observable in any of his still surviving ancestors. This socially built equipment becomes the actual and ultimate base for an explanation of parts, although of parts only, of the psychology commonly ascribed to human sexuality. For example, a part of the sexual psyche of pseudohermaphrodites is doubtless ascribable to genetic and hormonal sources, as are the urges of normal persons generally; but a residue of personal orientation, urge, and identification may arise from this nonbiological area. In general, this view places credence in the evidence that some psychological functions established after birth are of cultural origin, although nearly or quite ineradicable (H. H. Young, 1937; A. Ellis, 1945; Money, Hampson, and Hampson, 1957).

Much of the phenomenon of transvestism in man is probably also such a "native" psychic product. That is, in addition to the constitutional factor of sexual *ability*, parts of this powerful urge may be grounded so immediately and completely in a social and environmental substrate, in cognitive experience, that a deeper nexus with one or the other frame of sex genes or of sex hormones need not be sought. By definition, these cases lie outside one or both such frames, and investigation seems to have shown instances in which this anomalous urge was mismatched to both genetic endowment and prevailing type of hormone production. Some further support for this view is found in evidence that sex impulses, and associated ideas and preferences, are both "normal" and widespread during very early childhood (Freud; Moll; Kinsey, 1948). Opportunity for that complex to become integrated in man into a distinct personality factor—apart from his biology, and differentiated within his psychology—seems thus assured.

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OSCAR RIDDLE

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Negro, Sex Life of the African and American

THE sexual behavior of Negroes, like the sexual behavior of peoples all over the world, can only be understood when it is studied in relation to the social and cultural context in which attitudes and patterns of behavior in regard to sex are formed.

In all of Africa, sexual behavior is rigorously regulated by the customs or the mores of the different African societies. Although the sexual behavior of Africans may strike Westerners as "immoral" or bizarre, this does not indicate licentiousness on the part of Africans. As the result of European contacts, however, social disorganization has resulted, involving unregulated sex relations and what might be regarded as immoral conduct. However, such conduct is immoral only from the standpoint of the traditional African norms governing sexual behavior.

The sexual behavior of the American Negro presents a different problem because here we are dealing with a people who have been stripped of their traditional social and cultural heritage and have been in the process of assimilating European culture over a period of three centuries or more.

Africa

The diversity of peoples and cultures in Black Africa, or Africa south of the Sahara, makes it difficult to generalize about the sex life of Negroes. Nevertheless, there are certain basic features regarding the social organization and the mode of making a living in the area that make it possible to note the important determinants and elements in the sex life of the people.

The Family

The most important feature in regard to the social organization of the people of this area is the primary role of the family and the obligations of kinship. Although the ideal African family is polygamous, because of the sex ratio and differences in wealth, the number of men with more than one wife is limited. The polygamous families consist of one man with several wives and several sets of children, forming a joint family; since these joint families include several generations, they form what are known as extended families. These joint or extended families are a part of a larger kinship group or lineage. The sex life of the African can only be understood in relation to these lineage groups, which provide the basis of social obligations of people who are engaged in making a living and reproducing themselves.

Religion

The first fact of importance in understanding the sex behavior of Africans is that it is determined largely by their religious attitudes, which are associated with procreation. It is necessary to emphasize this basic fact because what follows in regards to the sex behavior of Africans is a logical consequence. To the African, the values associated with sex are a part of the religious values associated with reproduction and not with sex itself, which, in the

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Western mind, has become largely divorced from procreation. For example, Africans do not believe that female chastity is a virtue, except within the restraints imposed by the society. In many African tribes or societies, sexual relations between unmarried persons are permitted, and under certain circumstances unmarried men are permitted to have sexual relations with married women. Then there are societies that regard conception before the puberty ceremonies, which involve religious rites, with greater disapproval than conception before marriage. Moreover, the idea of sexual exclusiveness in marriage ceases to have meaning where there is childlessness, and a sister may substitute for a barren wife or men may father children of their dead kinsmen.

Premarital and Extramarital Relations

Let us consider more specifically the attitudes of certain tribes towards premarital sexual relations. Among the Mohammedans in the Nupe kingdom in northern Nigeria, there is a deeply rooted traditional respect for chastity and the sanctity of matrimonial ties. But because of a system of class polygamy that permits men of the privileged stratum to enjoy women of a certain stratum, there is much extramarital sexual relations on the part of sex-starved women who are cast aside when their husbands take other wives.

This is not representative, however, of West Africa. Among the Hausa, unmarried boys and girls sleep together with the connivance of their parents. In northern Dahomey, among the Somba, if a girl is betrothed as a child she may take a lover other than her future husband. The children she may have by the lover will be counted as her husband's children. Among the Dogon the period of sexual freedom begins as soon as sexual relations are permitted between a betrothed couple. Each takes a lover and their relations with the lovers are controlled by certain rules. For example, when the girl becomes pregnant, the relationship with her lover ceases. In other parts of West Africa premarital sex relations may occur but often on the condition that conception does not occur before the puberty rites. Among some of the peoples of West Africa, a bride's virginity is tested and a Hausa husband may publicize her failure by breaking a pot outside her house. Sometimes when the girl is found not to be a virgin the bride-price is reduced.

In East Africa among the warrior people, such as the Masai, premarital sex relations are institutionalized. The young warriors, who are organized to defend the cattle, carry on sex relations with girls who form a part of the village especially organized for that purpose. However, if a girl becomes pregnant, the man is required to pay for her initiation ceremonies. Among the Nuer, sex relations are regarded as a phase of the courtship behavior. But among another tribal group, the Luhya, when a man intends to marry a girl he makes no sexual advances, but behaves in a formal manner. Among the Hima, who have no institutionalized premarital sex relations, a married man is expected to let his brothers have sex relations with his wife. Among the peoples of Central Africa, many of whom trace their descent through their mothers rather than through their fathers, much emphasis is placed upon the puberty rites. This involves close supervision of the girls in their relations with males, and great emphasis is placed upon seeing that the girl does not become pregnant before initiation, which involves much instruction concerning sex. Among the Yao, for example, the initiation of girls is concluded with defloration. Among some of the peoples of this area, there was once a test of virginity at initiation. Some of the patrilineal tribes in Central Africa once attempted to supervise the girls before initiation, but it does not appear that much importance was attached to premarital virginity.

Turning to South Africa, one finds that among most of the peoples in this area sexual relations between boys and girls have been permitted. The warlike Zulus allowed freedom of sexual intercourse to couples who were planning to marry. But among other tribes there were various restrictions upon premarital sexual relations. For example, the Kgatla in the Bechuanaland Protectorate severely condemned prenuptial sex relations and if an unmarried girl became pregnant she was humiliated and publicly mocked and her child was generally killed.

It has already been noted that among the Mohammedanized peoples in the urban areas

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of Nupe the system of class polygamy has resulted in extramarital sex relations on the part of women. Here we are especially concerned with the general phenomenon of extramarital relations that occur in many parts of Africa. Among the Hausa people in Nigeria, where the women are subject to the Mohammedan rule of seclusion of wives, prostitution has been a long-established means by which women escape from marriages entered into against their will. Similarly, among many African peoples extramarital sex relations are permitted when the husband is impotent. There are tribes in Nigeria in which married women who have not borne children may have sex relations with other men because it is believed they may thus increase their chances of pregnancy.

But it should be emphasized that the freedom permitted in regard to premarital and extramarital relations does not mean that there are promiscuous sex relations. Where either occurs it is carried on according to established customary practices. Moreover, the general disapproval of sexual promiscuity in every part of Africa is indicated by the inability of promiscuous women to enter into marriage relations. Among the Luhya, to whom reference has been made, a girl who has had more than two or three love affairs will have little chance of marriage. Among the Nuer in the Sudan, a woman of easy virtue will have lovers but no offers of marriage, and if she has borne a child she will most likely become a prostitute. Once more it must be pointed out that, since sex is regarded as fundamental to procreation, the crucial factor in most parts of Africa is whether a girl has had sex relations before or after initiation.

Impact of Western Civilization

Important changes have occurred in Africa as the result of the impact of Western or European civilization, and it is necessary to indicate the nature of these changes in the sex behavior of Africans. The introduction of commercial crops has not only affected the system of subsistence agriculture but has also tended to uproot the basis of the traditional social life. By drawing males into the market economy it has created an imbalance in the sex ratio in rural communities. Men leave their wives and children and unmarried men no longer grow up under the supervision of their fathers. As a result, the women are left to seek new sexual companions. Since the woman's economic function is disrupted or lost, she begins to regard sex as a personal pleasurable experience no longer associated with procreation.

Perhaps the most important direct effect of Western contacts upon sex behavior is due to the influence of Christianity. The Christian missionaries have generally regarded with disapproval the initiation rites and ceremonies, which in their eyes were immoral. A more objective view reveals that these rites were the means by which sex was socialized in that it was surrounded by religious attitudes that formed the basis of human solidarity. When these traditional sex behaviors were frowned upon or disallowed, the African girl and the boy grew up without any moralizing influence. The sex impulse became an individual biological matter to be satisfied in an adventitious manner.

The "freeing" of the sex impulse from the social control and moralizing influences of traditional African culture reached its extreme form in the towns and cities in Africa, which owe their existence to European industry and commerce. In the cities that had existed before European contacts, kinship had continued to form the basis of social life; in the new cities the old kinship basis has been undermined or destroyed. In its place has come, as in the West, a type of social existence that is based on a market economy, with money and wages. Social relations have thus become secularized. The traditional marriage payment, which often included cattle that had been carefully reared by the boy with a view to his betrothal and marriage, has become a simple financial transaction devoid of the sentiment and religious feeling that had bound the two families in the marriage payment or bride-price. With the migration of women, who have lost their traditional economic function, to towns and cities, illegitimacy and prostitution have become problems in the new cities of Africa. Sex is no longer associated with procreation and has lost its moral or religious significance. The purely hedonistic aspect of sex has become the chief value. It is in the new cities, with uprooted

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men and women, that sexual promiscuity flourishes.

In the modern cities, not only has social disorganization taken place, but life has been reorganized on a new basis, according to novel patterns and standards of behavior. New classes are coming into existence as the result of changed social distinctions and different sources of income and wealth. In the cities, where the most Westernized elements form the upper social strata, many have adopted the sex attitudes and patterns of behavior of their Christian teachers. Unfortunately, very often the so-called public sex morality of the West is not a true indication of their real sex behavior. Among the more sophisticated Westernized men and women are many who live according to what they find the most desirable in the sex attitudes of both Africans and Christians.

United States

What has been pointed out in regard to the sex life of the Negro in the new cities of Africa provides a convenient transition to a discussion of the sex life of the Negro in the United States.

Plantation Life

The Negroes who were brought to the English colonies and the United States were stripped almost completely of their cultural heritage. This was the result of the manner in which the Negro slaves were captured and sold on African slave markets, not to mention the manner in which they were "broken into" the plantations in the West Indies and in the United States. During the intertribal wars and the slave raids in Africa, the victims of the slave trade were torn from family and friends, and clan ties were broken. They were herded in barracoons or "concentration camps" on the coasts of Africa to await the slave ships that would transport them to the New World. In the New World, no respect was shown for kinship and other ties or for the African concept of what was normal or what was expected in sex behavior. The African Negro's sex appetite was not extinguished during this process. There are records of slaves in Louisiana who, being unable to find mates among the female Negro population, went into the woods and mated with Indian women. This is indicative of an important fact, that the plantations demanded predominantly male Negroes and that it was not until 1840 that there were as many female Negroes as male Negroes in the United States.

Therefore, in considering the sex life of the American Negro, one must begin with the fundamental fact that at the beginning of his history in the United States his sexual behavior was determined by raw sex impulses and that these impulses were restrained by the discipline of the plantation regime. It was only gradually that the Negro's sexual behavior was socially and institutionally regularized, resulting from his acculturation and the development of the Negro community.

Under the plantation regime there was considerable variation in the sex behavior of Negroes. These variations were related to the extent to which the discipline of the plantation, and the consequent relations between Negroes and whites, enabled the Negroes to acquire the habits, attitudes, and sentiments of the whites. Under the most favorable conditions, the slaves acquired, through close association with whites, their ideas and attitudes concerning sex. This was achieved largely through moral and religious instruction, during which the slaves became a part of the white family group and participated in their religious life. This moral and religious discipline in sexual behavior was given a substantial basis in the opportunity to be "married," although not legally, according to some form, and to maintain a "conventional married" life. Such favorable conditions were the lot of a relatively small number of slaves: the house servants and the skilled mechanics. For the great body of slaves, the field hands, sexual relations between men and women were more or less casual and could be broken off at will or ended when the master sold his slaves or decided to break up sexual unions that displeased him.

Amalgamation of Races

An important aspect of the sex life of the Negroes during slavery and even since their emancipation has been the amalgamation of the races. From the beginning of the enslavement of Negroes there has been racial mixture, almost all of which has been outside of mar-

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riage or law. About one-twelfth of the slave population was comprised of mulattoes or mixed bloods, and three-eighths of the Negroes who were free before Emancipation were of racially mixed ancestry.

The conditions under which this racial mixture occurred have had a profound effect upon the attitudes of the Negro woman—but more especially of the mulatto woman—toward sex. The sexually seductive Negro or mulatto woman has been romanticized and all sorts of beliefs have grown up about the peculiar sexual attributes of the Negro, but more especially the mulatto, woman.

There has been, in addition, the influence of a racially mixed group who made up the backbone of the free Negro population because of their superior cultural and economic status. It was from this group that an intermediate caste was formed in some southern cities, such as in New Orleans. Institutional family life took root among these Negroes, and Western patterns of sex behavior and sex attitudes became a part of their traditions. These sex attitudes and patterns of behavior of the well-to-do free Negroes were practically the same as those of the slave-holding and propertied whites in the South, just as the sex life of the poor elements among the free Negroes did not differ from the free-and-easy sex behavior of the "poor whites."

Influence of Emancipation

The Civil War and Emancipation not only removed the discipline that the slave-holders had exercised over the sex life of the slaves but also tended to uproot their customary ways in sex relations. Thousands of Negroes became footloose and, wandering about the country, attempted to satisfy their sexual impulses whenever they had the opportunity. Many of them were especially attracted to the cities, where disorganization of Negro family life and sexual promiscuity have had a long history. Moreover, it was during this period that venereal diseases began to spread among the poor and illiterate Negroes.

After a period of much social disorganization the great mass of the Negro population in the South settled down to a way of life based on a modified form of the plantation system. It was among the rural Negro people that certain modes of sex behavior developed which may be fairly adequately described in a general way. Among the people the sexual impulse was regarded as a natural or human impulse that required satisfaction. There was no feeling of guilt about the desire to seek sexual satisfaction, except in those areas where the Protestant churches had introduced a puritanical attitude toward sex. Even in these circumstances they rationalized between the "natural" impulse to seek sexual satisfaction outside of marriage and the teachings of the Church. For example, following the Civil War in a number of localities in the South, there sprang up the quasi-theological doctrine that "two clean sheets cannot soil each other." According to this doctrine, premarital or even extramarital sexual intercourse between two Christians was not sinful, but such a relationship on the part of a Christian with a "sinner," or with a person who had not been converted, was sinful. It should not be inferred from this, however, that sex had only a hedonistic value. Although sex was natural and pleasurable for the masses of Negro folk, sexual freedom was a male prerogative; for women it was not so much a pleasurable experience as the means to reproduction, the means by which she fulfilled her destiny.

In the isolated rural areas of the plantation South where the Negroes were only slightly influenced by European ideas and sentiments regarding sex, there was considerable indulgence toward adolescents in their sexual contacts. When these sexual relations resulted in children, the children generally became members of the girl's family, even when the boy wanted to marry the girl, because her parents thought that she was too inexperienced to assume the responsibilities of motherhood or that the boy did not have sufficient economic means to support a family. Consequently, a Negro girl during a series of sexual contacts might have had three or four children by the time she was old enough or mature enough to marry. Her husband would accept her children as a part of the family, to which he might bring his children by other contacts and add children by his wife. Often, because of the mobility of males, one could come across Negro families with only females representing two or even three generations.

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Such sexual behavior on the part of rural Negroes cannot be regarded as typical of all Negroes. It reflects a number of economic and more especially of social and cultural factors that have influenced the sex behavior of Negroes in the plantation South. In the areas outside of the cotton plantation areas, where Negroes have assimilated more of European sexual mores and have developed a community life based on land ownership, their sexual behavior approximates that of the whites. For example, the Negro church has exercised an effective control over premarital and extramarital sexual relations. It is regarded as a serious sin or social offense in some communities for a girl to become pregnant. In the areas in the upper South, especially among the Negro landowners who take pride in their social position and "purity of morals," for a girl to become pregnant before marriage has resulted in disgrace and expulsion from the community.

Urban and Northern Migration

The influence of these social and cultural factors upon the sexual behavior of Negroes has been greatly affected by the migration of Negroes to the cities, especially to the cities of the North. Rural folk who had maintained a relatively stable family life based upon habit and sentiments developed in the same household were unable to withstand the disintegrating effects of the urban environment.

All forms of social disorganization resulted from city life, and the most striking effects of this were on family life and the control of sex behavior. The most important effect upon sex life was the change in the attitudes of women. The males continued to seek sexual satisfaction wherever they could find it, and this continues to be reflected in the high illegitimacy rates among Negroes in cities. But the attitude of the urban Negro woman changed: sex became divorced from procreation and its pleasurable aspect was enhanced. The rural Negro woman might enjoy sex, but it was devoid of the romantic element that it acquired in the urban environment. Romanticization and even glorification of sex were stimulated by the songs and movies that are a part of the social world of Negroes in the slum areas of American cities.

Negro Middle Class

In the cities of the South as well as in the cities of the North, although more especially of the North, a new social stratification among Negroes resulted in a sharp differentiation of their sex behavior. In the older stratification of Negro society there was an upper class that formed what resembled a superior caste. It was differentiated from the great mass of the Negro population by lighter skin color, more education, and better income, although not entirely by occupation. In addition to their white ancestry, the most important factor was their standard of civilized behavior—which meant primarily that they maintained a conventional or puritanical code of sexual ethics. In the newer class structure that has emerged as the result of urbanization, the old puritanical sexual ethics have been lost, although they continue to influence the thinking and behavior of the new middle class which has become dominant in the Negro community.

The new middle class rejects anything associated with the Negro folk, and the free-and-easy sex life of the Negro folk is regarded as the most distinguishing characteristic of this class. But this respectable middle class, which represents on the one hand a pseudosophistication and on the other hand an absence of deeply rooted institutional controls of sex, cannot escape from its social origins; consequently, there is much hypocrisy about sex and much sexual irregularity. The importance of sex to this class is indicated by their extreme sensitivity to any charge that Negroes are freer or more easy in their sex behavior than whites. There is an element among this class whose behavior is more influenced by the churches and who inculcate in their children and maintain sexual conducts according to the accepted American standards. Among this stratum of the Negro middle class the tension between the sexual urge for gratification and the conventional standards is reduced to a minimum.

Psychosocial Aspects of Negro Sex Behavior

Here one should consider some of the psychosocial aspects of the sexual behavior of Negroes,

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which are closely related to their inferior status in American society. First, it should be noted that the Negro male has never been permitted to play the male role as defined by American culture. Second, white women have been taboo so far as Negro males are concerned. Third, the Negro woman has been defined mainly as a sexual object. All three of these facts have influenced the sex behavior of Negroes in the United States. For the Negro male, sex has often been the means by which he has asserted and attained his masculinity. Much of the sexual promiscuity of Negro males has been due to this rather than to any great sexual energy or powers that overrode social controls. Their sexual prowess has been a means of overcoming their inferior status not only in family relations but in relation to the white world. It is not without significance that the nicknames of some prominent Negroes indicate sexual prowess.

When the Negro male cannot attain his maleness through normal sex outlets, there is always the female role open to him. After all, the Negro woman was able to adjust to American society in a way that the Negro male could not do normally. Not only does the color line tend to disappear among homosexuals, but in the female role the Negro male no longer offers a challenge to white male dominance. Perhaps, and this is speculation, the Negro male homosexuals who publicly exhibit their deviation may represent the sexual adjustment of the Negro male to American society. Since the Negro woman's role has been defined largely as sexual, her emphasis of sex conforms to her position in American society.

The policy of the United States toward Negroes has only recently changed from one of separate development to one of integration. One can only speculate therefore upon the future sex behavior of the Negro. The lower classes in the Negro community will probably continue to lead a more or less free sex life. But as larger numbers rise to middle-class status they will adopt the conventional sexual patterns of Americans.

Whatever influence the Negro may have had on the sexual behavior of Americans has been through the subtle means of music rather than through any consciously formulated philosophy in regard to sex.

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E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

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Nutrition, Health, and Sexuality

IT would be difficult to quarrel with the assertion that most creatures occupy themselves chiefly with obtaining food. It is also obvious that although organisms eat for individual survival, nourishment serves the purpose of species survival as well. In fact in some extreme cases—such as those of a few varieties of insects and spiders in which the female eats the male after copulation, or of the queen bee whose royal jelly makes her the sole procreator and sole long-living insect in the hive—nourishment may primarily be designed for reproduction. For some living organisms the procreational drive sometimes takes precedence over the nutritional drive. In one species of tropical fish, for example, the male carries the eggs and newly hatched young in his mouth for a period that may last as long as two months, during which time he is constrained by this task to fast. Aside from these cases, we cannot enumerate all the examples of nutritional preparations for procreation that take place among the astronomical variety of life forms on our planet.

Words such as *starved*, *hungry*, and *satiated* may serve both for food and for sex, and the frequency with which the term *sexual appetite* is heard should make us realize the connection between these drives in the consciousness of human beings. In addition, both drives in man are fraught with social and religious attitudes, which vary from culture to culture. In many regions food and sex are concomitants of a code of social behavior, a stranger being offered food and a bed companion in the course of normal hospitality.

In this article, however, we are primarily concerned with the ways in which nutrition affects sexuality. For civilized man the concept of sexuality requires the closest definitions and elucidations and must include fertility since even the earliest, prenatal nutritional experience prefigures the maturation of the sex organs, qualitatively as well as quantitatively.

Medical research indicates that under normal circumstances there is an equation between fertility and the libidinous drive. For example, the tendency for there to exist seasonal cycles in birth (the highest point in the cycle being February and March, the lowest September and October) may be related to the naturally larger number of foodstuffs available during the spring months and the consequent increased vitamin content in the average diet. The entire glandular system of the individual becomes activated by vitamins that are the chemical cousins of hormones and are vital to the proper functioning of the endocrine network in the body. Examples are the relation of vitamin E to pituitary-gland function, and the fact that the specific equivalences between vitamins A, C, and D and the various sex hormones are known to have expedited the treatment of cases of infertility and impotency.

Trace Elements

Even trace quantities of elements involved in co-enzyme systems with vitamins and hormones may, if inadequate in the diet, dictate the difference between fertility and infertility in the human animal, and between potency and impotency. The thyroid gland, which is closely bound with sexual vigor and successful gestation, is totally dependent upon the element, iodine. There was a time when goiter, a florid manifestation of iodine deficiency, was a

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common sight in landlocked areas where iodine could not be obtained through the eating of fish. Today in Europe and the United States, the incorporation of iodine in salt has all but eliminated this ailment, but not the suboptimal thyroid condition that still prevails among large numbers of persons whose daily intake of iodine is insufficient to maintain adequate thyroid function. Reduced fertility, libido, and potency is not the sole sequel to this insufficiency; it also leads to a general faulty metabolism of the cells of tissues, organs, and arteries with a resultant inefficiency of their function and a body-wide loss of vigor. The attribution of mild aphrodisiac capacities to shellfish may involve the relatively high quantity of iodine they contain and the sexually stimulating, though temporary, impact of elevated thyroid output it brings about.

This is true not only for iodine but for other trace elements as well; and the awareness of their importance in plant and animal vigor has led horticulturists and nutritionists into an arduous study of soils to determine the effect of minutely varying quantities of these elements on the vigor of plants and of the animals that eat them. Trace elements such as iron, copper, zinc, manganese, boron, molybdenum, cobalt, and others comprise less than 1 per cent of the weight of an average plant, but the presence or absence of these substances may influence the vitality of the entire organism and thus sexual vigor. The inability of organisms to resist deterioration and vital decline may rest in one or several cumulative nutritional "snubs" sustained prenatally or after birth. Stress caused by malnutrition may instigate biochemical "twisters," the involutional nature of which narrows to a base of ultimate decline in every area of function—of which infertility, depressed libido, and potency are but a few.

In a region in Florida, for example, 15 per cent of the children were anemic. In another region close by only 3 per cent suffered from this condition. Investigation of this anomaly revealed that the soil in the area of excessive anemia contained one-tenth the iron, one-half the copper, and one-fifth the phosphorus and calcium of the area where less anemia prevailed. Iron and copper are essential to the formation of hemoglobin, the compound in red blood corpuscles that carries oxygen to every cell of the body. A body whose cellular efficiency is impaired by anemia is on the way to subtle degenerative effects stemming from a metabolic lethargy on the cellular level that allows toxic products of incomplete oxidation to be formed, such as pyruvic acid, autoacetic acid, and lactic acids.

Metabolism is the sum total of chemical changes in the body. Adequate nutrition without adequate oxygen is akin to burning a candle in a partial vacuum. It will burn feebly, perhaps sputteringly. Even with adequate oxygen, efficient metabolism still depends on an army of additional agents, such as hormones, which serve as catalytic agents for cellular processes that could not take place otherwise. Thyroxin is thought to be the principal metabolic accelerator, although not the sole agent. Even with increased thyroid, increased food intake is necessary to provide adequate raw material for the accelerated processes.

This implies that the body has a biochemical "knowledge" not completely available to us and that vitamins and minerals are utilized by glands and other organs to fabricate biochemical substances in the quantity and balance required for health and in the amounts geared both to the productive capacity of the organ in question and to the capacity of the body at large to sustain them.

Nutrition of Prenatal and Early Childhood Periods

Thus, even a prenatal nutritional flaw might affect sexuality, because at that stage of development flaws may be built into an organism's structure. In such cases, although potency may be improved by treatment during maturity, fertility may be forever lost.

Dr. Jan Raboch, of the Karlovy University Sexological Department in Prague, found, on reviewing the histories of 1,000 cases of male sterility, that some of the patients not only were the last or penultimate children in large families but that their childhood nutrition had been deficient. Hypogonadism, resulting in inadequate development of the sexual organs and tissues, was as high as 43.3 per cent in this group. The deduction from this study was that

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each pregnancy reduces a mother's vitamin E and A supply, unless it is unusually high to begin with or adequately replaced.

Dr. Raboch cites research—published in *Virchow's Archives* of 1924—in which changes in human genitalia during starvation were observed. Under these conditions, before the pubertal age, germinal tissues disappear and are replaced by connective tissue. Testes before puberty are far more sensitive to malnutrition than are fully developed testes. During famine conditions the provision of vitamins A and E appears to be inadequate for the fetus and for the newborn child. The human infant, in fact, is born with very short reserves of vitamin E, which is assumed to be the antisterility vitamin. This shortage is usually compensated for by mother's milk, which contains—when the mother is adequately nourished—.940 mg. per 100 cc. compared to .060 mg. per 100 cc. in cow's milk. Vitamin E reserves allow for more efficient utilization of other vitamins in the body, particularly vitamin A in the gonadal sphere. Both vitamins A and E are fat-soluble, and are thus stored in the body instead of being excreted daily like water-soluble vitamins. In the case of both vitamin A and E, too, time may provoke an increment or a deficiency, depending on the diet. Vitamin A can attain a level where it may exert a toxic effect on the body, but so far no toxic limit has been established for vitamin E.

Swiss researchers found that the consumption of vitamin E in the newborn is very high, which confirms the belief that the quantity that passes from mother to child depends upon whether her store or replacement of the vitamin is adequate. When the mother has a small amount of vitamin E, less of the vitamin passes to the fetus via the placenta. Hence, the last children born in a family are furnished with smaller quantities of vitamins E and A than their earlier siblings. When, in addition, starvation aggravates this situation, the latecomer suffers an added nutritional shortcoming.

The depleted store of these fat-soluble vitamins (depleted by siblings) cannot be adequately compensated for postnatally. In France, for example, the vitamin E level in women was found to be very much lower in 1943 than in 1942 because of the shortage of nourishing food during the German occupation. In Holland, also, during the German occupation the level of vitamin E in the population suffered a comparable drop for the same reason.

Hence it would appear that the nutritional preparation for potency and fertility begins very early in life—in fact, prior to birth. The critical periods for the germinal glands are the first year of life, when the testes grow rapidly, and the pubertal period, when the germinal epithelium begins seminiferous activity. Dr. Raboch states that hypogonadism and degenerative changes in germinal tissue, brought about by a deficiency of A and E vitamins in the first year, are irremediable. He advocates that these vitamins be given prophylactically to pregnant mothers who have already given birth to several children. They should also be given to children who are bottle-fed right after birth, and especially to the last male descendants of large families. Symptoms of E and A hypovitaminosis do not usually appear in childhood but result in testicular changes that are not correctible by the later administration of these vitamins.

Vigor

It is regrettable that many infertility cases do not come to light until maturity, when impregnation is attempted. It is an uncontestable fact that amongst most people in Western society little conception takes place in proportion to sexual activity. A male may be fertile and impotent at the same time, or infertile and potent; and a woman may be analogously frigid and virile, or sexually responsive and barren. Although under normal circumstances, which rarely exist, fertility and potency parallel one another, these situations confront us with complexities in terms of the sexual apparatus in humans and confront us too with the need to define sexuality in humans as closely as possible by way of establishing a ground where it can meet with nutrition in a meaningful manner.

Castration obviously affects sexuality in a total way. The entire sexual mechanism is eliminated and there is nothing for psychological, nutritional, or any other factors to affect. But with subfertile and fertile individuals it is diffi-

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cult to determine where vigor ends and interpersonal patterns, custom, training, trauma, cultural circumstances, intelligence, conditioning, and compensation take over in sexual capacities and activities. To deal as fully as possible with the influence of nutrition on sex, we must establish a qualitative as well as a relatively quantitative sexual norm and eliminate conditions that cannot be altered by nutrition. We can start by conceding influences of a psychological nature.

Vigor is the greatest single determinant of sexuality. It is the synergistic product of heredity, environment, age, and nutrition. It can be profoundly altered by psychic circumstances, which vary widely from person to person. Aside from these intangibles vigor is elusive, if not intricate, in its biological sense. It is not only the manifestation of energy in an organism. It may be the sign of the emergence of effective energy: energy that emerges as power and stamina after what is basically produced is drained off by inefficient patterns of behavior, external and internal stresses on the organism, idiosyncratic compensations or decompensations, or individual endocrinological orientations—which may little reflect on a person's essential vigor but which may charge his behavior up or down sexual avenues in parallel or paradoxical manifestations.

Observations made in Rochester, Minnesota, between 1939–1942 in an investigation of patients deprived of thiamine were summed up by Dr. Russell M. Wilder in the Milbank Memorial Fund's *The Biology of Mental Health.* Ten subjects who were well adjusted, congenial, industrious, and vigorous were subjected to a period of B_1 deficiency, the intake being about 450 micrograms. Their behavior pattern changed. They became forgetful, quarrelsome, apathetic, confused, depressed, restless, and anxious. These disturbances of attitude were aggravated by a loss of vigor and a disregard for morality in sex.

Dr. Morton S. Biskind, in a paper entitled "Nutritional Deficiency in the Etiology of Certain Sex-Endocrine Disorders," emphasizes the paradox in terms of the varying effects of B vitamin deficiency in the male and the female. While a B vitamin deficiency will decrease the libido of the male, the same deficiency will increase the female sex urge, because in B vitamin deficiency the liver continues to inactivate male androgens but not female estrogens, thus upsetting the androgen-estrogen balance in the body. A rise of the estrogen level in the male will depress his libidinous drives; in the female it will intensify it. Dr. Biskind points out that B vitamins are vital for hepatic inactivation of estrogens, and a husband and wife experiencing the same deficiency by sharing the same diet will be in comparable states of vigor in respect of the B vitamins but in opposite sexual states.

The effect of vitamin E is different. In 1928, Dr. H. M. Evans, one of its discoverers, found that animals receiving vitamin E showed better growth and vigor in addition to increased libidinous response, fertility, and potency. Practically all animals receiving only a small amount of wheat germ oil showed a daily improvement in constitutional state. Evans concluded that the loss of sexual interest resulted from a constitutional inferiority rather than specific testicular impairment.

Vigor probably represents—according to Dr. Evans—the total effective condition of the body, since the metabolic activities of the cell are not fundamentally energy-producing processes but chemical actions and reactions designed to rearrange the molecular constituents presented to the cell after alimentary breakdown. Were metabolism a matter of mere energy production, high-calorie foods such as fats and starches would constitute the maximum effective fare. But experiments carried out several years ago with radioactive tracers proved that only 2 per cent of the nutrients taken in by an organism emerges as energy. This means that 98 per cent may be utilized for other purposes: repair, regeneration, and replacement of tissues; enzymes, co-enzymes; hormones and other secretions needed to maintain the myriad processes essential to a state of physical well-being; and liquid requirements of blood, cells, and tissues. Since all chemical reactions, however, require heat for their instigation and give off heat during their interractions, energy may be the casual though vital by-product of biochemical cellular processes involved in the production of material fundamentally needed for the maintenance of the body at large. All body motions require not one but several preparatory and accompanying

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chemical reactions in order to occur. Motion produces heat but only by speeding up chemical reactions from the cellular to the tissue level. Vigor is then the total status of bone, muscle, tissue, cell, organ, nerve, and effective behavioral patterns.

Vigor is affected by nutrition even where organ and tissue are altered by age, but hardly in the clear and causologically simple way we may imagine.

The hunger experienced after coitus, for example, is often the sole result of muscular release. Nutritional-gonadal interractions are complex, often paradoxical, frequently proteal, and rarely without emotional and psychological entanglements, since both drives are highly charged and intricately bound up with early associative actions and reactions.

Fertility and Diet

Sometimes a rich diet will reduce spermatogenesis in men and fertility in women—probably by oxidizing the available vitamin E in the body and possibly because overnutrition may involve a preoccupation with the nutritional drive that partially occludes the reproductive one. Often sexuality will persist under conditions of nutritional deprivation that will impair other biologic reactions.

Dr. G. B. Leyton, himself a prisoner of war, describes in *Lancet* the effect of malnutrition on Russian prisoners of war in a German camp. On 1,350 calories a day, the Russians were required to work twelve hours a day, seven days a week, at hard labor in rock quarries and coal mines. Initially there was a loss of the feeling of well-being. Fat disappeared first, then muscle tissue. In three weeks the minds of the men were completely taken over by thoughts of food. Men normally quick-witted became dull. The capacity to concentrate vanished. Mental and physical lethargy set in. Several minutes were required to reply to a question. The prisoners slept twelve hours a day. They shuffled when they walked. As the deprivation went on, civilized behavior diminished. Moral standards and standards of personal cleanliness vanished. Interest in books and games disappeared. Curiously enough, however, sexual desire as well as the desire for alcohol and tobacco (oral substitutes) remained. Homosexual practices and masturbation were common. Whether sexual longing persisted in those who contracted tuberculosis and hunger edema is not known.

Another study of the consequences of famine in German concentration camps by Per Helweg, Larsen H. Hoffmeyer, and others (1952) also found an increase in general inertia and apathy, making it practically impossible to arouse interest in anything. At the same time, moral standards were lost; the sense of responsibility for the welfare of others diminished. Active and passive sexual promiscuity was rampant.

A study by P. S. Vaishwanar of Nagpur, India, in the *International Journal of Sexology* may supply a partial explanation. Mr. Vaishwanar points up the paradoxical difference between nutrition and fertility in Eastern and Western populations. The birth rate of Dutch city dwellers, who were reduced to an energy and protein intake of 700–1,100 calories a day during World War II (between December, 1944, and April, 1954), experienced a two-thirds drop nine months later. However, it rose to unprecedented heights nine months after food supplies had become adequate. Yet India's birth rate, in spite of nutritional deficiencies of long standing, has remained persistently high, in the last decades dropping only from 46 to 45 per 1,000 population, a decrease ascribed to urbanization.

Mr. Vaishwanar makes the obvious deduction that in the East a high birth rate and expanding population are associated with undernourishment, while in the West the reverse is true. He suggests that factors other than nutrition are necessary to explain this paradox, since the fertility rate has been higher among ill-nourished communities than among better-nourished communities where contraception was not practiced. He assumes that, under normal conditions, instincts of reproduction and nutrition compete with each other. "When one retreats, the other advances," the psychological effect of hunger being to make sex compensate for nutritional appetites "shrunken" by deficiencies of protein. A loss of interest in food causes the sexual instinct to become dominant. Conversely, where a society has created conditions for good nutrition, it has also usually created higher standards of living generally, establishing a means by which members of that

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society can sublimate sex to intellectual and cultural attainments.

These explanations may or may not resolve the paradox entirely. Of course, in a society in which optimum nutrition goes hand in hand with an increased amount of goods, services, educational and cultural activities, and entertainment and recreational facilities, the increment of distractions may serve to divert attention from sex. However, the most diverting circumstance in such a society may be the very energy expended in obtaining this higher standard of living. Emile Zola, in *Germinal*, deals with life amongst the colliers of France whose threadbare economic circumstances left them with but one free and attainable pleasure, sex. Even at the asphyxial end of a mine catastrophe, a man and a woman collier abandon themselves in sexual embrace in a final, familiar sensuous experience that is not impelled by love or affection, or even by a desire to escape the imminence of death.

The fact that high fertility seems to be associated with the twilight zone of malnutrition, as shown by the steep rise in the birth rate immediately after a famine and by the high birth rate of poorly nourished people rather than of well-nourished people, might lead us to suspect that, in addition to cultural factors, those of a psychobiological and biological nature play a role. It may be that undernutrition is not a biological stimulus for sexuality but that overnutrition is a deterrent. A diet rich in animal fats in addition to a relatively high consumption of meats and dairy products, cheese, milk, eggs, etc., tends to oxidize vitamin E in the body. It may well be that during nutritional deficiencies, the vitamin E-sparing effect of decreased animal fat intake is great enough to compensate for the reduced replacement of the vitamin. This is more likely the case in Eastern countries, where a grain diet traditionally supplements the meager meat rations. The grains, however, are whole grains and contain some proteins, minerals, and vitamins, including not only vitamin E but mixed tocopherols—namely, this vitamin in all its varieties. In Western countries the grain supplements of a reduced meat diet or a diet lacking meat tend to be refined or are enriched with vitamins replaced by the producers, limited to a few of the B vitamins. Thus it may be that malnutrition in Eastern countries is not so severe, when it occurs, as in Western countries where refined grain foods—devoid of their natural vitamins and minerals—make for a more pronounced nutritional impoverishment.

The high amount of saturated fatty acids ingested in the average Western diet during periods of prosperity also predisposes the individual to vitamin E deficiency, as against the unsaturated fatty acids ingested in less developed areas in the form of vegetable fats (linoleic acid)—corn oil, linseed oil, sunflower seed oil, soy bean oil, and the like. Unsaturated fatty acids have a sparing effect on pyridoxine, one of the B vitamins, and probably on several other vitamins. They also affect the liver by reducing liver fat.

In the rat, the absence of the unsaturated fatty acid leads to scaly skin and caudal necrosis, growth retardation, kidney lesions, poor reproductive performance, and a high water consumption. The higher the fat consumption the greater the need for the unsaturated fatty acids.

Unsaturated fatty acids are synthesized to an extent from carbohydrates, the diet of the poor. But most important is the fact that an imbalance in the saturated-unsaturated fatty acid ratio in the body, implicit in the so-called rich diets that abound in Western nations, leads to vascular hardening, which slows down the passage of nutriments from the blood stream to the cells of the body and the passage of metabolic waste products from the cells to the blood vessels—and consequently to decreased vigor.

Thus we may have solved one important aspect of the paradox between the fertility of Eastern and Western populations on suboptimal nutritive fares. A comparably reduced caloric state in the West represents a greater condition of malnutrition than in the East, caused by the overconsumption of refined grain.

Fertility and the Psychological Impact of Hunger

There are, of course, several additional reasons for the relative disparity in fertility among populations under comparable conditions of nutritive deprivation, and without regard to the greater use of birth control in the Western countries. For one thing, the psychological im-

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pact of hunger on a people unaccustomed to hunger and on a people accustomed to it must be different.

Undernutrition does not induce so violent a reaction in those who are chronically hungry as in those who are well fed. A sustained vitamin shortage tends to decrease appetite, so that hunger does not create the degree of anxiety that is initially created in those unaccustomed to it. The fear sustained by well-nourished people in the face of food shortages compounds the nutritional drain incurred. Philosophies of life of the East have long adjusted the people to hunger, disease, and early death in chronically food-poor areas. The passivity of nature, encouraged by Oriental religions, is energy-conserving, permitting adaptations on lower metabolic levels to preserve vigor, just as the long sleeps in which starving people indulge tend to conserve energy and matter. Thus the greater calm with which the Eastern person meets the problem of nutritional deprivation enables him to nurse the internal nutrients he possesses more effectively than the Westerner.

In chronically deprived areas, people are used to obtaining maximum benefits from free or available pleasurable resources, such as human society, emotional exchange, sex, and children, since the other Westernized pleasures are relatively unknown and unattainable.

In normally secure societies, since external threat is diminished to the point where individuals no longer need to herd to create a factitious sense of security against overwhelming and destructive forces, the inclination is to detachment. The greater the security in a society, the greater the detachment in degree and number. The individual members of the society search for gratifications in the challenge of more refined and complicated intellectual activities.

Sweden, for example, a country with a high level of social and personal security, has the largest number of single-dwelling units per population in the world. This fact, plus casual, unresponsible, and detached sexual relationships, appears to be related to a rather high suicide rate. With cultural lags, such circumstances are never uniform for the population of any country, so that some individuals are always more adaptable to conditions of deprivation than others.

But a people with a high living standard, when confronted with nutritional deprivation, would be certain to suffer more intensely and chaotically from its effects than people in consistently deprived regions. Intellectual faculties and interests are among the first to vanish, and sexual desire persists until utter physical incapacity sets in. Here nutritional stress is raised to alarming proportions by psychological stress to produce the ultimate exhausting biological condition, formulated by Selye and confirmed by researchers all over the world, called the General Adaptation Syndrome. This is a condition that prefigures chronic and destructive disease conditions of the organism, and most certainly would be attended by a depression of sexual potency and constitutional vigor.

This fact was borne out in a study entitled "Experimental Induction of Psychoneuroses by Starvation." Dr. Ancel Keys, of the University of Minnesota, and his co-workers established that in a situation in which the bodily stores of fat and glycogen are depleted and the body consumes itself, the physical as well as mental consequences are far-reaching. Thirty-six normal young men were observed during six months of semistarvation—namely, a diet of the European famine type. There was no pronounced loss in the capacity of the special senses such as vision or hearing, but there were "marked tendencies for behavioral changes to follow uniform patterns."

As the stress of semistarvation progressed, the men became increasingly quiet, somber, apathetic, and slow in motion. Their irritability increased and stress brought on by internal rage was not outwardly expressed. Energy was conserved; effort was avoided. Former standards of morals and honesty diminished to a vanishing point. One man twice attempted sexual self-mutilation. Others increasingly engaged in daydreaming, often of the sexual sort, but there were marked signs of impotence and lack of vigor. Keys, in *The Biology of Human Starvation*, found just the opposite.

Stress

When the concept of stress is mentioned in this article it refers to an actual medical situa-

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tion and implies physical reactions in which the nutritional status of an individual may be seriously undermined. The concept of stress was advanced by Dr. Hans Selye of the University of Montreal after close to two decades of research that involved hundreds of experimental animals and clinical work with human patients. The theory has since been widely verified by other scientific research.

Briefly, the theory postulates all threats such as infections, cold, heat, noxious chemicals, fatigue, injury, anxiety, obesity, and starvation as stresses to which the body responds at first with an alarm reaction set up by the adrenocorticotropic hormone secreted by the pituitary gland. This hormone, as its name implies, stimulates the cortex (outer bark of the adrenal glands concerned with body adaptation) to change internal and external conditions to produce mineral-regulating and other hormones to cope with the threat or threats in question. These hormones, in short, are body defenses called into action by a stress-producing condition.

If the body reacts too violently to the alarm, certain undesirable physical conditions—mainly allergy and collagen disorders—may ensue. But the next stage in the General Adaptation Syndrome is one of adaptation to the stress condition. The more reserve the organism has, the better its chances for adaptation. Continued or continual stress may exhaust the pituitary-adrenal axis, giving rise to a chain of physiological events that may incur derangements along the entire line of hormonal interrelationships, upsetting body biochemistry. They will be manifested in ailments ranging from defects in sexual function, infertility, and incapacitating chronic disorders to premature aging and even rapid death.

Endocrine Balance

It is one of the wonders of biology that the endocrine glands of many animals and humans operate in a harmony that is comparable to a symphony orchestra, with the conductor being a small gland the shape of a pea, located in a bony saddle at the base of the brain and called the pituitary gland. It is rightly referred to as the master gland of the body. It may be, for all we know, the master of the body. The pituitary gland controls the cycle of menstruation and gestation in the female and produces a number of hormones that stimulate the production of hormones from other vital ductless glands in the body, including thyrotropin, which orders the secretion of thyroxin from the thyroid gland; adrenocorticotropin, which biochemically commands the adrenal cortex to produce some fifty various hormones; gonadotropic hormones, which direct gonadal secretions; and an insulin-blocking hormone, to mention but a few. And all of these, plus the chemical products and processes in the body, require raw material that must be supplied by the food we eat, digest, assimilate into the blood, and circulate to all cells, tissues, and organs in the body.

To gain a small idea of what pituitary exhaustion would signify in human terms, Dr. Samuel Brody in his book, *Bioenergetics and Growth* (1945), states:

> While hormones are named by their most spectacular effects, as "sex hormones," all hormones are in fact, general metabolic hormones; they are all involved in the transformation of energy matter. Thus, the thyroid is involved not merely in energy metabolism but in virtually every process in the body including mineral metabolism, sex activity, growth and development, and so on. The same is true for every hormone; they are all interrelated and exert widespread effects. However, the precise influence of a given endocrine depends on the age of the organism and on the scope of interrelation.
>
> . . . Some important endocrines, such as the gonads, may be removed with much less effect on general metabolism than others, such as thyroid, adrenal, pituitary. The extirpation of the pituitary is particularly serious, throwing out of gear practically all other endocrines and consequently all productive processes.

The anterior pituitary gland elaborates, among other secretions, two gonadotropic hormones. One is the follicle-stimulating hormone, which is involved in the maturation of egg or sperm and graafian follicles and in the secretion of estrogens. Another is the luteinizing hormone or the interstitial cell-stimulating hormone, which are involved, in the female, in the secretion of progesterone and the inhibition of estrogen secretion, and, in the male, in the stimulation of testicular interstitial cells and in androgen production. A lack of pituitary sex hormones arrests sexual develop-

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ment and results in abnormalities such as the Fröhlich syndrome.

In addition to the gonadotropic hormones, the thyrotropic hormone, and adrenotropic hormones, other hormones the pituitary gland is believed to secrete are the parathyrotropic, which stimulate secretions from the parathyroids, a cluster of little glands located atop the thyroid and involved in calcium metabolism in the body; a pancreatropic hormone, which stimulates insulin production; a glycotropic hormone, which is insulin-blocking; a diabetogenic hormone, which increases sugar production; a ketogenic hormone, which accelerates fat metabolism and ketone-body productions; a lactogenic hormone (prolactin); a mammogenic; somatropic or growth hormones; etc.

The anterior pituitary gland is also the central mediating station through which various environmental factors, such as climate, season, food supply, and psychic stimuli, control the sex cycle and other neuro-endocrine activities.

Brody describes a pendulum type of oscillation between the pituitary tropic hormones and the glands they control. Under stress the pituitary liberates excessive adrenotropic hormone, which induces the adrenal medulla to produce adrenalin. If adrenalin production is excessive, it reacts on the pituitary and depresses production of adrenotropic hormones. He describes periodic sex endocrine activity as an expression of this type of regulation. He surmises, too, that since animals whose gonads have been excised still continue to secrete estrogens and androgens, the adrenal cortex may also produce sex hormones since adrenal cortex hormones are chemically similar to sex hormones, a conjecture confirmed by an altered excretion of cortex hormones in various diseases of the adrenals.

It is indeed as W. T. Salter, in *Endocrine Function of Iodine,* says of the ductless glands:

> The most important concept of endocrinology which emerges from the feverish activity of the past decade is the principle of endocrine balance. Discovered and rediscovered by several investigators of the past decade, the paradoxical truth has dawned finally that man or beast may suffer less from the loss of several glands than from losing a single one. For each of the precious juices the other secretions supply a partial antidote so that health and personality may be preserved delicately poised. . . .

Vitamins

All that hinges on the intricate maze of endocrine balance may not yet be fully known, but what is known is that endocrine function itself leans very heavily on nutrients—minerals, proteins, vitamins, and perhaps types and quantities of fats and starches.

Dr. Brody describes vitamins as exogenous catalysts and hormones as endogenous catalysts. He points to the similarity in chemical structure between vitamin D, for example, and sex hormone and to the similarity of vitamin D in some respects to parathyroid hormone, which regulates calcium metabolism, a process in which sex hormones also participate. Drs. Pillay and Kapadia discuss the similarity in effect between hormones and vitamins and point to the similar effects of vitamin C on urine excretion or retention. It is Pillay's impression that vitamin A is similar in therapeutic action on infertility to estradiol, vitamin C to progesterone, and vitamin D to testosterone because in premenstrual tension vitamin A as well as estradiol is prescribed; in threatened abortion vitamin C and progesterone; in dysmenorrhea vitamin D and testosterone.

Vitamins taken orally in food or otherwise are molecularly small enough to be absorbed through the small intestine into the blood stream, while hormones produced within the body itself are not as stable or molecularly as small as vitamins. In fact, they are usually proteins of high molecular weight that cannot pass into the blood without digestion. But they participate with vitamins and with other hormones in metabolic action. A case in point is carbohydrate metabolism, which involves the cooperation of B_1, B_2, nicotinic acid, insulin, anterior pituitary secretions, corticosterone (of the adrenal cortex), and adrenalin. A deficiency of merely one of these products can bring about serious and far-reaching disturbances of the body economy. All the enumerated vitamins and hormones are not sufficient to handle sugar utilization in the cell in the absence of insulin.

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This disorder, called diabetes, is often characterized by diminished libido and sexual potency. Dr. Biskind, treating approximately 150 diabetics over a period of five years, noted that nutritional therapy not only improved the avitaminic defects but that there was almost without exception an improvement in general health and a remission of such disturbances as diminished libido and potency.

The roster of B complex vitamins is being extended continuously. Choline and inositol, two relatively recent additions to the B complex family, are specifically referred to as lipotropic factors. They may not only help arrest cirrhosis of the liver but also, via the liver, play an important role in the metabolism of fats. In the opinion of many medical men it is the shortage of B vitamins in conjunction with protein deficiency that causes the liver cirrhosis common among alcoholics, who are usually malnourished.

Degrees of B deficiency will induce comparable degrees of impaired liver function—not sufficiently severe perhaps to be clinically evident. The largest individual organ in the body, the liver, is charged with a horde of functions. It stores vitamins A and C, stores glycogen, iron, and copper for use in the red corpuscles of the blood, synthesizes protein, and produces a substance called bile which, metered through the gall bladder to the small intestine, helps to metabolize fats. The liver assists in inactivating and detoxifying a host of noxious chemicals taken into and produced by the body, including androgens and estrogens, which in excess quantities may ultimately create cancers, but in the more immediate course will decrease sexual urge in the male and increase it to unmanageable extents in the female.

One of the great hazards of obesity is that the starches ingested for the production of excess weight compete with the liver and the thyroid for vitamin B_1 specifically, impairing the function of both these organs, which have been shown to be important in sexual potency—the thyroid affecting fertility and gestation as well. Very likely the liver, if its function is impaired to a degree that permits toxic products to ruin the physiology, bears indirectly on fertility. Almost any adverse physiological condition will affect cases of marginal fertility, although the influence of toxic products of metabolism on health and disease has not been completely explored.

Nutrition and Sexual Aberrations

An investigation was made as to whether there was any correlation between nutritional deficiency and the occurrence of syndromes related to excess estrogen. A significant degree of correlation was found to exist—that is, patients with these syndromes had various signs of nutritional deficiency and hormonal disturbances, which responded promptly and often dramatically to complete and intensive nutritional treatment. Associated with these signs were other changes hardly designed to enhance any libido and potency left—excess nervous irritability, emotional instability, insomnia, headaches, impaired memory for recent events, "clouding" of consciousness, excessive tendency to tire, "restless legs," and peripheral neuritis —manifested in the early stages by a diminished vibratory sense and by spontaneous cramping of the muscles, and later by pain in the arms, legs, and lumbar area, loss of reflexes, and eventually actual muscle weakness.

Dr. Biskind makes it clear that the association of disorders brought about by nutritional deficiency with "aberrations" of the sexual function was no less common in the male than in the female. In more than 200 males studied, infertility with definite lowering of number and quality of spermatozoa was found, together with testicular atrophy, gynecomastia, and impaired libido and potency. These conditions were all improved with adequate nutritional therapy. The quantity and quality of sperm improved, and hence fertility, libido, and potency returned to normal. The size and texture of the testicles improved and gynecomastia subsided with vitamin regimen. Dr. Biskind also states:

> In the course of 7 years that these studies have been carried on, more than 900 cases involving pathologic uterine bleeding and the like were observed and treated with vitamin B complex in three independent series of cases in eastern, western and midwestern portions of the United States. The results were uniformly favorable, for not only did

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the endocrine disturbances clear up but the indications of nutritional deficiency subsided simultaneously and vast improvement of the general health was the rule. In another series, administration of vitamin B complex during pregnancy led to striking reduction in the incidence of post-partum subinvolution of the uterus and its complications.

One complicating effect of a B vitamin deficiency in a married couple's diet (which they would be likely to incur because they share relatively the same diet) is that the woman would tend to develop, consequent to excess estrogens, an increased libidinous drive while the effect on her mate would be the reverse for the same estrogenic reason. In such a situation may lie the seeds of a serious marital conflict, one that marriage counselors might take into cognizance since simple nutritional therapy can restore libidinous equilibrium to the couple and rectify a problem that drawn-out, expensive psychological probing cannot adjust.

It must be mentioned however, that when psychogenic factors impair libido and potency, nutritional correction and androgen administration will have little effect on the sexual function. Therefore, the simultaneous treatment of nutritional and psychogenic defects must be advocated since, in Dr. Biskind's words, "physiologic recovery of testicular function will be of no avail in the presence of an inhibiting psychic disorder, while alleviation of the mental conflict alone will not permit normal tissue function in the presence of a physiologic defect."

Thus we return full circle to the separable, interacting influences of psychogenic and nutritional factors. We have traced the general line between fear and hostility of sexual impotence and frigidity and established both the cause and the effect as stress-creating conditions. In Western civilization even normal individuals may experience some omnipresent or recurrent anxiety that functions as a nutritional drain, which might lead to excess nervous irritability, memory impairment, clouding of consciousness, and emotional instability—not to mention impaired potency and libido, factors that are qualified as the features of B vitamin deficiency. The disturbances of interpersonal relationships likely to ensue under these conditions may spiral an initial trivial disturbance to heights and may possibly require psychotherapy.

Obesity and Vitamin E

The normal depression of appetite consequent to B vitamin deficiency or psychogenic disturbances may actually produce the anomalous result of obesity in those people whose decrease of appetite represents a felt loss of an important source of pleasure and consolation. Or, in the curious reversal of natural reactions that takes place in highly developed cultures, where the primitive instinct has been obliterated by security, the person—whose desire for food should naturally diminish when he feels threatened—may escape from inner anxieties by the gastric route if food, as is often the case, is equated with security, safety, esteem, or love. This is reflected in the 25,000,000 obese citizens in the United States, 5,000,000 of whom are pathologically obese. These people have twice the normal chance of acquiring diabetes, high blood pressure, cardiovascular disorders, and (because of the rivalry between B vitamins and starches) diminished libido and potency.

Aside from B_1 deficiency, the chief danger of obesity is the tendency of the excess ingested fats to oxidize vitamin E, the endogenous catalyst utilized by the pituitary gland, whose effect on fertility and potency may be through its multifarious functions in the nutritional economy. Each one of the functions of vitamin E affects the over-all constitutional vigor and health of the individual, especially libido and sexual potency, through its role in muscle tonicity and capillary permeability.

Vitamin E is a fat-soluble vitamin and, unlike C and B vitamins (which being water-soluble can be flushed out of the system), is stored in the body. It is prone to decrease with time—often so insidiously that a deficiency can build up over a period of years. Dr. Raboch suggests that E vitamin should not be considered a specific antisterility vitamin but a substance very closely connected with the various biochemical processes and functions.

According to Hickman and Guggenheim, one of the most important functions of vitamin E is to guarantee the full utilization of vitamin A, although indications are that A is not the

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sole vitamin affected by E. French experimenters wrote in 1949 that testicular changes during starvation do not react to vitamin E but are improved by vitamin A, although the changes do not appear at all when both A and E are given simultaneously. This fact further bears on the reciprocity of both vitamins in their effect on germinal tissue. Another experimenter, Mason, claims that the histological picture of the testes in vitamin A deficiency differs from that in starving or E avitaminosis, and further claims that changes invoked by A avitaminosis regress after the administration of A. He noted also that, when there occurred a shortage of both A and E, the testes showed symptoms of E avitaminosis earlier than when only one of the two was deficient.

Raboch points out that therapy with vitamin E is more effective when whole wheat germ is used than when synthetic alfa-tocoferol is used. The reason may be that other tocoferols and vitamins of the B group are present in wheat germ, and may protect vitamin E from oxidation before it can be absorbed. He concludes that the effect of undernutrition on the development and activity of masculine germinal tissue cannot be explained by the absence of a few components in the food. The absence of certain amino acids, such as arginin, from the diet, unfavorably affects the formation and presence of spermatozoa, and he suggests that a series of factors, some of which are known to us and some of which are not, affect fertility.

Summary

To draw any tight and clear deductions from the work dealing with the impact of nutrition on sexuality would be difficult, although not unrewarding. Every problem of sexuality is an individual one as to nature, severity, and etiology. Psychological, sociological, cultural, and interpersonal factors crawl like indestructible ivy over the tangible biological structure, often occulting it and frequently altering it. But any sensible reflection should certainly convince one that the cultivation of wise nutritional practices, such as those implied in the material presented here, will—if other factors are not too severe—make for a healthier and more satisfactory sexual life.

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ALBERT ABARBANEL

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Orgasm, Anatomy of the Female*

THE human female responds to successful sexual stimulation with all the physiological forces constrained within her body. Specific anatomical reactions to effective sexual stimulation, however, are confined to the breasts and the pelvic reproductive organs. The primary reaction within these organs of sexual response is one of marked congestion of the venous blood. Just as penile erection in the male is accomplished as the direct result of venous engorgement under the influence of mounting sexual tension so the breasts and the pelvic reproductive organs engorge with venous blood as sexual tension is successfully developed in the human female.

As opposed to the male's single primary genital response of penile erection the female exhibits multiple primary and secondary anatomical reactions during the various phases of her complete orgasmic response cycle. It is important that we understand the general terminology used to describe the female's sexual response cycle, so that the anatomy of the successive reactions of the breasts and the pelvic reproductive organs may be more effectively described.

Phases of Response

The human female's cycle of sexual response has been arbitrarily divided into four separate phases by the Washington University Sex Research Project (Masters, 1959). These phases are, in order, (1) excitement, (2) plateau, (3) orgasm, and (4) resolution. The excitement phase may vary in length from a few minutes to as long as two or three hours, depending upon the intensity and the continuity of the patterns of sexual stimulation. This first phase of sexual response is measured from the human female's reception of any psychic or physical sexual stimulus to her entry upon the second or plateau phase of response. This is a somewhat shorter reaction sequence during which she gathers psychological and physiological strength from the mounting sexual tension, until her physical and mental forces are adequate for the leap into the third, or orgasmic, phase of sexual release. The entire orgasmic phase usually lasts from three to eight seconds. The length of the resolution, or fourth and final phase of the sexual response cycle, is roughly proportional to that of the first or excitement phase: the shorter the excitement phase, the shorter the resolution phase, and the more extended the excitement phase, the more the resolution phase is slowed.

Response of the Breasts

The most notable response of the breasts during the early excitement phase is that of nipple erection. It is important to realize, however, that erection of the nipples does not occur only as a response to sexual stimulation. The nipples may undergo erection in cold weather, or as a result of immersion in cold water, and the phenomenon has frequently been observed

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upon the removal of an excessively binding undergarment or after the continued pressure of sleeping in the prone position. There are many women who have inverted nipples incapable of erection; so that this reaction is not a constant finding, nor is it confined to the excitement phase of sexual response. It is present throughout the entire cycle.

As tension mounts under continued effective stimulation, the areolae (the pigmented areas of the breasts surrounding the nipples) become engorged and swollen partially obscuring the erection of the nipples and creating the false impression that this response has been lost.

The trapping or slowing of the venous blood flow in the breasts increases their size slowly, frequently until they are from a fifth to a quarter larger than normal by the time the excitement phase has reached its terminal stages. This congestive increase becomes more noticeable in large breasts. Early in the excitement phase the venous markings on the surface of the breasts become more noticeable as the blood vessels become engorged with the slowed venous blood flow.

After the excitement phase ends and the plateau phase is established, a measle-like rash sometimes spreads from the upper abdomen over the breasts, usually appearing first on the inferior surfaces of the breasts and being more noticeable in the blonde or redheaded female than in one of brunette coloring. It should be emphasized that the development and spread of this vasomotor phenomenon (sexual flush) during plateau and orgasmic phases is a characteristic reaction to effective sexual stimulation and will be produced only as a result of the development of severe sexual tension.

There is no particular breast response to the orgasmic phase of the sexual cycle. However, the sexual flush does reach its maximum spread as this phase of the cycle develops.

As the resolution phase is experienced, the breasts return to their normal size in a slow involution reaction that is the direct reversal of the changes during the excitement phase. First to disappear is the measlelike skin rash. Second to be lost is the swelling of the breasts. The areolae then begin to lose their engorged appearance. Finally, the nipples which have been almost hidden by the swollen areolar area appear to undergo a second erection response. This is actually a false erection reaction. The erect nipples are simply the last evidence of sexual tension to leave the involuting breasts, after an orgasmic experience has released the venous engorgement developed during the first two phases of the cycle.

We might emphasize here a point of telltale evidence of effective sexual stimulation. As the human female is responding to sexual stimulation, the appearance of a pink, granular rash may frequently be noted over the anterior chest wall and the breasts. A certainty of effectual sexual stimulation may be presumed, in the physiological response situation described. Unless the female is most adequately stimulated, she will not produce the measlelike rash (sexual flush) which is a true measure of the development of severe sexual tension.

The External Pelvic Anatomy

The response of the female pelvic reproductive anatomy to effective sexual stimulation also may be described in terms of the four phases of the sexual response cycle. The external sexual anatomy includes the clitoris, the major and minor labia, and the Bartholin glands, located on the inner aspect of the minor labia about two-thirds of the distance from the clitoris to the posterior vaginal wall. The anatomical reactions of these target organs to sexual tension will be described in detail.

The clitoris is a small, sensitive organ consisting primarily of erectile tissue. It varies considerably in size (usually about that of a green pea) and is located on the anteroinferior surface of the large pelvic bone (the symphysis pubis), which runs across the front of both male and female pelves. The clitoris is covered by the folds of the labia minora (the prepuce), which meet in the midline just above the urinary outlet (urethra). The prepuce protects the clitoris in the same manner that the foreskin protects the glans or head of the male penis. The clitoris and prepuce form the most sensitively erotogenic area of the female body.

As sexual tension mounts, the clitoris increases in size, but this response varies considerably from individual to individual. Occasionally, the increase may be minimal, but

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frequently a two- or threefold increase in size has been observed. This response is another result of the trapping of venous blood by a target organ as a result of sexual stimulation. The clitoris has a tremendous blood circulation for its size.

The increase in clitoral size is usually completed by the time the excitement phase has terminated. No particular plateau or orgasmic phase response has been described for the clitoris, and during the resolution phase the marked venous engorgement is lost very slowly. Frequently, the clitoris is the last of the pelvic sexual organs to return to normal after a period of sexual stimulation. Particularly is this true if the female does not attain relief of sexual tension by an orgasm after long excitement and frustrating plateau phases. The extended resolution phase of recession of the venous congestion frequently takes hours if orgasmic relief has not been achieved.

The pattern of response to sexual stimulation by the labia majora varies (as a general rule) with the number of children the individual female has produced. In the nulliparous female the labia major thin out and flatten upward and backward against the pelvic brim during later stages of the excitement phase, disappearing, for all clinical purposes, as the plateau phase is experienced. However, in the multiparous individual, particularly if significant labial varicosities are present, the labia increase in size from two to three times because of venous engorgement, hanging like the folds of a heavy curtain about the vaginal outlet. There is a tendency, even for markedly engorged, multiparous labia, to spread laterally as the plateau phase is neared, making the vaginal outlet more available to the male organ. As with the clitoris, there is no specific plateau or orgasmic phase response from the labia majora. Resolution, with return to normal anatomical position and size, occurs more rapidly in the nulliparous than in the engorged, multiparous labia.

The anatomical response of the minor labia to sexual stimulation has been of particular interest to investigators and has been dubbed the "sex-skin" reaction of the human female (Masters, 1959). This response has been compared to that of the labia of the monkey bitch in heat which is one of muted red discoloration of the entire vulval area (Zuckerman, 1930). During the human female's excitement phase, the labia minora increase in thickness from two to three times and extend laterally to provide additional support along the lateral axis of the vagina. This reaction develops an additional one to one centimeter and a half of effective coital length to the vagina. This additional support is, of course, missing along the immediate posterior vaginal wall.

After the plateau phase has been achieved, there is a marked color change in the minor labia. Again there is variation with the parity. The minor labia of the nulliparous female may turn a cardinal red, while the minor labia of the multiparous female (particularly if there are marked vulval varicosities) may turn almost burgundy red. These changes are always evidence of an impending orgasm.

If sexual stimulation of the female does not take her beyond the establishment of the plateau phase, the color changes just described for the minor labia do not occur. If, however, they do occur, and if the stimulation techniques that have caused them are maintained, the human female will always undergo an orgasmic experience. In other words, once the minor labia manifest the color changes of severe sexual tension, an orgasmic experience is not only imminent but inevitable, if the stimulation is maintained. Usually, the time from the onset of the color changes to the onset of the orgasm is only sixty to ninety seconds.

There is no particular anatomical reaction on the part of the minor labia to the actual orgasmic experience. The resolution phase is again the complete reversal in anatomical sequence of the excitement phase: first, the minor labia lose their sex-tension discoloration, they then lose their vascular tension (increased size), and finally they return slowly to normal anatomic positioning.

The Bartholin glands produce a mucoid secretion under the influence of sexual stimulation. It has been erroneously stated (Brown, 1950; Moll, 1912; Stone and Stone, 1953) that this is a response of the early excitement phase. The Bartholin glands do not secrete during the excitement phase of the sexual response cycle, unless it is maintained for a considerable time. The usual onset of glandular secretory activity is during the plateau phase, and material lib-

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erated is at most three or four drops from each gland. There is no particular orgasmic response, and the short resolution reaction consists simply of cessation of secretory activity.

The Internal Pelvic Anatomy

The internal organs of reproduction consist of vagina, cervix, uterus, Fallopian tubes, and ovaries. As yet, nothing is known of the response of the tubes and ovaries to sexual tension. The anatomical reactions of the vagina, cervix, and corpus will be described in detail.

Vagina

Probably the first definitive response of the entire female body to sexual stimulation develops within the vagina. Within ten to twenty seconds the organ begins its well-known process of lubrication. It was believed that lubrication of the vagina either came from the Bartholin glands or was the result of mucus secreted by glands within the cervical canal (Baver, 1927; Black, 1908; Dickinson, 1934). It is now well established that the lubrication comes from the walls of the vagina itself (Masters, 1959), despite the fact that there are no secretory glands within the walls of the vagina (Maximov and Bloom, 1930). The source of the lubricating material is still, therefore, in question, as are the biological properties of this material. However, the actual physical mechanism of vaginal lubrication has been repeatedly observed and may now be described in detail.

Almost immediately after the onset of sexual stimulation, the vagina develops what has been termed "the sweating phenomenon" (Masters, 1959). A glistening material appears on the vaginal wall, following in general the pattern of a transudate reaction. This material is of such consistency that it changes the normal acidity (pH) of the vagina (Masters, 1960). When it first appears on the walls of the vagina, one is reminded of a "sweat-beaded" forehead. Within short order, these droplets of lubricating material coalesce to form a well-lubricated vaginal barrel, which connotes advancing sexual tension. This phenomenon obviously develops very early in the excitement phase and is present in varying degree, whether or not the subject actually achieves orgasmic satisfaction. The resolution phase is simply one of cessation of the secretory activity. However, the lubricating material has been demonstrated on vaginal wall surfaces two to three hours after termination of a complete response cycle.

During the later stages of the excitement phase, a consistent anatomical reaction develops within the inner two-thirds of the vagina. There is marked expansion not only in depth but in width of the lateral walls of the vagina, increasing the width of the inner two-thirds of the vagina from two to three times. The length of the vagina is increased from two to four centimeters depending upon previous childbearing experience. This increase of length and width occurs as the result of a jerky, arrhythmic display of expansive force and is independent of the basic vasocongestive reaction. It is essentially concluded by the time the plateau phase is reached. There are no further significant changes in the inner two-thirds of the vagina during the cycle.

During the plateau phase, the vaginal responses are confined to the external third of the organ. A marked vasocongestive reaction of the entire canal develops to such a degree that, as the plateau phase develops, the outer third of the vagina is constricted to a third or a half of its diameter during the excitement phase. This congested outer third of the vagina has been termed the orgasmic platform (Masters, 1959), and demonstrates the only significant vaginal reaction to the orgasm.

During the orgasmic experience, this platform contracts with a recordable rhythm, the timing essentially corresponding to the contraction of the penis during ejaculation (the male orgasmic experience). There are from four to ten regular contractions, with approximately eight-tenths of a second between contractions. The number of contractions varies with the intensity of the orgasm.

During the resolution phase, the orgasmic platform disappears first as a result of loss of target organ venous congestion. The engorged outer third of the vagina rapidly shrinks back to normal size. Although the detumescence is not quite as rapidly completed as is the loss of penile erection after the male ejaculation, the orgasmic platform disappears within sixty to ninety seconds after orgasmic relief of sexual tension. The increase of vaginal depth and

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width that developed during the advanced stages of the excitement phase slowly disappears. Frequently, it takes five to eight minutes for the vagina to return to normal size.

Cervix

The only remarkable cervical response to sexual stimulation is movement in conjunction with the reaction of the entire uterus. There is no secretory activity of the cervical glands at any time during the entire cycle of sexual response (Masters, 1959). The cervix is pulled back and away from the vaginal outlet and upward toward the false pelvis, as part of a total uterine movement during the latter part of the excitement phase. This observed withdrawal of the cervix from the vaginal axis occurs at the same time that the vagina expands in width and depth. There is no characteristic response of the cervix to the plateau or orgasmic phases. Immediately after orgasm, a slight patulousness (opening) of the external cervical os has been described (Masters, 1959). It is worth emphasizing again that no secretory activity of the cervical glands has been demonstrated.

With development of the resolution phase, the loss of vaginal wall vasocongestion and of the distension of the vaginal barrel causes the cervix to drop down into the depth of the vagina.

Uterus

The uterus is pulled upward into the false pelvis during the terminal stages of the excitement phase. This elevation of the uterus only occurs when it is in a normal anterior position, (resting anteriorly on the bladder rather than posteriorly on the bowel).

Although the mechanism of this elevation of the uterus—and of course of the concomitant withdrawal of the cervix from the vaginal floor—is not at present completely understood, it is obvious from the recent demonstration of muscle tissue in the sacrouterine ligaments (Krantz) that these ligaments may well play a part in the elevation of the cervix and corpus. The base of the broad ligaments (Mackenrodt's ligaments) is also suspected as playing a major part in the elevation of the lower uterine segment while the vagina expands in width and length under the influence of increasing sexual tension.

No particular plateau phase response has been demonstrated for the uterus. However, during the orgasmic phase there are regular contractions of the uterine wall (Weisman, 1941) similar to the contractile reaction of the orgasmic platform. This anatomical indication of sexual release is particularly effective and easily demonstrated in the pregnant uterus. It may well be one of the causes of multiple pregnancy loss, particularly during the first three months after conception. Uterine activity during the resolution phase parallels the pelvic relaxation reaction. There is a return to normal uterine positioning as the vaginal walls collapse.

A clinical note of some interest may be inserted here: If a female who is capable of having regular orgasm is properly stimulated within a short period after her first climax, she will in most instances be capable of having a second, third, fourth, and even fifth and sixth orgasm before she is fully satiated. As contrasted with the male's usual inability to have more than one orgasm in a short period, many females, especially when clitorally stimulated, can regularly have five or six full orgasms within a matter of a few minutes.

Generalized Reactions

From the brief descriptions of the responses of the reproductive organs to effective sexual stimulation, it will be noted that the primary reaction is one of marked slowing and trapping of local venous blood flow. It should not be presumed, however, that the anatomical response to sexual stimulation is confined to the obvious target organs. The human female responds as a total body unit to effective physical and psychic sexual stimulation.

Although limitations of space do not permit detailed descriptions of these generalized body reactions, a few selected examples are in order. The measlelike rash (sexual flush) that appears over the surfaces of the breasts during the plateau phase of sexual tension response is by no means confined to those areas. As a matter of fact, this rash first appears over the upper abdomen and the diaphragm. The flush may also be noted over the arms, face, back,

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buttocks, and thighs as severe tension reactions develop during the terminal portions of the plateau phase. This generalized flush rapidly disappears early in the resolution phase, provided orgasmic release has been experienced. Without orgasm the flush disappears at a significantly slower rate.

The actual orgasmic experience is enhanced by generalized muscular contraction patterns far beyond the rhythmic contractions of the orgasmic platform and the uterus. The external rectal sphincter contracts in complete rhythm with the orgasmic platform during intense orgasmic responses. Many other muscle groupings throughout the entire pelvis and the lower abdomen, too numerous to mention here, develop spastic contractions as the individual reaches for orgasmic relief of her unendurable sexual tension. Even the musculature of the neck, hands, arms, feet, and legs have their own individual spastic contractile response to effective sexual stimulation.

The corded neck muscles, the swollen, flushed face, and the expanded rib cage are familiar aspects of total female response to sexual tension. In brief, the female target organs respond to the degree that the total female is sexually stimulated. The more effective this stimulation is, the more complete is her total body response to the physiological and psychological demands for sexual tension release.

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WILLIAM H. MASTERS
VIRGINIA E. JOHNSON

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Orient, Sex Life in the

THIS article covers China, Korea, Japan, the Philippines, Indo-China, Indonesia (formerly Netherlands East Indies, now including the islands of Java, Sumatra, Celebes, Madura, Bali, etc.), Thailand, the Federation of Malaya, Singapore, Hong Kong, and Macao. In order to have a clearer idea of sex life in these various regions, it is necessary to give a short description of their history, geography, ethnology, customs, and religions.

History, Geography, and Ethnology

China

China has had a long history covering a period of over 5,000 years. Its literature is immense, and it has only been during the past century or so that Westerners have come to study it and understand China's contributions to the knowledge and advancement of the world.

The entire country covers 3½ million square miles and houses a population of over 450 million, now estimated by the People's Government to have risen to 600 million. The three main religions are Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism, with a sprinkling of one million acknowledging Christianity and Mohammedanism. Both the Chinese government and the people are tolerant in their religious beliefs and practices, and the people worship and pray in any way they like.

Japan

Before World War II, Japan included Korea, Formosa, and the three provinces of Manchuria. Since her defeat in 1945, the Japanese empire has been much reduced in size to her original four main islands of Hokkaido, Honshu, Shikoku, and Kyushu, which contain a total area of 147,000 square miles and a somewhat increased population of 87 million.

The Japanese are shorter than the Chinese and Koreans, but of similar build. There exists a physical difference between the social classes, the majority being descended from the Malay or Indonesian races, while the upper minority may be of Manchu-Korean origin. The aborigines, now confined to the northernmost island of Hokkaido, called Ainu, are a branch of the Caucasian race, and possess long hair and blue eyes. Chinese sources claim that the southern island of Kyushu, whose people are darker in color, stronger in physique, and often possess familiar Chinese surnames, are descended from the early youthful travelers of Fukien who were taken to the fairy "eastern isles" by pioneer Hsu Fu, a Chinese monk, by order of China's builder of the Great Wall, Emperor Chin Shih Huangti.

Korea

Korea was the bridge of eastern civilization over which the ancient Chinese civilization, culture, and Buddhism crossed from China to Japan during Han times (early Christian era). Her people still call themselves the Hans, and their capital city of Seoul is written with two Chinese characters meaning Han-city. Their national dress consists of a tall black straw hat, a flowing white gown, and long flowing hair, as handed down from the early Han period. Their women are very fair, gentle, and beautiful, and their sex life follows closely the Chinese pattern. The total area of Korea now covers 80,000 square miles, with a population of 20 million.

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The language lies between the Chinese and Japanese.

Indonesia

Indonesia, until 1946 known as the Netherlands East Indies, is now entirely independent with a total area of 735,000 square miles and a population of 80 million. Its people are descended almost entirely from Melanesian and Malayan races, mixed occasionally with European and Chinese blood and showing their individual characteristics.

Indo-China

Indo-China, now divided into the separate republics of North Vietnam, South Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos, covers a combined area of 284,000 square miles and contains a population of 27 million. The people have come from southern branches of the Mongolian race, including Lolos, Thais, and Yunnanese, whose individual traits may be recognized. The women as a rule possess delicate skin and features, comparable to those in Korea, and are said to have much charm.

Thailand

Thailand (also called Siam) occupies an area of 200,000 square miles and has a population of 17½ million, of whom 2½ million are of pure Chinese descent. There is much admixture of various branches of the Mongolian race and, as the religion is Buddhist, there is little difficulty in social and human contacts among the various communities.

The Philippines

The Philippines cover an area of 116,000 square miles and have a population of 17 million consisting of descendants of Spaniards, Malays, Tagalogs, Moros, Indonesians, negritoes, and Chinese. The religion is 80 per cent Roman Catholic, as a result of the early influence of the Spaniards, but the pure Chinese retain their own faiths and family manners and the Muslims of Mindanao enjoy their separate beliefs.

Federation of Malaya

Malaya, originally under British administration, is now separated into an independent Federation of Malaya and a limited self-governing Singapore. The Federation contains an area of 50,000 square miles and a mixed population of 6 million, of whom just over half are Malays who retain the religion and habits of Islam. The Chinese, Tamils, Europeans, and Eurasians retain their own beliefs and practices. The aborigines are very few in number and live in certain reserves adjoining the mountains.

Singapore

Singapore remains a British colony, with limited self-government in internal affairs. Being an important fortress of the Commonwealth, this island's defense and foreign relations are still entrusted to Great Britain. Singapore covers an area of 220 square miles, and the population, mostly descendants of and immigrants from the two southern provinces of Kwantung and Fukien, is rapidly reaching the 1½ million mark. They retain their homeland habits, although modern education has exerted a strong influence on the younger generation. In the early days, before their womenfolk came, the male Chinese found wives among local-born Siamese, Malays, and other natives.

Hong Kong and Macao

Hong Kong has been a British colony since 1841 and Macao has been under Portuguese occupation since 1558. They form interesting landmarks of British and Portuguese influence —one showing intense activity in progress and commercial development, the other still remaining a "Sleepy Hollow," whose income is mainly derived from the catering to sex, gambling, and opium. In Hong Kong, many of the leaders and progressive elements of the population are mixed descendants of early European and Arab pioneers who passed on their character and features to the present generation.

Courtship and Marriage Customs

China

In China, courtship and marriage customs have been handed down from ancient times, and with slight modifications have been followed by overseas Chinese wherever they have settled down. The latter have particularly ad-

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hered to the old traditions, irrespective of political changes in the home country.

Engagements are usually arranged by a female go-between. First, the family names (the father, mother, bridegroom, and bride) are exchanged on red paper and certain conditions (particularly financial in the case of poor families) are agreed upon. A wedding date is next fixed, when, according to the circumstances of the respective families, friends and relatives are invited to witness the rites. In the country districts, a special closed sedan chair is hired to convey the bride, who is dressed in a suitable red costume and is accompanied by a retinue carrying two big lanterns, two gongs, and a small orchestra, to the home of the bridegroom. The latter awaits at the door in formal wedding dress, lifts the curtain of the sedan, and invites the bride, whose head is covered by a red silk piece, to accompany him to the family altar for worship. Chairs are then placed side by side for the father and mother, and the newly-wed couple kneel before them and acknowledge their filial piety. After this, still kneeling, two cups of warm tea are held by the young couple and offered to the elders. The two parents return thanks by presenting each with a red packet containing some money.

Other close relatives receive similar obeisance, although not in a kneeling position. Next, the couple drink to each other's health, in silence. Lastly, they proceed to the bridal chamber. While the bride remains there, the groom leaves the room to attend to the guests and relatives. Alone, the bride allows an attendant to remove her ponderous red clothing and awaits the groom. While she is in isolation, the attendant (who is experienced and paid a regular fee) gives the bride lessons on the duties of a wife and the etiquette expected of her toward other members of the family. No doubt the techniques of sex are also explained to the inexperienced bride.

Malaya

In Malaya in the days before the Chinese Revolution in 1911, it was customary for the wedding celebration to last at least three days and nights. It involved a series of processions in double-horse carriages, one for the groom, who was accompanied by two youths of 10 called *kuya,* and the other for the bride, dressed in gorgeous colors, who had two little girls of 10 as companions.

Some preliminaries were also observed before the wedding day. Precisely at midnight the night before the wedding, both groom and bride-to-be, each in their own homes, were obliged to perform a strange *cheowthow* ritual: each would unwind his or her long hair (the men in those days still wore queues) before the altar and undergo a prolonged course of hairdressing so as to be assured that they had reached full maturity and were ready to procreate. No sleep was possible during this procedure, and on the day of the wedding both were often tired out. This peculiar ritual is probably a relic of an early anti-Manchu observance, when many patriots left the mainland to escape the orders of the ruling government to grow a pigtail as a sign of subservience. The ritual is now largely abandoned by modern families, especially as the obnoxious queue is gone.

The freshly made white starched pajamas worn by the bride and groom during the *cheowthow* ceremony are worn again on the night of the wedding. The parents are satisfied that the bride is a virgin if there is a red blot of blood on her trousers. Cases have been known where a new bride was ordered home and a divorce suit started because of the absence of this red spot.

In recent times, marriage ceremonies have been simplified with the disappearance of the queue and the suppression of the Manchu regime. The dark silk gauze gown, combined with an outer long satin robe and a yellow conical hat dressed with red cords, has now gone. Instead the groom wears a Western-cut suit with a carnation in his buttonhole, and the bride adopts a white European wedding dress, which can be rented for a few dollars, and carries in her right hand a bunch of artificial roses or lilies. On certain occasions mass weddings numbering twenty to forty couples are held. They dress in modern clothes and meet in a large guild hall, where the master of ceremonies conducts a joint ceremony, the couples sitting at a long table with each groom facing his bride. The entire celebration is finished within an hour and the total cost may be under $50 for each couple (as compared with the huge cost of the old-style ceremony).

There were no honeymoons in the old days,

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and perhaps this was wise when all things are considered, as the newlyweds could pass their first days amid familiar surroundings with devoted servants at their call, instead of having to stay at strange places attended by complete strangers. In Penang and Singapore, the newlyweds, especially those of wealthy Hokien families, were invited to make their homes in the spacious premises of the bride's parents. In such cases, when the young man proved active and reliable, he could be well looked after by the father-in-law, encouraged in his profession or business, and later on become a partner. Quite a number of prosperous merchants now living received their first lift to success from their far-seeing fathers-in-law.

Among the Malays, who constitute more than half the present population of the independent Federation of Malaya, the Islamic code of life is strictly followed. Here the formal marriage rites known as *berstanding* are performed in the home of the groom's parents, and the guests call in order upon the bridal couple to convey their congratulations after being entertained at tea.

Theoretically, any Malay may marry four wives if he can support them, and can also divorce any one of them by appearing before his kathi (priest). Most marry young and beget many children, although through lack of care and proper nourishment a large proportion die during infancy.

Japan

This empire, once riddled with militarism from the time of the Tokugawa shoguns but now docile, industrious, and methodical in all things and exceedingly prosperous, has become a creditor nation after her severe defeat by the Allied Powers. The old family life based upon Confucian and Buddhist teachings still continues. Marriages are now conducted as in former times, when go-betweens helped to search for suitable candidates from respectable and upright families, and careful inquiries were made before any final settlement was fixed.

Japanese women have a tradition of good manners and docility, for they are taught from early childhood to obey their parents and their husbands, when married, and to bear and love his children. Wives are expected to stay up until the return of their spouses, however late, and to wait demurely at the front door, smiling, patient, and subservient. Afterwards they must undress their masters and put them to bed with no complaint. In Japan, until after World War II, wives seldom if ever went out with their husbands. Female companionship for them consisted of paid geishas, who sang, danced, and drank with them and their men friends.

The wedding ceremonies are simple or complicated according to the financial status of the bridal couples. In any case, the Confucian rites, modified for Japanese usage, are followed. The groom wears a special kimono of rich satin, the bride's headdress is carefully done in ancient Han style with artificial pink flowers in abundance, and her gorgeous robes, supported by an attractive obi, are made from the best material available. Usually the bride enters the home of the groom and kneels on the tatami mat before the small family altar, after which the groom's parents kneel. The guests and relatives salute each other by falling on their knees and expressing good wishes. This Japanese ritual is, as a rule, simpler than that of the Chinese and follows a strict Japanese adaptation of Confucian teaching. The Japanese have been more fortunate than the Chinese, as their ceremonies have not been complicated by innovations introduced by the Manchu or by any invasion—until the war of 1941–1945.

During the past dozen years, marriage ceremonies have been much influenced by the five-year American rule of their country. The masses have become more liberal-minded and the women have won the vote as well as a considerable measure of freedom and independence.

The Philippines, Indonesia, and Indo-China

The marriage customs of these countries are influenced by early contacts with Spain, Netherlands, Britain, Portugal, China, and former Moslem invaders. The Philippines were much affected by three hundred years or more of Spanish rule from the time of Philip II, and the family customs followed those of their ancestors, whether they were Muslim or Spanish. There is a predominance of Roman Catholic thought in most of the islands, although in Mindanao Islam is the strongest religion. The natives have benefited immensely from American ideas of education, laws, and justice, as

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shown by their progressive ideas and commercial stability, as much as in their family relations.

Living among the Indonesians are at least two million Chinese, who stick rigidly to the customs and culture imported centuries ago from ancient Cathay. The new government respects their wishes in what they consider right and fair for their existence and welfare, so long as they obey the laws of the land and remain peaceful.

The three countries of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos have a cultural heritage from old China, although France has introduced much of her culture into these lands. The kings of Cambodia used to adorn themselves with the Ming official dress while France still exercised political domain.

Prostitution

No description of sex life in the Orient is complete without some reference to prostitution, which so frequently plays an important part in the daily life of the people. From ancient times, this oldest of female professions has been known and practiced among all classes in various degrees. Books such as the Chinese *Chin Ping Mei* and the Indian *Kamasutra* (with its reading text) and *Kama Kalpa* (with its innumerable illustrations gathered from abundant sculptural works scattered over the great peninsula) have given the most exhaustive accounts of prostitution and of the sex act, and the pictures, whether in the form of delicate paintings or of most intricate carvings, have for centuries been handed down from generation to generation.

China

In Peking, capital of the entire country during the Ming and Manchu periods as well as under the Republican governments, a large area of the southern portion of the city was once reserved for the brothel trade, which, however camouflaged, has never been discouraged by the authorities.

The singsong houses are situated among famous restaurants and theaters, and are patronized by young men as well as by staid officials. The lanes in this "red light" quarter, unlike the yoshiwara of Tokio and Yokohama, are dimly lighted, but there is a brilliant lamp at the entrance to each house with small rectangular signboards indicating the names of the occupants and the districts from which they are supposed to come. As a visitor passes the entrance the gatekeeper announces in a stentorian voice, *lai k'o*, meaning "here comes guest." And indeed the visitor is treated to the utmost in hospitality. He is offered tea and fruit and entertained with songs and guitar playing. Alcoholic drinks are rarely provided. After choosing one among the ten or more members of the household, he may come at a later date and even invite friends to take simple meals there.

In Tientsin, one long street of singsong houses was divided into several sections controlled by the respective French, Japanese, German, Italian, and other foreign concessions. There was no other city in the world where such an assembly of Russian, Chinese (from numerous cities), and Japanese prostitutes could be seen. Each establishment had its own system and individual furnishings and menus.

In Shanghai, with its four million or more inhabitants, could be found perhaps the most luxurious houses of assignment for the entertainment of all kinds of visitors. French, Russian, American, and British women, as well as Chinese and Japanese girls, vied with one another to provide entertainment for their international clientele. Money flowed freely and any kind of drinks could be obtained. The Chinese had their own kind of enjoyment in the form of native music by their favorite songstresses, appetizing meals, and light *shaochiu* (warm rice wine) in the most select of quarters situated along Foochow Road. Before the arrival of automobiles, the singsong girls used to drive in their own rickshas fitted with as many as four to six acetylene lamps. They dressed in the latest fashion; in fact, manufacturing firms used these girls as models to advertise their wares. Although called singsong girls, most of them depended more upon their personal features than upon their singing abilities.

Canton, with a population of one and a half million inhabitants, provided its own kind of entertainment. Apart from the crowded quarter of Hsiakuan (Lower Gate), there existed a corner of the city adjoining the Pearl River from which one could approach a long row of twenty or more big stationary junks. These were

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held fast by iron chains in the center of the river, were brilliantly lighted, and were within a few steps of one another. Here were assembled vast singing halls that could be rented for an evening, and orchestral music provided the accompaniment to songstresses who could be selected from a list supplied by the management. The choicest food could be ordered at a moment's notice, for the river itself served as a floating market and emergency store. After the feasts bedrooms could be rented, but as air conditioning had not yet been introduced sound sleep could not be guaranteed in the cubicles. This exclusive spot of enjoyment was known as "Flower Boat Row," but its popularity died after a severe fire attacked all the fastened junks and caused some fatalities. The present government has not encouraged any reconstruction in this direction.

In Penang, Singapore, and Malacca, known together under the joint name of Straits Settlements before the end of World War II, promiscuous sex relations were indulged in extensively by the younger male generation, and more often than not they received their initiation in the attractive licensed brothels then in existence. In Singapore (Teluk Ayer district, comprising Temple, Sago, and Kokien Streets) and in Penang (Campbell Street), both streets and houses were well lighted at nighttime, and inside the houses were confined hundreds of *pipa chai* (guitar girls), corresponding to the singsong girls of Shanghai, who could be hired out at any time to entertain their male patrons in the numerous clubs, restaurants, and societies. Some of the large brothels had halls on the topmost story that could be hired for the evening (*hoiting*) for dinners, suppers, gambling, opium-smoking, singing, and business deals. Excellent food could be ordered, as well as drinks, and the bills at the end of each celebration could amount to hundreds of dollars.

Until the end of World War I and the functioning of the League of Nations, four common indulgences—women, gambling, drink, and opium—were almost synonymous. At that time, the smoking of opium could be seen everywhere, and many young men had their first experience in these halls in order to increase their sexual powers. Actually, opium is not an aphrodisiac, but it has the power to prolong sexual excitement and retard orgasm.

Japan

Japan is a paradise of enjoyment, known throughout the world for its beautifully cared-for gardens, fine hotels, clean habits, and entertaining geishas. There was a time when aggressive military officers armed with long swords and handy pistols spoiled the quiet scene, but since their defeat by the Allies in World War II and the foreign occupation of their proud land, the people have become more docile, and the normal gentle and winning manners of both men and women are more apparent.

Undoubtedly, Japanese women, with their intensive home training and educational background, make the best wives and also the best professional entertainers. Whether as geishas, in the guise of singers, samisen players, or dancers who live in Tokio's Nihonbashi area, or the more common juro women who ply their trade as cheap prostitutes in the Asakusa quarter, they have all received training in their several duties and may be classed as experts in the entertainment of men. There is order in everything they undertake (punctuality, courtesy, respect for preferences in food, music, and topics of conversation), and toward the end of the long meal one would indeed be a dullard not to appreciate such attentiveness.

Some geishas, like some ancient Chinese paramours, have risen high on the social ladder, such as the wife of the late Premier Hara.

In Yokohama and certain other localities, such as Nagasaki, Kobe, and Osaka, that are much frequented by European and American sailors, the prostitutes of the yoshiwara districts learn elementary phrases in English to accommodate their foreign patrons. Before World War I, the inmates of the brightly lighted pleasure houses were massed in the front windows adjoining the public lanes, so that they could be selected at will by the patrons. In later years, large photographs of the inmates have been on display and the guests have been able to make their choice from outside the houses.

Masturbation

There does not seem to be too much difference in the autoerotic practices of the young people, or at least the young males of the

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Orient and of the West. Masturbation is a widespread habit among boys and is largely learned while they are at school, the older ones usually teaching the younger ones. It is perhaps less common among the people of those Oriental nations since the young marry early and can satisfy their sexual needs in heterosexual intercourse at a time when their desires are most intense. Oriental Moslems, for example, probably practice less masturbation than other Easterners because they frequently marry when they are in their teens and, if they can afford it, keep a harem of four wives.

Petting

In the past, petting has not been a common practice in the East; and even kissing was seldom indulged in before the advent of European and American movies. Formerly, it was considered exceptionally bad taste or immoral behavior for a couple to pet in public, and parents would not allow such behavior in the home. There used to be a saying among Chinese, Japanese, and Malays that couples did not rush into love at first sight or opportunity, but only learned to find each other and enjoy each other sexually after marriage. Love and sexual fulfillment were said to grow like plants. Since the two world wars, however, the younger generation of Orientals has learned the modern Western ways of seeking sex gratification prior to marriage. Kissing and petting have consequently become immensely more common than previously.

Premarital Sex Relations

Although old books give classical descriptions of free or forbidden love between the offspring of educated and official families, there is still a tendency for the morals of the children of the masses to be strictly supervised, especially in the case of young girls. Any deviation from family rules in this respect is frowned upon. The use of the purdah system among Mohammedans, including the wearing of veils outside the house, and the adoption of bound feet, once so common among the higher classes in China, are customs designed to enforce both premarital and postmarital chastity. In recent years, these customs have been breaking down, and there has been a significant increase in premarital sex relations, at least on the part of females.

Adultery

However strict and harsh the official laws may be for preventing legally married couples from engaging in adultery, from time immemorial there have been many conspicuous examples of extramarital unions among the noblest people in the Orient. In Eastern countries, laws regarding adulterous relationships have been mostly man-made and therefore greater laxity is usually allowed for males than for females. The theatrical productions of most Eastern countries depict many adulterous alliances in which the male is responsible for the seduction of the female; yet the punishment is generally meted out to the female partner of these alliances. Although the double standard of sexual morality depicted in Oriental literature and art still largely exists, this, too, may be said to be breaking down to some extent among the more modern Easterners.

Conclusion

On the whole, sex life in the Orient has changed considerably, along with considerable modifications in the daily conduct of affairs and social matters. For example, the Chinese have for nearly half a century abolished the queue, which used to hang from the back of their heads and provided much laughter and derision from the more thoughtless and ignorant.

The Japanese, although wearing Western dress for office use, prefer their loose, long kimono in their private homes, and the women often discard their heavy hairdress in favor of a "perm," and wear slacks in the streets without undue self-consciousness.

Mohammedan women, who used to obey the laws of purdah by covering the entire face and showing only the bare eyes in the streets, now expose their full face and accompany their menfolk to shops and movies. Instead of confining women to the home to perform only household duties, the men now delight in showing them to their friends and relatives, and encourage them to exercise the political vote and to join

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them on the platform. Both men and their wives now visit dancing halls and restaurants, instead of the men seeking solace alone in geisha houses and spending beyond their means.

The effects of World War II may be a blessing for both victors and vanquished and lead to democracy, peace, and prosperity.

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WU LIEN-TEH

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Perversions, Sexual

Definition

SEXUAL perversions (also called sex deviations, paraphilias, or psychosexual abnormalities) are ways in which sex gratification is obtained, mainly or exclusively, without penile-vaginal intercourse. Perversion may occur by the individual's selecting an abnormal sexual object or by engaging in abnormal relations with a usual sex object.

From a biological standpoint, the primary aims of sex are pleasure and reproduction, and include, at some stage, coitus between a man and a woman. When these aims are entirely sidetracked and, out of fear or fixation, the usual modes of heterosexual intercourse are completely omitted, then the individual's behavior is considered deviant.

The deviant's choice of sexual object may be someone of the same sex (homosexuality), an immature person (infanto-sexuality), or an animal (bestiality). Or, if his choice of object is heterosexual, his deviation may take the form of fetishistic attachment to, or injuring of another person (sadism), being injured (masochism), or to oral-genital or anal-genital relations used as an exclusive substitute for penile-vaginal coitus.

Causes of Perversion

The causes of perversion are difficult to unravel. The sexual instinct is similar to other basic human drives and is liable to distortion. Such distortion may occur through four main influences: (1) atavism, (2) mutations, (3) developmental anomalies, and (4) conditioning.

Atavism

By this is meant a return to ancestral behavior, as when a dog behaves like a wolf and attacks people. It is, however, not a satisfactory explanation for sexual perversions. Our ancestors, for example, did not habitually use the anus instead of the vagina (as the homosexual sometimes does); nor can atavism explain masochism, in which a man wishes to be injured. No one can believe that our ancestors wished to be hurt! Atavism, which was so enthusiastically exploited at the beginning of the century by Cesare Lombroso, the father of criminology, has been more or less abandoned as giving any sort of useful explanation for sexual perversions.

Mutations

It has been suggested by geneticists that perverse behavior may be due to disturbances in the inherited germ plasm, which are known as mutations. It is, of course, in such a way that new species arise. This would suggest that perversions are inherited anomalies that have arisen spontaneously, and would put sexual perverts on the same level as hemophiliacs ("bleeders"), who lack an essential element in their blood that stops bleeding. It is very improbable that perversions are inherited in that way, because, as we have pointed out, *they tend to prevent the man from fertilizing the woman.* If they are inherited they would tend to die out. Geneticists counter this by suggesting that the trait is a recessive one and not likely to appear in each individual. But the fact that some perversions are cured by psychological treatment refutes the theory that they are inherited.

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Developmental Anomalies

This appears much more likely to be of importance than the two preceding theories. We know, for example, that the young ape obtains its sexual satisfaction in ways that would be regarded as perverse in a human being. It is only when the ape passes puberty and becomes an adult that it settles down to the normal pattern of having repeated intercourse with females and scaring off other male apes.

If an individual was for some reason prevented from passing through the proper stages of development and, as it were, stuck at one of the earlier stages, he would continue to obtain sexual pleasure in a way that, in the adult, would be regarded as perverse. Freud postulated that a human being passes through (1) oral stages, in which he obtains pleasure from his mouth, first by sucking and then by biting; (2) anal stages, first by extrusion and then by retention of excrement; (3) urethral stages, which are less easily defined; and (4) the stage at which sexual satisfaction is obtained from the primary sex organ. Eventually, enough emotion is directed to a sexual object and the adult capacity to love is developed.

There is a great deal of hate associated with the oral stage and it is suggested that if the individual becomes fixated there he will continue to derive pleasure from biting (sadism). Fixation at the anal stage produces homosexuality, and so on.

It is still not absolutely certain to what extent the individual develops spontaneously through these various stages and to what extent environment plays a part. This is probably insoluble because it is impossible to bring up a child normally without others in his environment.

Environmental Factors

Environment must be accepted as of great importance in the production of sexual abnormality. Pavlov discovered that it was possible to link almost anything to a reflex or instinct to form a stimulus. The classical one is a bell ringing to make a dog salivate, but any other stimulus, such as a light flashing, a noise, a puff of hot air, and so on, can be used. Obviously human beings can be conditioned by events that become attached to their sexual responses. Thus, repeated sexual assaults can influence a child's sexuality, and it has been suggested that some forms of delinquency, such as stealing, can be conditioned in this way. The sadistic schoolmaster who beats his pupils on the buttocks may condition them to obtain sexual excitement from being beaten in later life, and so on.

The Sexual Instinct

We cannot estimate exactly how much the preceding factors influence the sexual instinct, but they may affect any one part of it. The instinct consists of four elements: (1) The stimulus, which is whatever "starts the machinery going." This varies in different people, so that one man may be excited by a blonde and another by a redhead, etc.; (2) The strength of the urge, which is dependent on both psychological and physical factors; (3) The mode of expression, which is what one does to the sexual object in order to obtain satisfaction; and (4) The sexual object itself, which may be a man, a woman, a child, an animal, or an inanimate object.

It is mainly in the mode of expression and the nature of the sexual object that something goes wrong in the sexual pervert: either he behaves wrongly to the right object, or he chooses the wrong object. We shall therefore discuss perversions under two headings—disorders of sexual expression and disorders of the instinctual object.

Disorders of Sexual Expression

Sexual Oralism

This is the obtaining of sexual pleasure exclusively from the application of the mouth to the sexual organs. When the female does it to the male it is known as fellation* and when the male does it to the female it is called cunnilinctus. It appears to be related to the sucking of the newborn baby, and Levy, for example, has shown that persistent sucking occurs when the child has not been allowed the breast sufficiently and soon sucks its fingers instead. Oralism is thus an attempt to deal with

* Often spelled *fellatio*.

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sexuality in terms of breast-sucking. This explains why both the passive and active parties obtain pleasure from their behavior.

Oralism may be either homosexual or heterosexual, and it must be appreciated that it forms a perversion only when it completely replaces intercourse. As a form of stimulation leading to intercourse, or as a nonexclusive means to orgasm in its own right, it is a normal activity.

Sexual Analism

This is the use of the anus for sexual purposes. It is known legally as sodomy or buggery, and is against the law in many countries. It forms a common form of intercourse among a percentage—it is believed about 20 per cent—of male homosexuals but it must not be thought that they all indulge in it since many view such behavior with distaste. In any case, considerable experience (conditioning) is necessary before it becomes pleasurable and many homosexuals have told the writer that they avoid it because of the pain. Psychoanalytically it seems to be associated with the Oedipus complex and castration fears.

When used between males, the passive party can obtain full sexual satisfaction and ejaculation may occur at the height of the orgasm. This is probably due to the fact that the sexual organs and the anus have the same nerve supply.

This type of sexual conduct also occurs with members of the opposite sex, but in a very small percentage. The writer believes that less than 1 per cent of heterosexuals use anal intercourse regularly. This invalidates the theory that it is used as a substitute for vaginal intercourse and supports Freud's views. When heterosexual analism is used as an occasional variation from other forms of coitus, it is not a perversion, but is within the normal range of sex behavior.

Other Forms of Abnormal Orificial Sexuality

The fissure beneath the breast, the armpit, and the folds between the thighs are sometimes used as main or exclusive sources of gratification. These may be used as ways of avoiding pregnancy and rarely give the passive party pleasure.

It must be emphasized that sexual oralism, analism, and other extravaginal forms of coitus are by no means perverted or neurotic under all or even most circumstances. Virtually all normal human beings have perfectly normal or subclinical tendencies to engage in these kinds of sex acts (as well as in mildly masochistic or sadistic activities). As Kinsey and his associates (1948, 1953) have pointed out, subclinical manifestations of oralism, analism, and extravaginalism are part of our mammalian heritage and it would be a rare, and in some sense an emotionally disturbed or perverted, individual who had *no* such tendencies.

It is only, therefore, when extravaginal forms of sex behavior become highly fetishistic, fixated, exclusive, obsessive-compulsive, or disorganized that we can correctly speak of a clinical manifestation of abnormality or perversion. The individual who under no circumstances other than engaging in oral-genital or anal-genital relations can come to orgasm; or who participates in these kinds of sex acts because he is irrationally afraid of penile-vaginal copulation; or who compulsively drives himself to these activities in a self-destructive manner—this individual is truly perverted. But his brother or sister who thoroughly enjoys extravaginal engagements, but enjoys them as a significant part, but not the whole, of his or her sex activity—this individual may not be in the least abnormal or perverted and may actually be more "normal" than a person who can only, under all circumstances, enjoy penile-vaginal intromission.

Coprophilia and Coprophagia

These terms mean an abnormal interest in excrements and a desire to eat secretions and excretions. For example, a man may be excited by consuming the saliva and food from the mouth of his lover. Similar interest is sometimes found regarding urine. Usually the act is confined to watching urination, but in some cases there is a desire to be urinated on or to urinate on the loved one. The use of "filthy" language during the sexual act is a related phenomenon. Possibly the desire to write pornographic letters and to inscribe obscene words on lavatory doors, etc., is connected.

This perversion has a number of deep-seated psychological roots. The consumption of secre-

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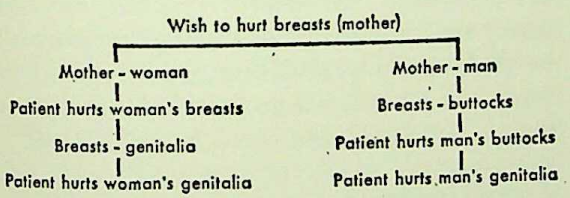
tions is most likely to be related to suckling, but writing obscenity is a crude form of sexual assault.

Sadism

Sadism and masochism do not appear in a pure form but are always mixed and interrelated. Sexual sadism is the obtaining of sexual pleasure from acts of cruelty. This seems to vary from frank sexual pleasure in cruel acts to a cruelty that seems unassociated with actual sexuality. It is of tremendous importance because of its social effects. Sadism results from some aberration of the aggressive instinct that does not undergo the usual modifications. Contrary to popular belief, the child is not a sweet little innocent but a ruthless savage and has very apparent death wishes. Psychoanalysts believe that sadism is associated particularly with the oral and anal stages of development. There seems no doubt that the sadist's aggressive emotion replaces what in others would be affection: he wishes to injure those parts of his "love object."

The original hate is probably directed against the mother, particularly toward her breasts. The following diagram (taken from the writer's book) shows two ways in which it may become transposed:



The "love object" may be a woman, a man, a child, or an animal, so that a similar transposition may occur in all these cases. It must be understood that this kind of sexual expression is compulsive and, although it can be satisfied for a time, the urge invariably recurs. Thus, although the sadist may be appeased by killing or injuring one person, he almost invariably repeats his behavior.

We can divide sadism into three groups.

1. Cruel Acts Unassociated with Appreciated Sexual Feeling

This has often been associated with religions: the burning of human beings during the Inquisition, sacrifices by Aztecs, witch hunts, and so on. Acts and interests unassociated with religion include the pleasure in much of animal hunting and a great deal of sadistic literature and "tough films." In fact, many detective novels have descriptions of torture and few Westerns are apparently complete without a brutal fight. It is not certain to what extent such literature and films are harmful by exciting sadistic feelings and to what extent they are healthy in that they suppress sadism by placing it in the realm of phantasy.

2. Cruel Acts Associated with Some Sexual Pleasure

In this case there is some sexual pleasure in cruel acts, but without a complete appreciation of its nature. Thus, in the past schoolmasters obviously enjoyed beating the unfortunate boys placed in their care, but would have been very indignant at the implication that this was homosexual sadism. The classic case of this type is the husband who beats his wife and the wife who patiently endures it. One is surprised that she does not leave him. The answer is that he is a sadist, obtaining pleasure from hurting her, and she is a masochist, unconsciously enjoying her misery. The only real sufferers are the children.

A great deal of this sort of sadism appears in phantasy—particularly in rumors of wartime: nuns invariably have their breasts cut off, men are castrated, and children violated by the enemy. Although such acts may occasionally occur, their frequency is infinitesimal compared with the rumor.

It is interesting to note that the Marquis de Sade, after whom sadism was named, was probably a sadist of this type, but although he was said once to have slightly injured a girl, he never killed anyone—although during the French Revolution he had ample opportunity to do so. Sadism of this type no doubt lay behind the persecution of the Jews in Germany and massacres that disfigure the past. It is probably the motive force behind senseless acts against girls, such as burning their clothes with cigarettes in the darkness of cinemas, cutting off parts of their hair when sitting behind them in buses, and so on.

This type of sadism is frequently associated with impotence, the phantasies draining off so much sexual energy that there is little left.

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3. Acts of Cruelty Associated with Full Sexual Pleasure

These acts are accompanied or followed by erection, ejaculation, and orgastic pleasure, and are committed by men who put their sadism into action and emerge from the world of phantasy. They actually injure women. Alcohol will frequently release reactions which would otherwise have been kept in control, and the assaults on girls that occupy such a large space in the tabloid newspapers are often examples of this. The story seems to be that the young man goes to a dance, has too much to drink, and then follows a girl who is walking home alone. He may ask to accompany her or just follow behind. Once clear of others, he attacks her, punches her face, kicks her, and so on. That this is not due to disappointment at her refusing his advances is shown by the fact that frequently no advances are made and that he commences to at once attack.

In this group belongs the lust murderer, who probably kills the woman either by allowing his "love play" to get out of hand or for the deliberate evocation of sexual sensation. The lust murderer is frequently a quiet, well-behaved man, sometimes finicky in his personal cleanliness. Often psychopathic elements can be discovered in his life history.

The typical lust murder is characterized by periodic outbreaks. Cutting and stabbing, particularly of the breasts and genitalia, occur, as do sucking, licking, or mouthing the wounds. Biting the skin or drinking the blood may also occur. Erection and ejaculation may be followed by violation of the dying or injured victim. Karpman (1934) believes that there is an affective storm, but there is no evidence of this. The behavior is accompanied by intense sexual pleasure and excitement, and the pervert usually behaves normally until the next outbreak.

Like other perversions, sadism may be directed against any of the usual sexual objects: woman, man, child, or animal—or all of them, as in the case of Peter Kürten, who injured dogs, a squirrel, and sheep, and killed children, women, and men. In fact, he was a polymorphous sadist. Harmann, the homosexual mass murderer, killed boys and sold their flesh for food in the famine in Germany after World War I. Gilles de Rais, a companion of Joan of Arc, killed over two hundred young boys.

Sadism appears to be related to schizophrenia and to pyromania. Peter Kürten, for example, was a convicted pyromaniac before he started his career as a murderer. The curious lack of remorse which the sadist shows when confronted with his deeds is very schizophrenic. It would seem that the sadist has built up no prohibitions in his mind against exercising his cruelty either because he came from a home where there is no parental example, as did Kürten, or because he has rejected teachings instilled by his parents. The periodic behavior is merely related to the fact that all sexual behavior is periodic.

The writer pointed out eighteen years ago the seriousness of false murder confessions. These are frequently made by latent sadists, and if neglected the confessor may put his phantasies into action. It is important because it is a type of behavior that facilitates detection of a murder before it is committed.

Masochism

This is the obtaining of sexual pleasure by being hurt, humiliated, dominated, bound, or degraded. Masochism is the reverse of the wish to hurt: the hostility that was originally directed against the outside world becomes turned against the self. Freud has complicated the problem by postulating a primary masochism, but we will not go into that conception here.

Male Masochism

In the male the mechanism appears to be as follows:

1. Wish to hurt mother
2. Wish to be hurt by mother
3. Wish to be hurt by women in general

The reversal is shown by the fact that some masochists wish to dress in female clothes (transvestism) and so resemble the mother. The patient identifies himself with her and therefore any hate he feels for her is turned back to himself. He then identifies all women with her and so wishes other women to hurt him.

In homosexual masochism this mechanism is carried one step further:

1. Wish to hurt mother

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2. Wish to be hurt by mother
3. Mother equals a man
4. Wish to be hurt by a man

The double identification that occurs often escapes notice: Not only does the patient identify himself with his mother, but his persecutor also represents her.

Feminine Masochism

Masochism in women is more a way of life than a neurosis. From the psychoanalytical point of view, it is believed to be due to the child's discovery of the anatomical differences between boys and girls. The discovery that she has no penis turns the girl's aggression inwards rather than upon others. On the other hand, Horney believes that masochism is largely a conditioned reaction. She points out that the Russian woman in the time of the Czars believed that her husband did not love her unless he beat her, but under the Soviet rule she has become aggressive and self-assertive. Adler believes that the feminine wish for masculinity and her discovery of her lack of it is such a blow to her narcissism that her aggression is reversed. Deutsch believes that it is dependent on the father's inhibiting activity and that this is given a sexual tone. She thinks that when masochistic perversions appear in women they have as their basis a wish to be beaten. This they will allow for money, if they are prostitutes, or for love by sadistic lovers.

Freud's "moral masochism" is equivalent to the type of sadism in which cruelty (self-torture) is not appreciated to be sexually connected.

The history of every religion is filled with acts of masochism; fakirs who lie on beds of nails, Jesuits who practice flagellation, dervishes who thrust knives through their cheeks, and so on. The association of religion with self-torture is a complex one and not fully understood.

In general, masochism is of less social importance than sadism since others are not affected—except when so much sexual energy is drained off that the subject becomes impotent.

Frottage

Frottage is the sexual pleasure obtained by and seems to be due to a persistence of the infantile love of being cuddled and rubbed. It appears in young men who like to press against girls in crowded places, such as subways, assemblies at public festivals, and so on. Unless real annoyance is caused, their behavior is likely to pass unnoticed. Since such people rarely come for treatment, not a great deal is known of the psychopathology involved. Freud believed that *frottage* is a component instinct and that it probably has some biological basis: cats who like to rub against one's legs, animals who like to be stroked, and so on. *Frotteurs* are only truly perverted when they avoid coitus and other sex acts.

Scoptophilia* and Exhibitionism

Scoptophilia is the obtaining of sexual pleasure by looking at other people's genital organs. It occurs in one of two ways: observing unclothed people or watching people having sexual intercourse. Psychoanalysts believe that reversion to some primal scene, such as a wish to deny the lack of a penis in women (i.e., mother), or the wish to observe parental intercourse, lies behind this. However, there may be more to it than this since there seems to be considerable identification with the object observed and sexual excitement may occur.

Exhibitionism is exposing oneself to feel sexual pleasure. It is described by Fenichel and others as a denial of castration. He believes that it has two levels: (1) by revealing his penis the man is demanding that everyone admit that he has one; and (2) he wishes women to show themselves to prove that they have one also (i.e., deny castration). Thus, his exhibitionism is based on a denial of castration.

In men the desire is to show the genitals; in women the nipples as well as the genitals have sexual significance. Merely showing off the sexual parts is not sufficient; some reaction on the part of the onlooker must occur, such as shock, horror, or excitement. Exhibitionists frequently show themselves in a favorite spot such as a park, train, or alley. The writer once had a patient, a bus conductor, who exhibited his penis as the bus went along, thus obtaining the largest possible number of spectators.

Other psychiatrists believe that exhibitionism has different roots. Naville and Duboise-Ferrière suggest that it can be caused by

* Sometimes spelled *scopophilia*.

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hypersexuality, hyposexuality, feeble-mindedness, chronic psychosis, epilepsy, constitutional psychopathy, delirium, nudism, or accidental factors. The suggestion by Rickles (1942) that it occurs mainly in timid men who are dominated by an assertive wife or mother accords most with the experience of the writer. In almost every case this element is found to be present. Exhibitionism is the seeking of love and resembles the love dances of savages and even the behavior of male animals to attract females. Arieff and Rotman believe that it is the most common sexual offense (35 per cent of all sexual offenses). In the writer's experience it usually responds well to psychotherapy and correction of the environment. Like most other so-called perversions or deviations, peeping and exhibitionism are abnormal only when they take extreme, fixated, or obsessive-compulsive forms.

Disorders of the Instinctual Object

Homosexuality

Homosexual behavior, or occasional sex acts between members of the same sex, is not unusual or abnormal. When a member of one sex is mainly or exclusively attracted to those of his own sex, he becomes a homosexual and is then perverted. Homosexuality, therefore, is fixated or primary or exclusive. In the past a large number of theories have been put forward: (1) It is a sin in which the homosexual turns voluntarily to "evil" behavior. This is disproved by the fact that a large number of homosexuals are unhappy with their condition and ask for help. (2) It is a degeneracy. This explains nothing and is disproved by those homosexuals who, far from being degenerate, are supremely intellectual, such Leonardo da Vinci. (3) It is an inherited disease. Kallmann's statement is usually put forward to prove this: that out of forty sets of identical twins in whom one showed homosexuality it was also discovered in the other. Yet other psychiatrists (Lange, West, 1955, and the writer) have seen identical twins in whom both were not affected in this way. Also, the fact that homosexuality can be cured by psychotherapy (the writer has published fourteen cases, Hadfield has reported four, and there are many solitary cases in the literature) shows that it cannot be of genetic origin. (4) It is an endocrine illness. This was suggested by Glass, Deuel, and Wright twenty years ago and has been repeatedly disproved. Castration does not make a man homosexual, and the administration of male hormone does not cure a homosexual. Evident glandular disease appears in only about 5 per cent of homosexuals.

All the available evidence points to the fact that homosexuality is a psychological disease. It appears mainly in persons who have come from broken families, or where there are unsatisfactory parents, and is sometimes cured by psychotherapy. The writer has found it in young men where there has been (1) hostility to the mother; (2) excessive affection for the mother; (3) hostility to the father; (4) both (2) and (3), i.e., the Oedipus complex; and (5) affection for an insufficiently masculine father. No doubt there are many other possible factors. It can have narcissistic roots and may result from various forms of identification. In general, it seems to be caused by excessive identification with the parent of opposite sex; the boy molds himself after his mother and the girl after her father. This leads to behavior consonant with that of the opposite sex. The invert is immature and often timid with members of the opposite sex. Homosexuality may be associated with other perversions (such as exhibitionism, sadism), neurosis, insanity, or alcoholism.

Homosexuality is socially important because it may involve or lead to other offenses, such as blackmail and occasionally murder. Assaults on young boys by homosexual schoolmasters are common. Homosexual prostitution is found in large cities.

Inverts must never be told to marry in order to cure themselves. It does not cure them, they are often impotent, and it makes the wives unhappy and sometimes the children as well. The suggestion that they have intercourse with prostitutes may actually be a harmful one.

Homosexuals whose inversion stems from a neurosis almost always benefit from psychotherapy. Those whose personalities are too distorted (overtly feminine), as well as homosexuals who are also alcoholics or who are psychotic personalities do not respond. In these cases the alcoholism and the psychosis need treatment. Older homosexuals who are unresponsive to psychotherapy may benefit from

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treatment with estrogens, which diminish their libido.

Transvestism

Transvestism consists in deriving sexual gratification from dressing in the clothes of the opposite sex. Hirschfeld suggested that this may occur as various different perversions, and believed that there were four different types: (1) Heterosexual, (2) homosexual, (3) narcissistic, and (4) asexual. Others have suggested (5) bisexual.

We believe with Stekel that it is a manifestation of homosexuality: it is easy to see how homosexual behavior can shade off into transvestism. There also is an element of narcissism in transvestism (the patient likes "making himself beautiful") as well as of fetishism, since the clothes in themselves provide excitement. There are rarer types, such as the person who likes to dress as a baby.

Many male transvestites obtain sexual satisfaction from women but only when they are themselves dressed in feminine clothes. This does not mean that they are heterosexual but that they are homosexual only as far as the clothes are concerned. They have not molded themselves on their mother's whole personality, but merely accepted her clothes. Many authorities consider these transvestites heterosexual, but we cannot agree.

Transvestism is sometimes associated with suicide. The person dresses as a woman, makes up his face, puts on a wig, paints his fingernails and toenails, etc., and then kills himself.

Transsexualism

Transsexualism is a wish to change one's sex. Transvestism and homosexuality appear to be the basis of the desire to change to the opposite sex. It sometimes appears as a conscious desire for an operation, but occasionally the person believes that he is changing without consciously wanting to. The writer has seen a number of men who have castrated, or attempted to castrate, themselves, and have inflicted grave injury in the attempt. It is, of course, absolutely impossible to have one's sex changed (except in some instances of hermaphroditism). Sexual differences penetrate even to the bones, and one can tell the sex of a skeleton of someone who lived some seven thousand years ago. Transsexualism is sometimes associated with psychosis (usually schizophrenia) and in any case is usually a severe psychosexual disease.

Infanto-Sexuality

This is the use of an immature person as a sexual object. Sexual assaults on children are not uncommon. The writer once gave evidence in the case of a schoolmaster who had interfered sexually with some twenty-five pupils. Freud suggested, probably correctly, that it is an attempt to overcome either internal or external prohibitions. The upbringing is often one that prevents a normal feeling to adult sexuality.

From the psychoanalytical point of view the selection of an immature object is the result of an unresolved Oedipus complex. Although one sexual assault may not be injurious to a child, it is possible that the child can be conditioned unfavorably by repeated interference. The suggestion, however, that all perversions are due to seduction in childhood is gross exaggeration.

Bestiality

Bestiality is the use of an animal as a sexual object. It is probably basically founded on two factors: opportunity (since it is common among farm workers, farmers' children, and so on) and an effort to overcome the same prohibitions we found in infanto-sexuality. It also occurs among the mentally defective but in their case it may be *faute de mieux* because they are unattractive to normal women. Many animals are unsuitable for other than sadistic sex acts. As with other perversions, alcohol is a common instigator. The writer once treated a farmer who obtained sexual pleasure from suckling ewes. This was easily traced back to a wish to suck the maternal breast and cleared up with analysis.

Autosexuality

These are perversions performed on oneself. Other perversions may have the mother as the sexual object (although she is disguised in some way) but in autosexuality the subject has failed to externalize his emotion, which is turned on to himself. He thus obtains satisfaction from his own body by masturbation or by self-fellation.

Masturbation is a stage in normal development and has no serious effects. It may even be beneficial since it exercises the sexual organs,

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but it falls within our definition of a perversion when it is exclusively practiced because of fear of heterosexual relations. Self-fellation appears to be rare and usually occurs in unloved children.

Necrophilia

Necrophilia consists in the use of a dead body as a sexual object. It would appear to be a fetish, sadism carried to the extreme, or a mixture of both (i.e., a perversion-fetish). Like all perversions, it is as old as mankind and is mentioned by Herodotus as having occurred in ancient Egypt.

Gerontosexuality

This is the use of an elderly person as a sexual object. Gerontosexuality is not easy to detect since it is not uncommon for young girls to marry old men, and vice versa (no doubt financial considerations often enter into this behavior). But when a young person *prefers* an elderly mate it is probably a perversion.

The assaults young men make on old women fall into the category of sadistic gerontosexuality. In such cases the old woman appears to be a substitute for the mother (as in other perversions).

Treatment

Sexual perversions are just as responsive to psychotherapy as any other neurosis. The only difficulty with this type of neurosis is that the patients find it difficult or even impossible to believe that they could find satisfaction from normal sexual relations. Thus, a very passive type of analysis is not always successful because the patient is inclined in such a case to expect the analyst to do all the work and does not try to help himself.

Throughout treatment of any form of perversion it is essential to continually reassure the patient that he can enjoy normal sexuality with more experience and that it will give him much greater sexual pleasure than he previously obtained by his deviant methods. The French say, "The appetite comes from eating" and this is as much true with sex as with food. Experience whets the appetite. Naturally one has a better chance with the young, the less experienced in abnormality, the intelligent, and those who have a strong desire to get well. Older, blasé, cynical, and stupid patients, and those who do not believe that they can recover or do not wish to get well, are hopeless from the start.

There is a wearisome tendency to insist that perversions are not curable because there is no extensive list of cures in the literature. This is not true; there are innumerable scattered cases described in the literature. Only those who have never treated a case (or who have used incorrect therapy) have not had successes. Unfortunately, many psychiatrists will not publish their cases because of a regrettable fear that they may stigmatize themselves as specialists in perversions. But even the most perverse are fellow human beings and it is our duty to do what we can for them.

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CLIFFORD ALLEN

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Petting

Definition

PETTING has gradually come to be adopted as the generic term for physical contacts (other than the direct union of genitalia in coitus) designed to produce sexual arousal and/or satisfaction in interactions between postpubescent human beings. Although essentially the same activities are involved in the noncoital sexual relationships of children and of infrahuman species, these less consciously erotic pursuits are generally referred to as sex play.

Petting may be homosexual or heterosexual. We are confining our attention in this article to the latter. Petting may also be premarital, marital, and extramarital. It is to the premarital variety that we shall devote most of our space. And, finally, petting may be used as a prelude to sexual intercourse or as an end in itself, with or without orgasm.

Although petting is by no means confined to a particular postpubescent age group, it is most characteristically the heterosexual outlet of high-school and college youth. Sectional differences in definitions of types and degrees of petting are observable among such young people. In general, however, petting that is confined to lip kissing and mild embracing is referred to as necking. Differentiations from light to heavy petting are usually made on the basis of the degree of nudity and the degree of direct involvement of the genitalia in the manipulative processes.

History

As already implied, the overt behavior patterns designated as petting antedate the human species. Noncoital sex play appears to be a universal phenomenon among mammals and is, indeed, quite common among vertebrates of lower evolutionary classes, such as birds and reptiles. The living mammals most closely related to the human stock—namely, the anthropoids—are highly devoted to sex play.

It is quite evident, then, that petting is biologically rooted in a normal and natural way in the sensory satisfactions that derive from body-to-body apposition, stroking, biting, tongue-to-tongue contacts, caressing, scratching, mouth contacts with other parts of the body, and so on. Since the various techniques of petting even antecede the species *sapiens* and the genus *Homo*, obviously no rational case can be made that petting is a perverted and decadent invention of the present generation of youth.

When we examine the evidence available from other societies and from earlier periods in our own society, we are similarly impressed with the lack of specificity in time and place of human activities that are currently termed petting. All the petting techniques known to modern generations are found in the art and writings of ancient civilizations. In like manner, reports from anthropologists and other observers of preliterate peoples indicate the widespread presence of the same behavior patterns that we call petting. And, although the student of the early history of American society will not find references to petting under that name, he will find descriptions of such activities among our colonial ancestors under various designations like spooning, sparking, smooching, bundling, lolligagging, mugging, larking, flirtage, and courting.

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Techniques

The techniques used in petting include almost every type of physical contact imaginable. We shall briefly describe some of the most common petting procedures in what is probably their decreasing order of frequency of use among contemporary youth.

Usually the initial and definitely the most frequently employed category of petting techniques is what we referred to earlier as necking—that is, kissing, hugging, and close, generalized body-to-body contacts. The relatively inexperienced individuals, or those who are blocked by moral or other considerations, may limit petting to this group of activities. Studies by Kinsey and others indicate, however, that all except a very small percentage of young people have engaged to some extent in at least this mild form of petting during their premarital period.

A second, somewhat heavier form of the necking stage of petting is what is variously termed deep kissing, soul kissing, tongue kissing, and French kissing. This deep kissing is often accompanied by a closer embrace and more manual activity (caressing), especially on the part of the male. The osculatory process itself involves mutual explorations of tongue, mouth, and lips.

Kinsey and his associates found that there were marked differences in the acceptance of deep kissing among the several generations in their female sample and among the socioeconomic and educational levels in their male group. The technique is more readily accepted among females of the most recent generation and among males of the higher economic and educational classifications. These same differences in acceptance among females by generation and among males by economic and educational groups tend to hold for the still heavier petting techniques that are discussed in the following paragraphs.

The various methods of petting that are focused primarily on other activities than mouth-to-mouth kissing are less widely accepted and practiced than necking and deep kissing. As brought out, some manual activity is generally involved in even the lightest of petting, but it tends to be generalized in the early stages. The traditional first point of specific focus of the manual aspects of petting for a majority of American young people seems to be the female breast. Many American males, especially of the high-school and college age groups, are more excited sexually by the sight or touch of female breasts than of female genitalia. We shall forego psychoanalytical or other speculation regarding the possible source of such erotic attachment to the breast, but it seems pertinent to observe that males of many other societies do not share this American enthusiasm.

In another sense, however, male stimulation of the female breast fits into the general petting patterns of other societies and of infrahuman sex play: namely, the preponderance of the action is undertaken by the male. It is noteworthy that the active participation of the female in petting is gradually increasing, so far as can be judged by studies that compare reports of younger and older generations. Still, the major conscious goal of petting seems to be the effort on the part of the male to arouse erotically his female partner. The specific technique of manual stimulation of the female breast conforms to this over-all aim. It is successful, however, so far as we can determine, with only a minority of females, but further arouses the vast majority of American males.

The incidence of the third technique of petting, male manipulation of the female breast, is greater than for any other method except those that focus primarily on mouth-to-mouth kissing. In Kinsey's sample, roughly three-fourths of the females who had not had premarital sexual intercourse had allowed males to manipulate their covered or uncovered breasts, and virtually all of the females who had had considerable coital experiences had permitted such activity.

Although some American youth consider male handling of the female breast an immoral practice, a much greater number connect tabooed feelings with mouth-breast contacts. Less than a third of the females in Kinsey's study who had not experienced premarital coitus permitted male manipulation of their breasts with tongue or lips. The fact that the percentage rises to close to 90 for females who had extensive premarital sexual intercourse would lead us to infer that perhaps this oral

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petting technique is considered almost as extreme a break from the moral traditions by the average unmarried American girl as is premarital coitus itself.

Slightly more than one-third of the Kinsey females without premarital coital experience had permitted the fifth petting technique: manual stimulation by the male of the female genitalia. The percentage rises close to 100 for females who had had extensive premarital sexual intercourse. The close correspondence of the statistics of incidence of mouth-to-breast petting and of manual stimulation of the female genitalia gives some support to the generalization that these activities are considered equivalents in "heaviness" and morality by many young people.

A petting activity that used to be considered quite indecent by large percentages of both males and females is the female manipulation of the male genitalia. Although some cultural change is in evidence regarding the moral evaluation of this technique, it is still apparently considered reprehensible by a majority of females who have not experienced sexual intercourse, and by some males, especially of the lower educational groups. Such petting is almost always initiated at the specific request of males, but some women come to find it a sexually exciting process for themselves.

A seventh petting technique is genital apposition. Roughly one-fifth of the females in Kinsey's study who had never had sexual intercourse had permitted males to place their genitalia directly against the genitalia of the females. The stimulation provided by such apposition is evidently similar to that of coitus, but it involves less risk of conception and is felt by some young people to be less immoral than actual penetration.

The last two techniques that we shall discuss are those that are most fully condemned in Western moral traditions. These are oral contacts with the genitalia of the male and of the female. We have already noted the strong taboo against mouth-breast petting for those women who have not experienced sexual intercourse. Oral-genital activities, however, have in many ways even stronger moral sanctions against them (even inside of marriage) than does sexual intercourse itself outside of marriage. Despite the evidence from infrahuman mammals of the biological normality of oral-genital contacts, there is a strong bias in the minds of many people that there is something peculiarly lewd and degenerate about the meeting of the mouth of one lover with the genitalia of the other. The Judeo-Christian codes have been firm in their labeling of mouth-genital contacts as abnormal and perverse in and out of marriage, but this attitude seems to be altering among some clergy of the more liberal Protestant and Jewish groups. In any case, the effectiveness of the moral sanctions against such behavior seems to be gradually decreasing. It is nevertheless true that the Kinsey study showed that only a relatively few females without coital experience had permitted males to stimulate their genitals orally and even fewer had undertaken to stimulate males correspondingly. The number of females who had premaritally participated in oral contacts jumped to about 20 per cent for each type for those with some premarital coitus and to roughly one-half of the group who had experienced more extensive premarital sexual intercourse.

The Case against Petting

Petting has frequently been attacked on a variety of physiological and sociopsychological grounds. The only evidence available of physiological disturbance concerns prolonged petting that stops short of orgasm. Some individuals, more predominantly males, report pains in the groin, headaches, and other forms of physical discomfort. Such accumulated tension may, of course, be quickly resolved by climax. When this happens, there is no evidence of even temporarily harmful physiological effects. For individuals who are afflicted with discomfort and who avoid, or are circumstantially prevented from having, an orgasm, the tension may last anywhere from a few moments to a few hours.

Although clear-cut instances are rare, some few individuals who habitually pet for prolonged periods to a point always short of orgasm may put their organisms to such great stress that they develop ailments of the genital tract, high blood pressure, ulcers, or some other affliction. Whether such conditions, if

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they do occur, can be properly laid at the door of petting or whether they can more appropriately be diagnosed as psychosomatic maladies of compulsive personality types is out of our scope to decide. Our point of concern is that the physiological case against petting only involves activity which falls short of orgasm and which results, in all except a few doubtful instances, in temporary discomfort.

The social and psychological arguments against petting tend to be considerably more involved. Many of the contentions about the harms to the individual and his society that ensue from petting can, when carefully and rationally analyzed, be traced to the Judeo-Christian moral traditions, which rigidly define the sex component of human behavior in terms of procreation. In its extreme applications in the orthodox religions (Roman Catholic, orthodox Jewish, and fundamentalist Protestant), the use of sex for pleasure not directly related to the aims of reproduction is, by this moral code, sinful. Hence, petting by even a married couple is immoral whenever it is not employed as a prelude to marital coitus which has pregnancy as its reasonable expectation. Premarital (and, of course, extramarital) petting is a much graver sin. Although some liberal Protestant and Jewish leaders have begun to support marital sex activity designed strictly for pleasure as an aid to sound marriage and, more specifically, have come to the defense of premarital petting as an emotional-educational device for young people who plan soon to be married, they are still in a distinct minority.

Sociopsychological arguments against premarital petting that at least allegedly do not stem from religious moral traditions seem to boil down to two main points: (1) such activity will interfere with future sexual functioning in marriage, and (2) it will lead young people to overemphasize the importance of sex in their choice of marital partners. Such data as are available fail to provide substantiation for the first of these two contentions. There is some clinical evidence to indicate that an individual who has consistently prevented himself or herself from reaching orgasm in petting *may* have some difficulty becoming reconditioned to reach climax in marital sexual activity. This would seem to be an argument against petting short of orgasm, however, rather than against petting itself. Just as was true with the adverse physiological effects, this set of sociopsychological troubles appears in serious and more than transitory form only quite rarely and, even then, with a probably complicated causation.

The second contention of a nonreligious nature regarding the social and psychological undesirabilities of petting—namely, that it leads to an overemphasis on sex—is difficult to prove or disprove. Much importance in the consideration of evidence here must be attached to the judgment of what constitutes too much emphasis on sex. The general point often made, however, is that a couple that engages in constant premarital petting is not likely to spend sufficient time in determining nonsexual forms of compatibility or incompatibility. The case here would seem to be indisputable. It seems only fair to point out, however, that a couple that spends its time exclusively in *any* activity —whether it be watching television, going on bird hikes, or dancing in the moonlight—will unwisely limit the opportunities that each would have of coming to know the other one well enough to make a fairly intelligent judgment about the desirability of getting married.

When we caution about petting as a source of overemphasis on sex for couples who do not let the activity rigidly monopolize their time, our definition of what is "overemphasis" and of what amount of petting leads to such overstressing of sex becomes anything but clear. For some writers on the subject, *any* premarital petting is evidently defined as excessive and *any* emphasis on sex is automatically an overemphasis. Such an extreme form of the argument against petting patently takes root in the Judeo-Christian moral tradition that we have already mentioned: namely, the enjoyment of sex in any form other than that specifically directed toward procreation within the bonds of marriage is a sin.

A more moderate form of the case against petting on the grounds of overemphasis on sex goes something like this: It is generally wise for couples who are considering marriage to spend a good portion of their time together in situations that make romantic activity difficult. If courting couples spend most of their time making love, or most of their time in any other

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single-line pursuit, they are not likely to learn much about the kind of personality characteristics that are important in making for nonsexual compatibility or incompatibility in close day-by-day living. For couples (whether planning on marriage or not) who allow a considerable amount of their time for participation in a wide variety of social experiences to allot some time for petting—and especially for petting to orgasm—would not seem to constitute overemphasis on sex according to any rational definition.

A fact that is sometimes overlooked in the discussion of the relationship between petting and sexual motives for marriage is that overemphasis of a biological drive is more apt to occur among people who experience frequent frustration of that drive than among people who have regular satisfaction. A person who has suffered serious nutritional insufficiencies and deficiencies is much more likely to overstress the importance of food and to have his social judgments deleteriously affected by his search for food than an individual who has regularly partaken of an ample and well-balanced diet. Such evidence as we have would support the observation that such sex-starved couples as those who do not pet or those who do not pet to orgasm are more apt to overemphasize the significance of sex and to have their marital judgments adversely altered by the search for sex satisfaction than couples who regularly achieve orgastic satisfaction by petting or other means.

A correlative hypothesis often proposed along with the contention that premarital petting will lead a couple to place too much emphasis on sex is the assertion that marriage based primarily on sexual attraction is not likely to succeed. Few would deny that a marriage based on a rich variety of interests is superior to a marriage based on any single type of interest. Lurking behind this argument, however, is the supposition that a marriage based on nonsexual attractions is superior to a marriage based on sexual attractions. Evidence is lacking to support this supposition. Although *both* sexual and nonsexual compatibility are important in marriage, such data as are available would indicate that, under contemporary social circumstances, a marriage based primarily on sexual attraction is certainly superior to a marriage based exclusively on nonsexual interests.

It is beyond dispute, however, that the various moral, irrationally founded arguments against petting are incorporated in the attitudes of many young people. Because some youth seriously believe various kinds of nonsense told them about petting, they have guilt feelings about proceeding with such activity. Such emotional conflicts are more common among females than among males, mainly because the pressure of moral responsibility is placed upon "nice" girls to set the limits short of petting of especially the heavy varieties.

The most formidable case against petting in our society today, then, may be succinctly stated as follows: Since many young people are conditioned to feel that petting is wrong, proceeding to do so causes serious emotional conflict for some of these persons. Should this be taken as a mandate, as some have assumed, for educators, parents, and other responsible adults to try to enforce more effective anti-petting regulations among youth? Or should it be a challenge to our social leaders to effect changes in the attitudes about petting and other sexual matters which are inculcated in our young people? Perhaps the reader can better answer these questions after we have briefly dealt with the case for petting.

The Case for Petting

The chief constructive significance of petting would seem to lie in the opportunities it provides to youth to learn the art of heterosexual loving. It is not only the first source of sexual arousal and of orgasm for many girls in our society, but it is the main, broad sociosexual educative force for young people of both sexes. Such education and practical experiences in love expression are crucially needed by youth because of the tendency in Western society to induce drastic inhibition of erotic feelings in the period from infancy through puberty. Many boys and girls in America grow up not only with strong sanctions against the direct and intimate feelings of affection, but with outright distrust and hostility toward members of the other sex. Some type of permissive setting in which adolescents may learn literally and figuratively to "feel out" members of the other

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sex and to develop some degree of disinhibition of affection would seem to be a cultural necessity.

The taboos against premarital petting in American society are particularly unfortunate in the light of the even stronger moral sanctions against premarital coitus. In a cultural environment in which premarital sexual intercourse was not heavily condemned, sanctions against premarital petting would be of distinctly less significance. It certainly seems to be an absurd procedure for a society to instill strong sexual inhibitions in children and then to cut off both coital and noncoital avenues for adolescents to learn to overcome such inhibitions prior to sexual functioning in marriage. This is exactly what our society has officially attempted. The "success" of the official program, however, lies chiefly in its induction of guilt feelings in some young people who pet more than in the prevention of petting. The Kinsey reports indicate that premarital petting has steadily increased from older to younger generations. Since there has been no comparable increase in premarital sexual intercourse, we are led to infer that a growing number of young people have chosen to defy adult-inculcated guilt feelings and to take the noncoital route of sexual and affectional education.

To state the positive case for premarital petting more specifically, it offers the opportunity for young people to learn particular love-making techniques and responses to various types of persons of the other sex. In marriage, little chance is usually offered for the gradual acquisition of skill in, and unembarrassed ease in responding to, such activities as kissing, deep kissing, breast and genital fondling, mouth-genital contacts, etc., that youth can take their time in learning in the course of premarital relationships. Absence of a comfortable acceptance of such love-making procedures may be interpreted as rejection by the more experienced marital partner, or the quick introduction of such activities in marriage may frighten and induce sexual withdrawal on the part of a very inexperienced partner. Such feelings of rejection and withdrawal often permanently mar marital interactions.

As mentioned earlier, it is sometimes contended that premarital petting may lead to marriage on strictly sexual bases. Such petting, on the contrary, often seems to provide young people with an opportunity to respond over a considerable period of time to a fairly representative sample of persons of the other sex and thus come to know the kind of persons to whom they are more permanently attracted in both an erotic and broader affectionate basis. A fairly expansive premarital sexual experience would appear to provide a background against which young people can make sounder marital choices. The sexually experienced would logically appear better prepared not to be misled by temporary erotic urges than the sexually inexperienced.

Marital and Extramarital Petting

Extramarital petting, like its premarital counterpart, may be understood chiefly in terms of moral compromise. Many married people, having sexual urges that are defined as illicit (that is, directed toward others than their spouses), consider their expression via petting less immoral than via coitus. In addition to the moral factor, extramarital petting is less likely to bring social and legal complications than is adultery and is a source of erotic satisfaction in situations where contraception is not available. Although adequate data are not procurable, extramarital petting, like premarital, would seem to be increasingly prevalent in recent generations. Any harm that ensues from extramarital petting is obviously not to be ascribed to the activity itself, but to guilt feelings in the participating individuals and to interactional disruptions that may develop in their respective marriages.

In marriage itself, petting is most often employed as precoital play. Such is not always the case, however. Just as in premarital and extramarital petting, the techniques may be employed as a substitute for coitus in order to avoid social (as in a public or semipublic situation) or conceptual consequences. More significantly, for many married women, petting activities, most specifically clitoral manipulation, are a more consistent and satisfying source of orgasm than coitus itself. Except in instances where coitus is compulsively avoided, there is no evidence that the use of petting as a major source of orgastic satisfaction in marriage is to be viewed as anything other than desirable.

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Other Considerations

Although it is not too likely, petting couples can run afoul of the law in most jurisdictions in the United States and in certain other countries. Many of the so-called heavy-petting techniques, such as oral-genital activities, are in some places technically defined as criminal even in marital relationships. Also, when a minor is involved with an adult, the minor is subject to prosecution for juvenile delinquency and the adult for contributing to the delinquency of a minor. Where the minor is quite young, the adult is subject to severe penalties in many jurisdictions. Where the petting takes place in a public situation, the participants may be subject to prosecution for public indecency or disorderly conduct. Where two young people of approximately the same age level are involved, police in most jurisdictions are usually satisfied with "breaking it up" and "scaring them off" (with undesirable psychological, but not legal, consequences). The threat of legal action to support negative attitudes toward petting may nevertheless be viewed as an additional block to the sociosexual education of youth.

Some question is occasionally raised regarding habituation to petting as a form of sexual deviation. Where a person is irrationally afraid of sexual intercourse (such as attaching some strong significance to the technical maintenance of virginity) or is compulsively committed to certain noncoital sexual activities (such as breast manipulation), it is probably correct to view petting as perverted behavior. Where it is preferred to sexual intercourse as a pleasant variation (in or out of marriage), as a socially and/or legally less dangerous procedure in certain circumstances, as a means of avoiding pregnancy in situations where effective contraception is unavailable, as a gradual means of becoming familiar with the art of love-making in general or with some individual in particular, or where it is used as a regular supplement to sexual intercourse, petting may be considered "normal" in every psychological, social, and physiological sense.

In summary, heterosexual petting may be viewed as an intrinsically desirable and normal activity. Premaritally, its chief positive value is to provide training and experience in sociosexual adjustment to persons of the other sex. Maritally, it serves as enjoyable precoital play for most couples and as either an occasional or regular source of orgasm for some spouses, especially many wives. Extramaritally, petting functions for some couples as a less immoral activity than adultery, but may nevertheless be associated with personal guilt and marital conflict. Whatever may be a sound judgment regarding extramarital petting, there seem to be no serious counterindications for any type of premarital or marital petting other than those attached to irrational taboos and to neurotic fixations as a compulsive substitute for coitus.

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ROBERT A. HARPER

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Phallicism and Sexual Symbolism

PHALLICISM, or phallism, is the worship of the phallus or lingam, the male sex organ, and of the vulva, the female counterpart, also known as the yoni. The phallus is held holy as the giver of life and the vulva as its recipient. The term phallus is derived from the Greek φαλλος *phallos,* male organ. The phallic symbol is universal and has been revered in many cultures. It carries the connotation of "power," perhaps "magical power," and it is this that places it in the pantheon of nature worship, as a specific charm against sterility.

Origins of Phallicism

The adoration of sex is as old as mankind. Our earliest ancestors were awed by the wonder and mystery of creation and by their own power of reproduction, which, however hazily at first, they associated with the penis. What they could not understand they worshipped. There was, too, in their adoration an element of propitiation lest they be deprived of this supermortal and superlative gift if they did not value it as highly as it deserved. This worship developed dramatically into (or became an element of) the fertility rites so characteristic of primitive religion.

The all-important power of sex pervaded early man's whole outlook on the world. He saw the moon and water as female. The sun was the world's life-giving male and the earth the female welcoming his beneficence. The sowing of the seed, the vigor of the sun, and the response of the warm earth were all seen as expressions of sexual energy.

The earth became the mother goddess, personified by The Great Mother of God: in Asia Minor, the great womb of Nature. Fire and heat were male. Cold was female (a hint at a prehistoric idea of female frigidity?). They found sex symbols in mountains and valleys, trees, stones, serpents, birds, fruits, and flowers —wherever the shape of any object resembled the lingam or the yoni. Elements of this phase of sex worship survive in our times. The serpent and the swan are familiar contemporary erotic symbols.

The Androgynous (Bisexual) Gods

The earliest gods were believed to have both male and female powers and so to be independent and self-sufficient, able to create other gods as well as man. This was believed in all the lands of the ancient world.

Such beliefs gave rise to fantastic myths about the gods. To the Greeks, Apollo was a male-female god. The Roman Bacchus and Diana were often represented as bisexual. In Babylon it was believed that the first men created had one body and two heads, male and female, signifying that they had the organs of both sexes. The Egyptians held that some gods were male in front and female in the rear; sometimes they were human in front and animal in the rear. Siva, the Hindu half-goddess, half-woman, was a dual-sexed divinity. Occasionally Siva and her mate Devi were shown in one body. An ancient god might be pictured as male on the right side and female on the left side of the body.

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Even Adam, the first man in Biblical history, was believed to have been bisexual. The Talmud says that Adam was a hermaphrodite—both male and female. In fact, the ancient idea of creation was that the first man combined both sexes and that in some mystic way the power that had wrought him split his body apart, thus creating Adam and Eve. As late as the twelfth century A.D., many philosophers and scholars believed that primeval men were androgynous.

Monuments to the Phallus

Proof that sex was worshipped among ancient and later civilizations is strikingly evidenced by excavations among the ruins of Babylonia, in India, China, and more recently in Egypt, Palestine, and especially in Corsica. Everywhere monumental stone and bronze phalli and amulets, crosses, and coins with obvious sex symbols plainly attest to the existence of phallicism.

The biggest find has been made in Corsica. In 1955, under the direction of Dr. Roger Grojean, a leading expert on the culture of the West Mediterranean, a team of distinguished archaeologists, members of the French Society for Prehistoric Studies, discovered prehistoric phallic monuments that are by far the largest yet found: stone statues, some six to ten feet high, representing the phallus in realistic detail and dating back to the Bronze Age. Previously they had come upon many lesser figures of the phallus scattered all over the island. But this last find revealed a whole group in the valley of the River Taravo, where an artistic civilization had apparently thrived some 3,500 years ago. About fifteen of the phallic statues have been set up where they were originally discovered, and the investigation continues today.

Among the Corsican finds are thirty-eight statues, one-half indisputably phallic in form. Ten of the statues differ from the other monuments: they have a human form on one side, with an artistically archaic face and a weapon on the chest. On the back only the nape has a definitely phallic shape. Other details may be interpreted as depicting shoulder blades and spinal column or as the anatomical complements of the phallus, the folds of the prepuce.

Closest to the statues in Corsica are those discovered in the Sudan. Human features are shown on one side and a phallus on the other. Similar figures of lesser size are to be seen in Brittany and in Argentina. The phallic statues found in most places, including those in Mexico and North and Central America, are usually small and crude, which is why the Corsican find is so spectacular.

Elsewhere phallic figures were erected on graves during the Bronze Age, not only in honor of the god of sexuality but as a symbolic connecting link between procreation (life) and destruction (death). A particularly striking example is an ex-voto to Dionysus on the island of Delas—a large stone phallus with a phallic bird carved on it.

Sexual Art in the Stone Age

In the Old Stone Age, 20,000 or 25,000 years ago, artists engraved, painted, or sculptured illustrations of unmistakable sexuality on cave walls. They pictured paired animals, pregnant buffalo cows, and other animals. Possibly they believed that by some magical influence this recognition given to reproduction would bring an ample supply for the hunt.

The male and female sex organs were often depicted; sometimes they were exaggerated to make them more impressive. Artists have marveled at the naturalism and accurate detail of this cave-wall art. It is obvious that prehistoric man was tremendously interested in procreation. His was a natural, healthy, and constructive preoccupation with fertility, particularly with the multiplication of animals he hunted and lived upon.

Later in the Stone Age ivory statuettes of nude women, obese or with greatly exaggerated buttocks, were carved. Vulvae, too, were engraved on cave walls, as were sketches of ithyphallic men (with the phallus in erection). Among the relics found in France are many carefully carved phalli made of reindeer horns.

Out of the Caves

The early art of the caves was succeeded by an art of a civilization more addicted to fresh air. Pictorial traces came out of the caves into

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protected mountain ledges, on cliffs and rocks. Panoramic pictures appeared, giving details of the mode of life led by primitive man. There were scenes of battles and dances. The women were no longer nude, but the men were covered with less clothing than the women. The phallus was still a feature, painted or drawn in various positions.

During the fifth and sixth centuries B.C., when metals and writing were discovered and civilization flowered in the Middle East, the phallus was no less valued and revered. This adoration continued into the Middle Ages and even to our own times, when simple country folk persist in showing veneration to the phallic statues still standing.

Forms of Sex Symbolism

The Language of the Hands

The Egyptians once considered the hand a symbol of the sun's life-giving power, and in the ancient world the hands and fingers were used to express a sex language. In different positions they had various meanings: The first finger extended sidewise, with the other fingers and thumb folded inward, was used as a phallic sign. The thumb and index fingers of the two hands meeting indicated the female sex organ, the sign used by Hindu dancers. Another symbol was the index finger bent to meet the thumb, a symbol still surviving in Latin countries. The palms of the hands pressed together, the index fingers extended upward, and the rest of the fingers of both hands intertwined expressed the union of the sexes. There were many other variations.

Crosses and Triangles

Crosses of different shapes and materials were worshipped by the ancients. In early Greece, Dionysus (Bacchus) and Apollo were represented by one form of cross; in other designs, Aphrodite. Prostitutes in India at one time wore a cross to signify the power to give life. The Egyptian cross, the *ankh,* signified the "key of life." This cross, T-shaped and surmounted by an oval addition typifying the matrix or womb, stood for immortality.

The swastika, adopted by the German Nazis, at one time had a sexual meaning. If the tails of the cross extended toward the left, it signified the female sex; if toward the right, the male sex. Many simple and crude forms of the swastika have been found in ancient ruins. It was used at one time as a symbol of Buddha. An ancient lead idol, excavated at Troy, has a swastika engraved over the likeness of the vulva.

Even the triangle was adopted as a sex symbol. The apex pointing downward was a symbol of the female; upward, of the male. When the two were superimposed, union was indicated. This latter form is the six-pointed "Star of David"—a sign still used in the Orient but without sexual significance. It has remained a mystic symbol, revered in certain religious rituals and in one of the degrees of the Masonic Lodge (The Royal Arch degree).

Phallic Amulets

Among the Romans the phallus was deified in the form of the god Priapus. The practice of carrying priapic figures as amulets against the evil eye and bad luck—that is, against loss of power—became common, thrived during the Middle Ages, and has not yet been entirely abandoned.

The Romans gave the phallic amulet the name of *fascinum,* in Old French *fesne,* when worn around the neck, and a great many of these amulets have been found, mostly in the River Seine. Some are prints, others medals made of lead—on one side the organs of the two sexes and on the other a cross.

Some Roman amulets are more elaborate. On one, a woman uses the phallus as a horse and rides on it; it has the two legs of a man on the phallus. Another represents an enormous phallus attached to the middle of the body of a little man.

The hand phallus, so called by historians, is also seen on amulets. Specimens of these amulets have been found that show two arms joined by a cord, one of them ending in the head of a phallus and the other having a hand. There are two forms of this type of symbol, both known and used since time immemorial. One, the more ancient, shows the middle finger extended with the thumb and other fingers lying on each other. The middle finger represents the virile member, and the two folded fingers

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on each side signify the testicles. The other has the hand closed but the thumb is stuck between the index finger and the middle finger. This form of the phallic hand, of which the meaning is clear from the rigid thumb, was well known among the Romans. It was considered an insult, much as it is today, to show a person a hand in this position. At that time it designated one who was addicted to unnatural sex practices.

This gesture seems to have been named *ficus* in the later Roman period; in French, *figue*; in English, fig. The fig was consecrated to Priapus as it was considered by the Romans to be the cause of his abundant production. The gesture *ficus*, sometimes known as *fica* since it was a word of feminine gender, persisted all during the Middle Ages, particularly in central Europe where the Roman customs were strong. The Italians called the gesture *fare la fica* (to make a fig at someone) perhaps because of the assumed resemblance of a fig to a vulva.

The phrase seems to have been introduced into the English language at the time of Queen Elizabeth. The translation was presumably "to give a fig." The English writers of the time are said to have called it *la figue d'Espagne*, the Spanish Fig. Thus, a character in *Henry V* says: "A fig for thy friendship, the fig of Spain." The phrase has been handed down to this day. We hear in English, "A fig for——" (anybody or anything).

Common Objects

In ancient civilizations, sex entered into the details of daily life, including various kinds of food. For example, it is believed today that the custom among Semitic peoples of eating fish on Friday originated from the ancient idea that a fish diet greatly increased sexual power. The arched mouth of the fish was compared to the vulva. In many old religious symbols this food item was given a sexual meaning.

The serpent, which plays such a prominent part in the story of creation in the Bible, also appeared in many sex symbols. Swallowing its own tail, it represented union of the sexes. It was considered hermaphroditic, as were the earliest gods and man. Live snakes were kept in the temples of the Early Greeks, where they were fed by nude priestesses. At the famous Oracle of Delphi, the priestesses were called pythonesses, the term carrying a double meaning of priestesses at Pytha and snake women. Snakes were in the shrine of Apollo and were fed in the same way. Many old Egyptian designs show the cobra. The serpent had various sexual meanings, chief of which was sexual desire.

Phallic Festivals

The history of phallicism reveals that sex and religion were intermingled in the ancient mind, and this relation persists to the present. Many of the symbols described could be called mixed symbols. An important role was played by the image of the phallus in ancient religious ceremonies in Egypt, China, and Japan, as well as in India. Featured was a giant phallus 360 feet high and covered with pure gold. Giant phallic statues nearly 200 feet in height guarded the temple of Venus at Hierapolis. The Eleusinian Mysteries of Athens, initiation into which all Athenians craved, linked rites of fertility (the buried seed) with hope of immortality.

The nude body was exposed in numerous ancient rituals. When a river had overflowed its banks and rains threatened, it was thought the rain could be dispersed if women exposed their naked bodies to the darkening sky. Today, in Africa, some tribal women practice a similar ritual to attract rain in time of drought.

During festivals of the goddess Ishtar in Babylonia, cakes resembling the male and female sex organs were baked and eaten. Similar cakes were prepared in honor of other gods, such as Baal and Astarte. Bread phalli were often seen in festivals and processions in early France.

The festival of Liber, an old Italian deity of fruitfulness later identified with Bacchus, the god of drunkenness and debauchery, took place at planting time. On this day the phallus, as the symbol of the god, was carried in procession through the fields and lanes around Rome to increase the crops. In Lavinium a phallus was taken to the public market place, where it was crowned with a garland of flowers by the most respectable and respected matrons of the city.

In rural districts the festival was characterized by the frankest symbolism and by unre-

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stricted license; men and women cohabited along the roadside in honor of the marriage of Ariadne (Libera) and Bacchus (Liber). Cakes, phallic and yonic in shape, and honey and oil were offered to the gods.

Promiscuity and Prostitution

Phallicism began as a form of worship, a prehistoric, elemental form of religion. As time went on, the religious aspect faded, and the more sheerly sexual aspect was conveniently masked as adoration of the gods. Hindu phallicism was swathed in philosophy. In Greece, orgies were veiled as Orphic mysteries.

Considering the accepted mores of the ancient world, this degeneration of phallicism was almost inevitable. Permanent marriages, according to the custom of the Egyptians, were introduced in Greece by Cecrops in 2590 B.C. At the same time, no shame or blame was attached to casual or promiscuous cohabitation. The old tribal relationship was modeled on the habits of the mammal animals the primitive people prized. This was prevalent among the early Jews until Moses forbade it in the name of Jehovah. Incidentally, the power of procreation was revered to such an extent among the Hebrew tribes that oaths are said to have been taken on the phallus, much as they are on the Bible today.

Everywhere temptation and opportunity beckoned and there were no moral restraints. No disgrace was attached to being a prostitute. At one time girls followed the calling to earn a dowry. In Sparta, Lycurgus, the great lawgiver, ordered the maidens to exercise and to go naked in the processions as the young men did, and to dance that way, singing songs at solemn feasts. He intended to promote incitements to marriage but often the results were far different.

The countries were tropical or subtropical, clothing unnecessary, the bonds of matrimony not very binding, concubinage and prostitution freely permitted and even encouraged. Such were the conditions in Egypt, Greece, Rome, Syria, Irania, and other ancient lands where phallic worship was in vogue. In Rome, for example, there were twelve ranks of prostitutes, from the *Delicatae*, "kept women" or mistresses who corresponded to the *Hetaerae* of the Greeks and who lived in luxury, to the wretched *Quadrantariae*, whose fee was the smallest copper coin made in Rome (about half a cent), a piece of fish or bread, or a drink. At that time every baker, tavern-keeper, bathhouse-keeper, barber, and perfumer kept attendant prostitutes to accommodate his customers.

Bakers' girls were sent out to sell little cakes in the shapes of phalli and yoni for sacrificial offerings in the temples of Priapus or Venus, and were prostitutes as a side line.

There were public and private *lupanaria*, or houses of prostitution, stocked with girl slaves who were at the service of the patrons at very small fees. During the persecution of the Christians the pretty girls and women were not killed in the arenas but were sent to the *lupanaria* as slaves.

The respectable, sheltered women were kept secluded in their homes, except on holidays or when they attended the public shows at the Colosseum or at the theaters. The shows were often grossly suggestive, the actors sometimes having monstrous property phalli fastened in front. These phalli were usually painted a brilliant red, from which may come our phrase, "painting the town red." Sanger, in his *History of Prostitution* (1899) writes: "At Rome, the walls of respectable houses were covered with paintings of which one hardly dares in our times to mention the subjects. Lascivious frescoes and lewd sculptures . . . filled the halls of the Roman citizens and nobles. . . . Such groups as satyrs and nymphs, Leda and the swan, satyrs and she-goats were abundant. All of these were daily exposed to the eyes of the children and young girls."

Contemporary Sex Symbolism

Use of sex symbolism in decoration was so frequent in classical art that it came to be accepted as conventional rather than as symbolic in the strict sense. This has led to its continuance through the ages. The cock, the serpent, and other such figures are now frequent in decoration, but without significance.

The same truth applies to architecture. In the Orient, temples and other such buildings are shaped in the form of a penis because of

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the association of their rites with procreation and fertility. But the West also has its buildings clearly showing a phallic influence, from the Empire State Building in New York and the Washington Monument in Washington, D.C., to the Y.M.C.A. Building in Jerusalem. In neither case is the form of the building functionally related to the activities for which it is designed. The esthetic value of the form has replaced its symbolic meaning, a process of conventionalizing which is equally apparent in festivals such as Easter, which have given to ancient fertility rites sublimations into more cultivated celebrations.

Psychoanalysis and Sexual Symbolism

Ever since the publication of Freud's *Interpretation of Dreams* in 1900 the term "sexual symbolism" has been almost synonymous with the existence of hidden or repressed sexual meanings in the free associations, dreams, literary productions, and other unconscious processes of human beings. Actually, Freud himself states that he merely rediscovered the existence of sexual symbolism in dreams, and that Scherner, in a largely unnoticed book (*Das Leben des Traumes*) published in 1861 was the real discoverer. Even earlier writers, such as Artemidorus of Daldus, seem to have had at least an inkling of the connection between sexual symbolism and dreams.

Following Freud's lead, a vast psychoanalytic literature on sexual symbolism has grown up, sparked by early contributions of Ferenczi and Rank (1924), Jones (1950), and Stekel (1943). At first, there was a tendency on the part of the psychoanalytic interpreters to produce a dictionary of dream interpretation that would authoritatively connect each symbol dreamed about with its sexual correlate—for example, to list *knife* as indicating a penis and *balcony* as representing breasts. It was soon noted, however, that the individual who uses dream or other unconscious symbols tends to employ them in his own unique manner—so that one person may use *knife* to represent a penis and another individual may use the same symbol to represent a hand, a tongue, or some other organ which may be used for sex purposes.

It was also observed, fairly early in psychoanalytic history, that the psychoanalyst or other would-be interpreter of unconscious sexual processes may himself attribute to symbols used by the dreamer meanings that are more often than not based on his own system of thought rather than on the underlying ideas and feelings of the subject. And the system of thought of the interpreter himself may be seriously in need of analysis.

The question of main importance in regard to unconscious symbolization of sexual thoughts and activities would seem to be: What specific symbols can be used to denote these sex acts? And the answer seems to be: Almost anything may be used by a given individual to symbolize his own sex urges and behavior, and the object he uses for this purpose at a certain time will depend on what is transpiring in his life at this time and what his general philosophy of life and sex may be.

A good case in point is daily speech. Reference to a slang dictionary will show that literally hundreds of different nonsexual objects have been used to denote sexual acts and organs. Thus, a penis has been called, in the English language, a prick, a yard, a cock, a pecker, etc.

Psychoanalysts have wrestled with the problem of sexual symbolism almost endlessly; and the definitive work on the subject, from a psychoanalytic point of view, has yet to be written. The factor of the symbolizer's defensiveness and resistance against seeing or naming the sexual object in its naked objectivity has been especially considered by psychoanalytic writers. Thus, as early as 1916 Ernest Jones published a paper in which he tried to show that the term "sexual symbolism" should be limited to the use of indirect representations of sexual images—to the use of metaphor, simile, analogy, allegory, metonymn, etc. Something was a symbol, Jones contended, if it referred to a repressed sexual wish—that is, if it were cathected by the affective impulse of this sexual wish. As Fenichel (1945) later stated, a serpent was a phallic symbol if it were cathected by phallic feelings.

It is surprising how little has been added to the psychoanalytic interpretation of sexual symbolism since Jones' original formulations. Jones, when he defined a sexual symbol as the

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use of a nonsexual object for a repressed sexual idea, was thinking in terms of the older psychoanalytic theory, which was occupied largely with the Id, rather than in terms of newer psychoanalytic formulations of the role of the Ego and its various defense mechanisms. So far as we know, no psychoanalyst has tried to define sexual symbolism in terms of the newer psychoanalytic formulations.

One can easily be too conventional, in a psychoanalytic sense, in interpreting sexual symbolism, and by being thus conventional miss the real point of an individual's symbolizing. Thus, in one clinical case an envious girl kept denying her anger and envy and attributing similar feelings to others. But one day when I (G.B.W.) supplied for her some words which she had unclearly heard on TV, she remarked that she had a sudden impulse to rip off my penis. I related this impulse to her jealousy of her young baby brother, when she was 19 months of age and he was just born, and to her impulse to rip off his penis, as something that had come between herself and her mother. As a result of my interpretation, she was able to accept and understand her own penis-envy, which she had previously talked about but not really accepted.

Further discussion and interpretation showed, however, that what this girl really wished for was not so much the penis as the ability to feel penis-envy—for that feeling would make her like other girls who were supposed to have such impulses, rather than being the unenvious, "good" nonentity her mother wanted her to be. Her basic anger at me and at others was not because we had deprived her of a penis but because we seemed to be forcing her to be overly "good"; and she was confused because, at one and the same time, she wanted to be "strong" and envious and wanted to be "good" and lovable. I cite this case mainly to show that human motivations are often most complex and cannot be unraveled by simple interpretation of obvious sexual symbolism (in this case, penis-envy).

As Stekel (1943) noted in his criticism of Freud, a dreamer may dream of a snake and really be thinking of a penis; but he may also be thinking of a woman or some other sexual or nonsexual object. Context, convention, custom, moralizing tendencies—all of these may be influential determiners of why an individual dreams of snakes or why a sculptor or a cake decorator uses snakes, cocks, or other symbols in a pictorial representation, particularly one that is made for a wedding or other ritual with sexual connotations.

Carl Jung (1952, 1953) and his followers have been particularly interested in sexual (and nonsexual) symbolism and its relationship to human personality. Where Freud implied that only what has once been consciously apprehended and then unconsciously repressed can be symbolized, Jung and his disciples hold that an individual can symbolize that which has never been conscious and which, as in the case of the so-called death instinct, never can be conscious. The Jungians solve some of the difficult problems in this area by positing not only an individual but a collective unconscious, in which supposedly resides archaic or archetypal ideas that have been handed down by individuals from generation to generation.

It is not within the scope of this article to trace the origins and development of symbolism in general and the attempts of numerous thinkers to solve the question of man and his relation to the universe by finding the hidden x that would explain the riddle and then symbolizing this x with some root-metaphor. We may merely quote Rank's (1929) view that "the real world itself, created by man, has proved to be a chain of symbol formations, uninterruptedly renewed, which represent not merely a substitute for the lost primal reality which they copy as faithfully as possible, but at the same time must remind us as little as possible of the primal trauma connected with it."

In any event, just because man has an almost infinite capacity to symbolize sex acts and thoughts by nonsexual representations, and because he is uniquely a symbolizing and language-creating animal, we must be careful not to give definitive, conclusive interpretations to any of his specific symbolizations. We can be fairly certain that imaginative and appropriate symbols for the genitals, for sex urges, and for every other aspect of human sexuality will continue to be made through the ages to come, and that these will tend, while having some

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general resemblance to the things they symbolize, to vary enormously from period to period, civilization to civilization, and individual to individual.

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ALBERT ABARBANEL AND
GEORGE B. WILBUR

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Planned Parenthood around the World

PLANNED parenthood is not new. Long before the dawn of written history, primitive peoples in all parts of the world made some attempts to adjust the size of their families to the available means of subsistence. They did this, however, by wasteful and often cruel methods—by infanticide, abortion, killing the aged—by ritual taboos on the time of intercourse, or and by prolonging the nursing period. Only within the last century have scientific preventive measures been developed, and these are now beginning to play an important role in population and family planning.

In nearly every part of the world there is today a growing interest in planned parenthood. This interest stems from two major factors: First, there is an increased realization of the values of planned parenthood to individual and family welfare. It is being widely recognized that voluntary parenthood, the conscious regulation of reproduction, can contribute to the physical, emotional, and even spiritual stability of the family and the home. Second, there is a growing social awareness that population planning can contribute also to the social and economic stability of the family of nations and to the peace of the world. It is necessary today to bring about a better balance between populations and resources, between human fertility and soil fertility, between human production and human reproduction.

The widespread concern with population control at the present time is due in the main to the very rapid growth of the numbers of people throughout the world. In 1650, about 300 years ago, the total world population is estimated to have been about 500 million. Today it amounts to some two and three-quarter billion, or five times as many. These figures are significant. From the time when man first emerged upon the face of the earth, over a period of some hundreds of thousands of years, his numbers had been increasing very slowly. He was fruitful and he multiplied but the death rates from famine, from hunger, from wars nearly equaled the birth rate and populations remained fairly stable. Then quite suddenly, within a period of only 300 years, the global population increased fivefold, and at the present rate of growth it is likely to double every 40 years.

The reasons for this explosive rate of growth are many but the major cause has been the rapid conquest of disease. Fewer children die in infancy, fewer mothers die in childbirth, fewer men and women die from epidemic diseases. Everywhere the death rates have been declining and the population figures have been rapidly mounting.

This situation is leading many countries to concern themselves more intensively with the problem of population and to give greater thought to family planning as a partial solution to this problem. The following review presents the developments in planned parenthood in a number of the major countries in the world.

England

Malthusianism originated in England, and Great Britain was one of the first countries to accept family planning as a social practice. The

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first birth-control clinic was opened in London in 1922 by Dr. Marie Stopes. Since then, many other centers have been established by the English Family Planning Association, which is today an active and effective organization.

In 1944, a Royal Commission on Population was appointed especially to examine the population trends in Great Britain and to consider what measures, if any, should be taken in the national interest to influence future population growth. After a thorough and highly competent survey, the Commission brought in a comprehensive report and made a number of recommendations. On the question of voluntary parenthood, the Report stated:

> We take the view that it is in the long run interests of the family that voluntary parenthood should become universal and that women should have the maximum freedom in the ordering of their lives . . . with the spread of effective knowledge of contraception, voluntary parenthood will become more or less universal. This will accelerate the fall in the numbers of the larger families except among those who deliberately decide to have them; but it will help to secure that children, whether in large or small families, are wanted children and are not the result of ignorance.

This enlightened and realistic approach has been a guiding principle in the family-planning movement in England. It places the emphasis upon the importance of the happy and well-integrated family, rather than on the large family.

Scandinavian Countries

Equally liberal is the attitude on family planning in Sweden, Norway, and Denmark. Sweden has no restrictive laws on contraception. A Swedish Population Commission report, published in 1935-1938, also stressed the importance of voluntary parenthood as a means toward a democratic family and population policy. The Swedish Association for Sex Education, organized 25 years ago by the Swedish pioneer in this field, Mrs. Elise Ottesen-Jensen, has been an effective force in the development of enlightened sex education in the schools and in the development of family-planning programs. Under its auspices a number of contraceptive centers have been established in Sweden. The clinic in Stockholm is located on one of the main streets of the city and compares favorably with some of the best clinics in the United States. Family planning is widely recognized as an essential part of the country's social-welfare program. Clinics also exist in Norway and in Denmark, established by the Family Planning Associations in these countries.

Holland

Holland was among the first countries in the world to establish a contraceptive service. Under the leadership of Doctors John Rutgers and Aletta Jacobs, a center was organized in Amsterdam in 1890. Later several other centers were opened but these were staffed by trained midwives and nurses. In the 1930's, well-equipped clinics under medical direction were opened in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, and other cities. Following the German invasion during World War II, all the clinics were closed and a number of the physicians associated with them were arrested. Since the end of the war, however, a new association has been organized and family-planning clinics have been reopened in many cities. In spite of considerable religious opposition, these services have been expanding rapidly.

Germany and Austria

Before the Hitler regime, Germany had a progressive and active planned-parenthood movement. During the Weimar Republic, after World War I, marriage-counseling centers and birth-control clinics were opened in many German and Austrian cities, and much progress was being made in the social and scientific aspects of planned parenthood. With the coming of the Nazi regime, however, the centers were closed and many of the active leaders of the movement were arrested and some of them executed. Medical education in the field of fertility control was stopped, and the publication of medical literature on the subject ceased. The German physicians who were educated under the Hitler regime, and with whom I had occasion to talk when I visited Germany soon after the war, had little knowledge of contraception. They had been taught in their medical schools that the use of contraceptive measures was

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physically dangerous and socially and racially harmful. "In this respect," an older physician, who had survived the Hitler era, said to me at that time, "the German doctors are now fifty years behind the stage we had reached before the war."

In recent years, however, there has been a reawakening of social and medical interest in planned parenthood. At present a new movement is emerging in West Germany in response to a growing public awareness of the social and medical needs. Dr. Anne Marie Durant-Wever and Dr. Hans Harmsen, both pioneers in this field, have organized a new Family Planning Association. In 1957 they conducted a European conference on family planning and sex education in West Berlin, and they are making a valiant effort to re-establish birth-control clinics and a wider planned-parenthood movement in West Germany.

France, Italy, Spain, Belgium

In western European countries where the Catholic religion is the predominant faith of the people—in France, Italy, Belgium, and Spain—there are no planned-parenthood services. The sale of contraceptive materials and the dissemination of planned-parenthood information is prohibited by law. Materials are not available in the open market, except prophylactic sheaths that can also be used for the prevention of venereal disease.

Within recent years, however, planned-parenthood organizations have been emerging even in some of the Catholic countries. In Italy an organization known as The Italian Association for the Study of Demography was established in 1953 by Dr. Vittoria Olivetti and her co-workers. The objective of this group is to promote family-planning ideas in Italy and to establish clinical services for this purpose. In France, Dr. Laguen Weill-Halle initiated a group—the Maternité Heureuse—with a similar goal in mind. In both these countries abortion is very widespread, but the planned-parenthood organizations emphasize especially the value of contraceptive measures as a means of eliminating the dangers of resorting to illegal and underground abortion.

What is the Catholic position on the subject of planned parenthood? In an address at the World Population Conference, held in Rome in 1954, a Jesuit priest, Father Stanislaus L'Estapis, outlined the official Catholic attitude. According to the Catholic dogma, he said in effect: A couple should bring forth only the number of children they can adequately care for. Parenthood ought to be responsible. To achieve this purpose, however, Catholics can resort only to abstinence in marriage, or under certain conditions to periodic abstinence by following the rhythm method. The use of any mechanical or chemical preventive methods is considered to be against the moral law, against the law of nature, and hence prohibited by the Church. The major difference, then, is not on the basic idea of responsible or planned parenthood, but on the question of method and technique.

The Near East

In the Near East organized family-planning work has been established only in Egypt. Under the auspices of an official Population Committee, a number of centers have been established for teaching family-planning methods and for distribution of materials to that purpose. In the other Arabian countries—in Iran, Iraq, Syria, and Lebanon—there are no clinical contraceptive services in existence. A few individual physicians do provide contraceptive information but their services reach only a very small portion of the population in these areas.

The Moslem religion, in the main, is not opposed to the prevention of conception. In an article published in the *Journal of the Egyptian Medical Association* in July, 1937, the Grand Mufti of Egypt, in a comprehensive discussion of the question said, "It is permissible for either husband or wife, by mutual consent, to take any measures to prevent semen entering the uterus, in order to prevent conception." Other Moslem religious teachers, however, apparently hold a different view and oppose the dissemination of birth-control information.

Israel

In Israel, too, the strictly orthodox Jewish groups are averse to the use of contraceptive measures on religious grounds, and the government is opposed to population planning be-

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cause the nation is eager to increase its numbers at present. Nevertheless, a Family Planning group and a few contraceptive services have been established in Israel. The hospitals and the medical departments of the health-insurance agencies, as well as the public-health authorities, are now giving consideration to the question of family planning, even if only on the basis of individual needs. Many of the physicians in Israel today have been trained in the West and are therefore well-acquainted with contraceptive techniques. Some contraceptive materials are now being manufactured in Israel, and they are used quite widely by couples in both rural and urban centers.

Japan

In the 1920's, Baroness Shidzue Ishimoto, now known as Mrs. Kato, organized a small family-planning group and established a birth-control center in Tokyo. After the onset of the Sino-Japanese War, the government disbanded the organization and the clinic was closed. During the last decade, however, there has been a marked reawakening to the urgency of the population question in Japan and a number of important developments have taken place.

In 1920 the population of Japan was 55 million. When the 1948 census showed that the population had reached over 80 million, official Japan became greatly alarmed. Early in April, 1949, the Japanese government appointed the Population Problem Council, which was composed of eighteen members who were experts in demography and sociology. In its report the Council dealt with ways of developing measures to improve Japan's economy and to extend its capacity to absorb and to feed its growing numbers, and with the need of readjusting population growth by popularizing the idea of contraception among all strata in the nation. The Council recommended, among other things, that the health centers and eugenic consultation offices throughout the country be mobilized to teach contraceptive practices and that the government furnish certain classes of the people with contraceptive drugs and materials free of charge.

In the same year, 1949, a so-called Eugenic Protection Law was adopted by the Japanese Diet. The law provided for the voluntary or, in some cases, compulsory sterilization of people with hereditary diseases or deformities, and also for the legal performance of artificial interruption of pregnancy when serious injury to the mother was feared for physical or economic reasons. This law was further amended in 1952 to give physicians even greater latitude in resorting to sterilizations and abortions, and thus abortion was practically legalized in Japan.

As a result of this new law, the number of pregnancy interruptions grew steadily. In 1950, some 500,000 official abortions were performed. By 1957 the number had reached over a million, not counting the number of unofficial and unreported abortions, which probably amounted to several hundred thousand. Although in the last three years there has been a slight decline in the incidence of official operations, the number of abortions still exceeds the number of live births in Japan.

India

India's present population is some 390 million people and it is growing at a rate of some 6 million annually. In 1946 a Health Survey and Development Committee, appointed by the Indian government, recommended that free contraceptives be supplied by the state whenever further pregnancy would be detrimental to the health of the mother. There are no legal or religious prohibitions against the use of contraceptives among the Hindus, although the teachings of Gandhi, who was opposed to contraception and advocated continence as the only method of family limitation, still have a very wide influence in India.

The Indian government, however, has recognized the vital importance of family planning for that country. In a discussion of the problem in April, 1951, Prime Minister Nehru said, "I am entirely in favor of limiting the growth of the population by institution of various methods, including birth control."

This attitude was later implemented by a practical plan. In 1951, the Health Ministry of India requested the World Health Organization to send a special consultant in family planning to advise the Indian government, and the writer was privileged to go on this mission. He re-

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mained in India for some ten weeks, traveling through the country and consulting with governmental, social, and public health leaders. As a result of the increased governmental interest, a considerable amount of progress is being made in the development of a family-planning program in India.

In 1952 the first Five-Year Plan was adopted by the Indian Parliament. The plan related to the social, economic, industrial, educational, medical, and health programs in India. One special chapter was devoted to family planning in India and read in part as follows:

> Thee recent increase in the population of India and the pressure exercised on the limited resources of the country have brought to the forefront the urgency of the problem of family planning and population control. The application of medical knowledge and social care has lowered the death rate, while the birthrate remains fairly constant. This has led to the rapid increase in the growth of population. While a lowering of the birthrate may occur as a result of improvements in the standard of living, such improvements are not likely to materialize if there is a concurrent increase of population. It is, therefore, apparent that population control can be achieved only by the reduction of the birthrate to the extent necessary to stabilize the population at a level consistent with the requirements of national economy. This can be secured only by the realization of the need for family limitation on a wide scale by the people. The main appeal for family planning is based on considerations of health and welfare of the family. Family limitation or spacing of the children is necessary and desirable in order to secure better health for the mother and better care and upbringing of children. Measures directed to this end should, therefore, form part of the public health program.

To meet this need the government allocated over a million dollars to the Ministry of Health for the development of the family-planning program. Later, when the second Five-Year Plan was adopted in 1956, the amount was increased to 10 million dollars for a program of services, education, and research which is now under way. In India planned parenthood is no longer a matter of controversy; it is accepted as essential for family welfare and for national welfare.

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ABRAHAM STONE

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Polynesia, Sex Life in

SINCE the first island within the huge Polynesian triangle delimited by Hawaii, New Zealand, and Easter Island was discovered in 1595 by the Spaniard Mendaña, who passed through and named the Marquesas group, the Polynesians have enjoyed an unrivaled reputation for their sexual freedom and hospitality.

Beginning with Quiros' chronicle of Mendaña's voyage, all accounts of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Pacific explorers are full of enthusiastic descriptions of the warm receptions given them at each landfall in Polynesia by crowds of beautiful and willing women. One of Bougainville's companions, the naturalist Commerson, even went as far as to assert (*Mercure de France*, November 1769) that the Tahitians "know no other god than love. Every day is consecrated to him. The whole island is his temple in which all the women are idols and all the men worshippers. And what women!" Knowing that Commerson was an eager reader of Rousseau, it is difficult to withhold the suspicion that he somewhat idealized the conditions. But Captain Cook, who was a very dispassionate and reliable observer, did not hesitate to make the following bold statement: "There is a scale in dissolute sensuality, which these peoples have ascended, wholly unknown to every other nation whose manners have been recorded from the beginning of the world to the present hour, and which no imagination could possibly conceive." Later visitors to Polynesia have told about their experiences in books with such alluring titles as *Isles of Eden*, *Island Daughters of Joy*, and *The Island of Desire* and have contributed to create the now prevailing picture in Europe and America of Polynesia as the paradise of absolutely free, uninhibited love.

This is, however, a far from true picture. Sexual freedom undoubtedly was—and still is—much greater in Polynesia than in our Western Christian societies; it is even probable that if we could compile a list of all known societies and arrange them according to degree of social control of the sex instinct, putting the strictest first and the mildest last, our own society would come first and the Polynesian, as Cook suggested, somewhere near the bottom. (Murdock has made such an attempt in Chapter 9 of his book *Social Structure*, but unfortunately it is inconclusive due to inadequate information about many cultures.)

Sexual freedom in Polynesia was never complete. Not only were there many prohibitions but they seem to have been very strictly observed. The following general characteristics of these prohibitions, or moral norms, must be stressed:

1. They reflected very closely the aristocratic character of the Polynesian society, i.e., the chiefs and nobles had much greater sexual freedom than the commoners.

2. They were not always the same for the men and the women; as a rule the former had somewhat more sexual freedom than the latter.

3. Sexual sanctions became gradually more numerous and severe as the individual advanced in years.

The past tense has been used throughout this

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article because its aim is first and foremost to reconstruct the pre-European conditions in Polynesia. The source material for this reconstruction is therefore mainly the printed and unprinted accounts of sea captains, missionaries, traders, and other early visitors and residents, whenever possible checked against later studies by professional anthropologists, including the author's own observation on islands where ancient customs still survive. It should also be pointed out here that interisland differences were so insignificant at the time of the discovery that Polynesia, at least for the present purpose, can be treated as an area of uniform culture.

General Attitude toward Sex

The Polynesian attitude toward sexual matters can best be described as appreciative, realistic, and frank. The sexual partner or the circumstances for intercourse might be considered wrong at some times, but sexual pleasure itself was never considered evil or repulsive to a Polynesian. Not even the gods and the priests regarded sex as sinful but themselves showed a hearty sexual appetite. Unknown also was the European romantic conception of love as a mysterious, almost supernatural force whose causes are undefinable. In Polynesia love was a game rather than a metaphysical entity, and the reasons that compelled a man or a woman to choose a particular partner in love or marriage were always entirely realistic.

To the Polynesians the sexual act was just as simple and natural as eating and drinking, and they could therefore talk of it in the same unembarrassed and direct manner. Likewise, all the parts of the body had names, which could be used at any time and anywhere, and it made no difference whether only one or both sexes were present.

Contrary to what one might suppose, Polynesians were comparatively well clothed, and only children under 5 went about quite naked. The older boys and men, when at work, wore a girdle of bark-cloth or plaited pandanus leaves and the older girls and women were clad in bark-cloth or leaf skirts reaching from the waist to the knees. The parts of the female body that Polynesians felt should be covered did not include the breasts, which therefore excited male interest very slightly. In sharp contrast to this, both men and women took great care to hide the genital organs, and it was especially unseemly for a woman to expose the lower part of the body. This may seem to accord but poorly with the numerous references in the literature to naked South Sea beauties. But the contradictions are only apparent, and it can in each case easily be shown that the narrator had witnessed a formal dance or a public exhibition in sexual technique, at which special occasions the Polynesian performers were allowed to diverge from the current rules of dress.

Means of Attraction

In Polynesia it was primarily physical qualities that made a man or woman desirable, and those most valued were beauty and sexual experience. The Polynesians resembled or even exceeded the Greeks in their intense worship of beauty; this is shown by the many stories of chiefs or nobles who made long and perilous sea voyages to distant islands to win famous beauties, whose bodily charms were described in a most detailed and realistic manner. Beauty competitions were also frequently held on all the islands, and the winners gained both honor and material advantages.

The Polynesian ideal of beauty was, however, very different from ours. To be regarded as perfect, a man or woman first had to be stout. An equally important requirement was to be white-skinned. This unexpected admiration for white skin in a people the overwhelming majority of whom were light brown is presumably due to the fact that the rulers who set the fashion were descendants of a light-skinned tribe; but whatever the origin of this preference, it explains to a large extent why European visitors always were so well received.

In order to improve on nature, Polynesian youths, especially those of noble birth, underwent protracted fattening and bleaching treatments. Men and women of all classes bathed several times a day and rubbed themselves regularly with oil to protect the skin and make it soft. It was also very important to have a pleasant smell, and those who were most bent on conquest used perfumes and decked them-

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selves with sweet-scented wreaths of flowers. Clothes played a subordinate role as means of attraction, since all Polynesians dressed practically alike.

The Sexual Act

An excellent testimony to the value the Polynesians attached to sexual proficiency is Gifford's statement in his *Tongan Society*: "If a young man refrained from cohabiting with women previous to his marriage he was not highly desirable among the unmarried girls."

Intercourse between a married couple usually took place at night in their sleeping hut. Intercourse between occasional partners, either sanctioned or unsanctioned, more often than not took place during the day under the palm trees.

A prolonged foreplay seldom occurred, and at any rate the man seldom stroked the woman's breast. Kissing in the European sense was unknown and affection was instead shown through pressing noses together. To judge by present conditions (which give us our only clues in this case), little refinement in form of frequent changes of coital position was practiced, but men set great value on women who were able to make the kind of rotatory movement that was the basic element of their erotic dances. The ideal male partner showed great strength and endurance and was able to achieve and evoke several orgasms in rapid succession.

Because of the collectivistic character of Polynesian life, a loving couple had much less need to be alone and often had intercourse in the same house or in the same part of the wood as other couples.

Childhood

As might be expected of a people with so emphatic and appreciative an attitude toward sex as the Polynesians, they made no attempt to suppress sexuality in the younger generation. On the contrary, parents encouraged their children to indulge in free experimentation and realistic play.

To begin with, sexual instruction simply took the form of letting the children listen freely to the candid, outspoken conversations of their parents and relations. As all the members of the family slept in the same hut without partitions, the children often witnessed the sexual act in their own homes, and were also allowed, as the most natural thing in the world, to be present at deliveries, nude dancing, and demonstrations in the technique of sexual intercourse.

Masturbation was considered quite natural, and parents often urged their children to masturbate when they wanted peace and quiet, more or less as we give our children rubber teats. When the children grew older they had to learn various sex games. "Daddy, Mummy, and children," for example, was played much more realistically than our children play it. After a pretended cohabitation with a boy of the same age, the girl-mother, for example, often stuffed a coconut inside her dress and gave birth to her child, imitating labor pains very dramatically and letting the nut fall at the proper moment.

Dances of an erotic character were common. Cook wrote that in Tahiti, dances of this type were "performed by young girls, whenever eight or ten of them can be collected together," and added that they consisted of "motions and gestures beyond imagination wanton, in which they are brought up from their earliest childhood, accompanied by words, which, if it were possible, would more explicitly convey the same idea." Small children imitating sexual intercourse were a common sight on all islands. Only children of the same age, however, took part in these sexual games, and it was considered in the highest degree improper and abnormal for an adult person to show any interest in them. Any such offense was punished with extreme severity.

Puberty

No special puberty ceremonies or virility tests took place in Polynesia, but as soon as the children reached physical maturity their sexual education was completed with practical instruction in the technique of intercourse. This was done by letting the boys and girls have their first real intercourse with an older, experienced person. In most cases the instructors were older boys or girls who belonged to the same set, but often recourse was had to an aunt, uncle, or other relative of their parents' genera-

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tion. Peter Buck gives a good description of this custom in his study, *Ethnology of Tongareva*: "The father appointed a woman of mature age to act as instructress and perform the ceremony of pressing back the foreskin of the penis. The purpose of this manipulation was to 'snap the tie,' *kia motu te sele*. The snapping of the tie was not the rupturing of the frenum as the wording might imply but the stretching of the opening of the foreskin so that it might pass the glans. For the custom the instructress and the victim retired to a hut where the coconut leaf wall sheets were lowered and only themselves were present. The ceremony of manipulation and instruction ended in coitus."

At the age of puberty the boys were also circumcised, except among the Maori people. The form of circumcision practiced by the Polynesians should perhaps be called incision or superincision, because instead of removing the foreskin, only a longitudinal slit was made in the upper side of it. The "operation" was quite painless and simple, and was usually performed with a bamboo knife by a priest-physician. Public opinion was so strongly in favor of superincision that practically all boys submitted to it; the few who eluded this obligation were made the butt of jeers and were unable to find any female partners.

Adolescence

The years immediately following puberty were the merriest, most carefree time of a Polynesian's life. Boys and girls of that age had as yet few duties toward their family and could therefore devote most of their time to dance, song, sport, and amusement. As a rule, they formed loosely organized "gangs" and roamed about from place to place. It must be stressed, however, that these gangs fulfilled an important social function, as they supplied their community with dancers, singers, entertainers, and workers any time a festival was celebrated—which puts them in a completely different category from our big-city youth gangs.

The parents thought it quite natural that the young people should give unrestrained expression to their *joie de vivre*, and sexual freedom was always unrestricted. A girl was definitely looked down upon if she remained at home, and mothers boasted openly if their girls attracted an unusually large number of boys. On many islands the youths built special pleasure houses where they could entertain each other with song and dance and make love. These pleasure houses have often been compared to brothels but, despite certain outward similarities, the Polynesian pleasure houses were fundamentally unlike our establishments. They were visited only by unmarried young people, and the girls themselves chose their partners. Also, no sort of recompense was given; the very idea of payment would never have occurred to a Polynesian. Finally, the pleasure houses were not regarded as establishments of a socially or morally inferior nature, but were considered respectable in the highest degree.

If a girl happened to become pregnant, no particular significance was attached to it and no sanctions were imposed. As a matter of fact, a girl who had had a child before marriage was more sought after as a wife than one who had not, for she had thus shown that she was fertile, which was of great importance in the eyes of a Polynesian man.

There was one exception to the general rule that adolescence was a period of complete sexual freedom: the daughters of the most important chiefs had to be virgins. Tongan and Samoan chiefs were particularly strict about this, and high-born girls in these islands were never allowed to be alone, night or day. In Samoa such virgins acted as village hostesses, were given the best food, and were freed from all hard work, which shows the immense prestige they enjoyed. Although on other islands the number of such girls was smaller and the supervision more lax, the highest chiefs' daughters were urged to remain chaste. This rule was obviously due to a desire to keep the noble blood pure, for if the daughters of the nobility had been allowed the same freedom as ordinary girls, it would have been impossible to prevent them from occasionally having a child by a man of lower birth. To the class-conscious noble families such an event was considered an appalling disaster.

Marriage

Almost all Polynesian boys and girls married as soon as they became adults, and the only real

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obstacles to finding a life companion were deformity, extreme ugliness, or permanent disablement. This general preference for married life was, as is true among most other primitive peoples, mainly due to the fact that the family fulfilled important social and economic functions, and a married person fared much better in the struggle for existence than an unmarried person.

Numerous rules determined the choice of the marriage partner, their mutual rights, and the duties of a married couple. In all Polynesia marriages were prohibited not only between brothers and sisters but also between cousins and second cousins, and on many islands these taboos included even third cousins and great-grandchildren of cousins. A most remarkable and revealing exception occurred in Hawaii and Rarotonga, where sisters and brothers in the ruling families often married one another. In this case it was evidently due to the anxiety to preserve the purity of the noble blood.

A man or woman was not forbidden to seek a spouse outside his or her own tribe, but few seem to have done so. This is in accord with the Polynesians' strong feeling of kinship and need of family support. On the other hand, marriages outside the class barriers were generally regarded as almost criminal, and only if both parties belonged to the same class could somewhat lower birth be compensated for by personal advantages, primarily beauty and sexual accomplishment.

To prevent *mésalliances* it was chiefly the parents and not the young people themselves who decided whom they should marry. The higher the parents' social position, the more relatives had to be consulted, and when the heir to a really prominent ruler was to marry, the pros and cons of the contemplated union were generally discussed for several days at a meeting of hundreds of tribal members. How little regard high-born parents had for their children's feelings is seen by the fact that sons and daughters were often married off or betrothed while they were still children. Among the lower classes the young people had much greater freedom of choice, but in every case they had to have the parents' consent.

Only in the higher classes was a special marriage ceremony considered necessary; commoners were regarded as married from the moment they began to live together with their parents' consent. In the islands where the chastity of the chiefs' daughters was most strictly guarded, public defloration took place in connection with the wedding feast.

Extramarital Relations

The Polynesians' ideal, like our own, was marital fidelity, but certain exceptions were made. As usual, the chiefs had greater liberty than their subjects, but the following three kinds of extramarital connections were allowed in all classes:

1. Between a married man and his sisters-in-law, and between a married woman and her brothers-in-law. As cousins were regarded as brothers and sisters, the number of permissible extramarital connections of this kind was quite considerable.

2. Between a married man and his name-brother's wife and sisters-in-law, and between a married woman and her husband's name-brother and his brothers. As in many other countries, it often happened that two men entered into a sworn brotherhood, which compact was sealed by an exchange of names. These name-brothers had the same sexual rights as real brothers.

3. Between a married woman and a male guest of the family, as determined by the husband.

In addition, high chiefs had the right to engage in all kinds of casual love affairs, the extent and number of which depended on each individual chief's power and diplomatic skill.

A divorce could easily be obtained, and it was considered quite natural and fully permissible for a man and woman to divorce simply because they considered themselves unsuited to each other. The divorce took place without any formalities whatsoever, and the practical and economic problems were easily solved by either the husband or wife—depending on whose parents the couple lived with—going back to his or her parents. The goods and chattels were divided between the parties, and if they had any children the wife usually took the girls and babies with her and the husband kept the older boys.

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To the Polynesians it was quite unthinkable for an adult to live alone. Divorced men and women and widows and widowers married again quickly. As in ancient Israel, the levirate was an honored custom, which meant that a widow as a rule married a younger brother of the deceased husband. This was considered especially important if the widow had many children, because it was only in this way that the children could be kept in the family to which they belonged by blood. For the widow such a remarriage did not involve any great changes, as in most cases she already lived under the same roof as her brother-in-law and was accustomed to having sexual intercourse with him.

Polygamy

Although there was no formal obstacle to a commoner entering into a polygamous union, in reality polygamy was practiced almost exclusively among the nobility. Another and equally typical Polynesian limitation was that, on most of the islands, polygamy was mainly a privilege of the male sex. Thanks to the care with which the Polynesians have preserved their genealogies, it is possible to determine in a fairly satisfactory manner the extent to which polygamy occurred. The computations that have been made show that, at the most, 20 per cent of the total number of marriages were polygynous. However, large harems did not exist, and even very powerful chiefs rarely had more than two or three wives.

Polygyny was obviously not practiced out of a desire for change and new sexual experience, since Polynesian chiefs could satisfy this need with much less difficulties and responsibilities by the many extramarital liaisons to which they were entitled. There were other more compelling reasons. In the first place, all chiefs wanted a male heir and a great number of children in order to continue the family and increase its power. If the first wife was barren or produced only girls, the husband regarded it as his duty to the family and the community to take another wife. There were also economic reasons. A chief had a high standard of living to maintain, and was compelled to house and entertain guests of all kinds. The work involved was of course facilitated by having several wives. Finally, there were many social and political considerations. As new and important political alliances had continually to be concluded and social connections established (and these objects were best attained by marriage), the chiefs found it only natural to remarry as the occasion demanded.

As in many other respects, the Marquesan Islands occupied a special position regarding the form of polygamy. Everywhere else in Polynesia the normal form of polygamy was polygyny, but the preferred form there was polyandry. The exception is at first sight all the more remarkable as polyandry is an extremely rare form of marriage, whereas about 80 per cent of the peoples of the world allow polygynous marriages. Opler (1943), for instance, who made a critical study of all alleged cases of polyandry, accepted the evidence regarding the Todas in southern India and the Marquesan Islanders as the only authentic instances of polyandry.

The main reason for the predominance of polygyny in Polynesia is the undeniable fact that it was a man-dominated society. In the Marquesas the men also dominated the social life, so there must have been strong factors working in the opposite direction. An important factor was that there was, strangely enough, only a small surplus of men. Another and perhaps still more important consideration was that Polynesian prestige rivalry had taken a very peculiar form in the Marquesas. The terrain was hillier than on other Polynesian islands, and to obtain a level foundation for a house the Marquesans always made a stone platform first. This platform-building had, with time, degenerated into a competition to possess the largest and finest platforms, and for a household to be able to maintain this prestige it was necessary for many men to belong in it.

Although the excess of men and prestige rivalry combined to create a situation in which polyandry was the most advantageous form of marriage, no such marriages would probably have developed if a precedent had not been set: occasional cases of polyandry also occurred on other islands. Thus, far from being the completely isolated and unique phenomenon that it superficially seemed to be, the Marquesan form

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of marriage was only an adaptation of the Polynesian characteristic of adjusting to reality.

Like the polygynous marriages elsewhere in Polynesia, the Marquesan polyandrous marriages were restricted to the most high-ranking families. In yet another respect they were surprisingly similar to those prevailing in the rest of Polynesia, for a Marquesan woman who lived in a polyandrous union had very little power and authority, and it was always one of the husbands who was head of the family. The other husbands in the household were also subordinated to the chief husband, and not to the wife. The chief husband, moreover, was always regarded as father of all the children to which the wife gave birth. It might therefore be said that a Marquesan polyandrous family consisted not of a woman who was married to several men, but of a man married to a woman, and several other men.

There is no indication that there was any rivalry between the husbands. On the contrary, the first husband always tried to obtain as many ancillary husbands as possible for his wife. As the only factor that could induce a man to join a household was the sexual attraction of the woman, the Marquesans set an extraordinarily high value, even according to Polynesian standards, on beauty and sex appeal.

Homosexuality

Data on homosexual activities are very scarce, and the only thing we know for sure is that at least in the Society and Marquesan Islands a certain number of men freely indulged in such activities without suffering any social opprobrium. If we accept the hypothesis put forward by Kinsey and his collaborators that every human being has a physiological capacity to respond to sufficient stimuli originating in persons either of his own or of the other sex, and will do so unless culturally conditioned against making such responses, it is easy to understand why there were homosexual individuals in a society with such a liberal moral code as the Polynesian.

Considerably more difficult to explain is why, in the above-mentioned island groups, some of the homosexual men were also transvestites. But the statement by Wilson (1799) that the transvestites in Tahiti were always "kept by the principal chiefs" gives us a certain clue. All the servants in a chief's household were men, and to those who waited regularly on the noble women and performed female duties *the same taboos were applied as to women.* When a servant of this kind (who was thus, from the social standpoint, already regarded as a woman) was also homosexual, he might eventually take the logical step to identify himself completely with the other sex by assuming female dress. Another conceivable possibility is that a servant who was originally heterosexual might, simply from being continually identified with women, be tempted to play a woman's part in all respects.

Unwanted Children

The Polynesians knew of no contraceptive techniques, either chemical or mechanical, and had only the faintest idea of the female reproductive cycle. (Nor did any venereal diseases exist before the first contact with Europeans.) As a result of their intense sexual activity, many unwanted children were therefore born.

A device all women resorted to was to give away children, and adoption was a common Polynesian institution. Other ways of solving the problem, equally accepted and permitted by the society, were abortion and infanticide. In some cases the mother had to wait until after the birth of the child to dispose of it because attempts at abortion had failed. In other cases she evidently preferred to wait, either because she considered an abortion unpleasant and dangerous, or because she wanted to know if the child was a boy or a girl before making a decision regarding its fate.

Overpopulation was a serious problem on many islands in pre-European times and was without any doubt one of the main reasons for the frequent abortions and infanticides. The fact that these methods were employed more often among the lower classes than among the chiefs' families and the widespread custom of killing girls rather than boys point in the same direction. Egoistic motives also played a considerable part among both married and unmarried women, to which must be added the extremely important class considerations. The contempt

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of noblemen and noblewomen for people of low birth did not prevent all of them from having amorous liaisons with persons outside their class, but to allow a child of socially unequal persons to live was out of the question, as this would have diluted the noble blood and eventually wiped out class boundaries altogether. Since all these factors—overpopulation, pursuit of pleasure, and considerations of birth—were present to a much higher degree in Tahiti and Hawaii than in any other group, abortions and infanticide were much more frequent there than elsewhere in Polynesia.

The Arioi Society

The sexual practices of the members of the Tahitian *arioi* society have provoked more comments and curiosity than any other aspect of Polynesian sex life.

The most easily observable behavior of the men and women who belonged to the society was that they practiced absolutely free love and traveled about in the Society Islands, singing, dancing, and feasting. These pleasant activities were the only ones noticed by the earliest visitors. In reality, however, the society had another and much more serious purpose and was far from being as unique a phenomenon as it seemed when its existence first became known in Europe.

Like the polyandrous marriage form in the Marquesas Islands, the *arioi* society merely represented a further development of certain customs and ideas found everywhere in Polynesia but combined in a new and original manner. The prototype and embryo of the society were the loosely organized gangs of adolescents: on the neighboring Marquesas, Tuamotu, Austral, and Cook Islands the adolescents were called *karioi* or *ka'ioi*, according to the local dialect. Whereas a youth left these gangs to get married when he or she grew up, a member of the *arioi* society could remain as long as he liked. To become an *arioi*, therefore, was equivalent to obtaining the permission of the community to continue the merry, unrestrained life of a Polynesian boy or girl.

The most important difference, however, between the gangs of adolescents and the *arioi* society was that the latter had a religious object. Although no contradiction between religion and sex ever existed in Polynesia, the direct employment of sex in the service of religion, as was done by the *arioi* society, was different. The *arioi* members believed that their society had been founded by one of the gods, Oro, who had begun as a war god but had later taken over the role of god of fertility. The society was organized something like a masonic order with seven grades, and a man or woman who wished to be received into it had to go through a long period of probation. The society demanded of its members skill in dancing and singing, a profound knowledge of the religious myths and rites, and absolute obedience to their leaders. Another respect in which the society again resembled a masonic order was that it was divided into lodges on a geographical basis.

Sometimes the *arioi* members were sent for to provide entertainment at a marriage, the investiture of a new chief, or other ceremonial occasions, but they generally took the initiative themselves and required no pretext for a visit to a neighboring island beyond the fact that they were missionaries. The religious propaganda was, however, always very discreet, and the main part of their program consisted in dancing, singing, athletic contests, and sexual exhibitions. The numerous accounts in the literature of these Tahitian-style divine services have, since the time of Rousseau to the present day, contributed strongly to distort our ideas about Polynesian sex life.

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BENGT DANIELSSON

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Population and Sex

Definition

THE word "population" refers to the number of people. The people concerned may be those who dwell in some area, such as a region or country, or those who make up a category (such as those who are above age 65), or both. The science of population, sometimes called "demography," deals with the accurate determination of the number of people and with the causes and consequences of changes in the number.

There are only three direct factors that can cause a change in population—the birth rate, the death rate, and migration. Any other factors must operate through one or more of these three. Accordingly, demographers deal with the statistical measurement and causal analysis of trends in fertility, mortality, and migration, and with the relation of these to the structure and size of human populations.

The consequences of population trends are economic, political, sociological, and genetic; and they may arise from the growth or decline in the number of people, from a change in the structure of the population (such as the age-sex composition), or directly from changes in birth, death, or migration rates.

Sex and Population

Obviously, the demographer's chief interest in sexual behavior arises from the role of sexual intercourse in reproduction and hence in the birth rate. The connection between sexual intercourse and the birth rate is, however, more complex and less direct than most physicians realize. When confronted with a change in the birth rate, or with a difference in the rate between one group and another, people often jump to the conclusion that the explanation lies either in a difference in the amount of sexual intercourse or in some change in the physical capacity to reproduce.

Thus, the high birth rates in underdeveloped countries are forever being "explained" by humorous references to an absence of recreational facilities that presumably raises the frequency of coitus, or else by reference to an alleged natural fecundity. Actually, no sound evidence has ever been adduced to show that there is any relation between either the frequency of intercourse or the inherent fertility and the level of the birth rate in any population.

Factors Affecting the Birth Rate

The exaggeration of the role of sexual intercourse and inherent fertility in birth-rate trends could be called the "biologistic fallacy" in popular reasoning about population. It overlooks the fact that the reproduction rate of any population, as Davis and Blake (1956) have shown, is determined by eleven specific variables, of which coital frequency per se is only one. These factors are classified into three groups: (1) those affecting exposure to intercourse, (2) those affecting exposure to conception, and (3) those affecting gestation and successful parturition.

The first group is divided into two subclasses: (a) factors governing the formation and dissolution of sexual unions, and (b) factors governing the exposure to intercourse within unions. The reason for this subdivision is that in every society there are customs and rules governing the age at which people may

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get married (or start having sexual intercourse); there are social determinants of the proportion of women—large or small—who never marry (or start having intercourse) at all; and there are social customs or rules that determine how long the waiting period must be before a woman who is widowed or divorced can marry again, or whether she can remarry at all.

Unless the effect of these sociological factors governing the formation of unions is understood, we cannot see the behavior *within* unions in proper perspective. In other words, the second subclass—factors governing exposure to intercourse *within* unions—is limited in its effect by the first subclass. For example, there may be few limits to intercourse once people get married, but if a large proportion of women remain celibate, or if they enter reproductive unions at a late age, then the birth rate will nevertheless be low. Even within unions (or marriages), the restraints on intercourse may be of a ritualistic kind, calling for periods of voluntary abstinence, or of an accidental character (due to impotence, illness, unavoidable but temporary separations, etc.). Such restraints on intercourse differ in nature from coital frequency, which refers to how often intercourse is indulged in by a couple during periods when abstinence is neither enjoined nor forced on them by circumstances.

The second group of factors—those dealing with exposure to conception—illustrates further the danger of attributing reproductive performance to coital frequency. Sexual intercourse may or *may not* lead to conception, depending on two factors—whether contraception is used (and how successfully), and whether one of the parties is sterile or not. Since demographers are interested in the reproductive performance of groups of people, they distinguish carefully between the capacity to reproduce and the *actual* rate of reproduction. The former they refer to as "fecundity," the second, as "fertility"—a usage which is unfortunately different from that in medicine.

The "fecundity" of a population (its capacity to reproduce) has never been determined; it remains a theoretical concept, although it has been approximated statistically. Fertility (the actual rate of reproduction), on the other hand, is measurable by relating births to the population by age. A population that is perfectly capable of a very high birth rate may, as we know, have a low birth rate because it uses contraception successfully. It may also have a young age at marriage and a normal frequency of coitus within marriage; but, most of the time, it simply prevents intercourse from resulting in conception.

The third group of factors—those pertaining to gestation and parturition—means that even when coitus has occurred and has led to a conception, a live birth still may not result. A miscarriage, deliberate abortion, or stillbirth may have intervened. In some societies (e.g., Japan) voluntary abortion has been a principal means by which the birth rate is kept down. In other cases, notably among American Negroes, spontaneous abortion and stillbirths have been a significant factor.

In sum, any acceptable explanation of the birth rate must take into account all the kinds of factors mentioned. To pay attention only to some one factor, such as coital frequency or an assumed biological capacity or incapacity, is to give an erroneous interpretation. This point can be brought out more clearly, as we shall now attempt to do, by analyzing, for the sake of illustration, the differences in fertility between two countries and by reviewing the course of fertility in the entire world in modern times.

Fertility in Ireland and the United States

During the seven years 1950–1956, there was an average of 21.3 births per year for each 1,000 inhabitants in Ireland, and an average of 24.5 in the United States. If we look at these rates in comparison to a country such as Mexico, where the average birth rate during the same years was 45.5, they strike us as being quite similar. We might therefore assume that Ireland and the United States, demographically speaking, are much alike; but nothing could be further from the truth. Or, we might be puzzled by the fact that the Irish birth rate is lower than the American. We might, for example, say to ourselves that Ireland is strongly Roman Catholic and that therefore their birth rate should be higher; but this would be a non sequitur.

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The first thing to bear in mind is that the birth rates used in the comparison are crude rates. Actually, most people (e.g. men, children, old women) are not capable of giving birth, so they should not be counted among the population at risk. Ireland has an older population than the United States (due to heavy emigration of young people), and this fact tends to push down her crude birth rate. Actually, the average number of births per 1,000 women aged 15–45 in the two countries is virtually identical, being 108 in Ireland on the average during 1950–1952, as against 106 in the United States. The similarity in level of fertility is thus greater than the crude rates imply.

The manner by which Ireland and the United States reach this common result is similar in only one respect: in both countries the births outside of wedlock are few. Other than that, the pattern is utterly different. The Irish control their birth rate primarily by marrying late, by not marrying at all, and by abstinence (for females) outside of marriage. The Americans control their birth rate primarily by practicing contraception within and outside of marriage. The following figures show the difference in pattern:

TABLE 1. PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES IN AGE GROUP WHO HAVE EVER MARRIED

	AGE					
	15–19	*20–24*	*25–29*	*30–34*	*35–39*	*40–44*
U.S., 1950	17.1	67.7	86.7	90.7	91.6	91.7
Ireland, 1951	1.1	17.7	45.6	63.6	71.5	73.3

More American girls aged 20–24 are, or have been, married than is the case with Irish women aged 30–34. More than a fourth of all Irish women never marry at all, and those who marry do so at about age 30 on the average. In the United States, only 8 per cent of the women fail to marry, and the rest get married for the first time at about age 20, as a rule. Normally a woman's reproductive span lasts about 30 years. If marriage is postponed until age 30 (assuming no illegitimacy), half of this span is lost to reproduction, and if this were the sole factor operating, the birth rate would be reduced by at least 50 per cent. If the age at marriage is 20, then only one-sixth of the reproductive span is lost to reproduction. Furthermore, still assuming no illegitimacy, the reproduction of women who never marry at all is totally lost. Roughly speaking, more than 60 per cent of the potential birth rate in Ireland is reduced by marital postponement and nonmarriage among females, whereas in the United States less than 25 per cent is lost by these two factors.

If the marriage pattern were the sole difference between Ireland and the United States, the birth rate in the latter country would be twice that in Ireland. Since this is not the case, we must search for compensating factors in the Irish situation. This is to be found in the fact that the women of Ireland, once they get married, have more babies, doubtless principally because they practice contraception less. We find, for example, that the births per 1,000 married women under age 45 in Ireland during 1950–1952 were 254 per year, whereas in the United States the figure was only 155. Thus, married women in Ireland exhibit a birth rate about 65 per cent greater than do those in the United States. This compensates for the Irish postponement or abnegation of marriage and would give the two countries approximately the same crude birth rate if it were not for the difference in the age structure of their populations.

Demographic History

Ireland is unique in the world. Nowhere else do women marry so late in life or so frequently give up marriage altogether and yet have so little sexual life or reproduction outside marriage. Sweden has a relatively late age at marriage, but this is compensated for by a high rate of illegitimacy. If we look back over the last two centuries we find that the industrial peoples have tended to check their birth rates by the relatively simple means of abortion and birth control rather than by the drastic means of partial or total celibacy.

To understand the motives for checking the birth rate, we have to realize that mankind prior to the industrial revolution was normally subject to short-term (and sometimes violent), fluctuations in population, with virtual stability of numbers in the long run. The fluctuations were due to the death rate, which was almost

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uncontrollable and which came in spells with wars, epidemics, and famines. The birth rate tended to be high; only those communities could survive that had enough offspring to offset the high mortality. The problem was how to get enough children, not how to stop them. Built into the social systems of the preindustrial societies, then, were strong incentives leading people to want to marry and to beget children. With the economic revolution that came to Europe in the period after 1500, death rates began gradually to decline, and this decline began to be fast and steady in the most advanced countries after 1850. The birth rate, however, remained comparatively high; there was thus a lag of the decline in birth rates behind the decline in death rates. This lag gave rise to the fastest population growth ever known until that time.

Actually, the greatest gains in saving lives were made at younger ages. The lowering of the death rate therefore was equivalent to a rise in the birth rate, since more of the children survived. The same birth rate that had previously prevailed would give rise to much larger families. Whereas in the old days a woman who had borne seven children might have only three of them living by a later time, the tendency was now for five or six of them to survive.

Thus, the nineteenth century came to be the century of big families. With the rise of cities, with the breakdown of class barriers and the consequent opportunity for social climbing, with the decline of the home as a place to work and of the family as a productive unit, and with the rising importance of education for social advancement, these abnormally large families became increasingly onerous to the parents. Under these conditions the age of marriage tended to come later and more people eschewed marriage altogether. But abortions also tended to increase, and above all the birth-control movement began.

Virtually all official bodies and guardians of traditional morality at first opposed contraception, and this is still true in many Western countries, but the desperation of couples faced with unlimited childbearing led them to seek whatever birth-control means they could find. The result was that in the early twentieth century the birth rate in industrial nations declined faster than the death rate until, in the 1930's, the rate of population growth had been greatly reduced. The low point was mainly due, however, to the Depression. With the return of prosperity, with the increase in social security and state services to the family, there was a revival of the birth rate throughout the industrial world, especially after World War II. This revival, due mainly to a rise in marriage rates plus omission of contraception in order to have children, persisted in the newer industrial countries (Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the United States), but it has already receded in most European countries.

World Population Growth

What has just been said applies to the industrial nations. They have gone through what has been called the "demographic transition"—a change from a regime of high birth and death rates to one of low birth and death rates, with an intervening phase of rapid population growth due to the lag of fertility decline behind death decline. But the fact is that only a small part of the world (less than one-third) lives in industrial nations. As a consequence, the world as a whole has not yet gone through the demographic transition; most of it is now in an early phase of the transition. Owing to the peculiar circumstances of the present time, the rapid growth phase of the cycle is now enormously increased, with the result that a veritable "population explosion" is currently being seen:

TABLE 2. ACCELERATION OF WORLD POPULATION GROWTH

	WORLD POPULATION (MILLIONS)	INCREASE IN 25 YEARS (PERCENTAGE)	YEARS TO DOUBLE AT THIS RATE
Past			
1900	1,550		
1925	1,907	23	84
1950	2,497	31	64
Future			
1975	3,830	53	41
2000	6,280	64	35

The populations shown for 1975 and 2000 are the United Nations medium estimates published in 1959. Although it is impossible to predict future populations with certainty, the U.N.

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figures are conservative estimates of what the recent trends imply for the future. Only some world catastrophe or revolutionary change would cause the world total to diverge sharply from the estimate by the end of the century.

Reduced to the simplest terms, the reason for the continued acceleration of world population growth is that the two-thirds of the world still living in underdeveloped countries is experiencing, and will probably continue to experience, the most spectacular declines in the death rate ever known, while the birth rate remains at a high level. (A secondary reason is that the industrial countries have not only had a post-war recovery in births, as already noted, but have also had a continuation of their steady decline in death rates.)

The unprecedented and unforeseen drop in the death rate in underdeveloped countries results from bringing to them the most up-to-date public health techniques. In the industrializing nations of the nineteenth century, the fall in mortality was gradual because the new techniques had to be slowly invented; their invention and spread depended upon the slow process of economic development, public education, etc. The backward nations of today, however, can get the new health measures directly from the more advanced regions, with financial help and technical personnel supplied, often under international auspices. As a result, the death rate is being reduced at fantastic speed, regardless of whether or not local economic development is occurring. Since the lowering of the death rate in these areas does not depend upon public education or a rise in economic production, the institutional structure that supports a traditionally high birth rate is not destroyed. The result is a higher rate of population growth than anybody thought possible two decades ago. Many countries in Latin America and Asia are increasing their populations at around 3 per cent per year. At this rate the number will multiply 19 times within 100 years.

Consequences of Rapid Population Growth

The consequences of rapid population growth depend on the circumstances. In already densely settled peasant countries, the unprecedented growth currently being experienced is making economic development all the more difficult to achieve.

Egypt's population, for example, rose from 14 million in 1927 to approximately 25 million in 1958. The registered birth rate (known to be deficient) averaged 44 per 1,000 in 1950-1953, while the registered death rate, having fallen 30 per cent in ten years, was 19 per 1,000. The fact that the population has grown some three times faster than the area under cultivation would not be so deleterious if productivity in agriculture or if industrialization had risen faster; but neither of these things has happened. The proportion of the labor force engaged in manufacturing has hardly increased at all (being around 8 per cent in both 1927 and 1947), and half the male working force is still trying to make a living from farming, which means an astounding average of about 1,250 people dependent on farming for each square mile of cultivated area (as against about 35 in the United States). With Egypt's population growing so rapidly, any new lands that can be added to the cultivated area by new dams and irrigation works will be settled at the same old densities by the time the new works are completed.

Economic development, properly speaking, occurs only when the level of living is rising—that is, only when *per capita* real income is growing. Population growth in many underdeveloped countries is causing nearly all of the increase in national income to be used to support ever more people at much the same old *per capital* level. Since the aspirations of the people are rising, the result is political unrest and a willingness to try the most radical solutions.

In the industrial countries, particularly the newer ones like the United States, continued population growth is proving disadvantageous, not because of poverty but because of prosperity. As the goods and services used by each individual increase, and as the total number of individuals multiplies, the complications become formidable. For one thing, the demand on the rest of the world's resources becomes disproportionate. For another, the congestion of people and their possessions becomes so

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great that an increasing proportion of both are used simply to mitigate the effects of congestion. The population becomes increasingly urbanized, the urban agglomerations ever more huge. Already the New York metropolitan area contains about 15 million people, Chicago and Los Angeles around 7 million each.

These giant aggregates grow not only in people but in the material possessions for each person. Automobiles, radios, television sets, boats, houses, freezers and countless other possessions multiply much faster than the population. To accommodate these and at the same time live in urban areas, families move to the suburbs where a house, yard, and garage can be obtained. Since the family head often works in the central city, costly expressways and transportation networks have to be built. Each family has to own two or three cars. These automobiles, the industries that supply the material goods, the burning dumps that get rid of the mounting refuse—all combine to pollute the atmosphere, which is costly in terms of health and agriculture.

Ultimately, therefore, the rapid growth of both population and material wealth in industrial nations is self-defeating. The effort to escape the mounting congestion creates more congestion; the effort to escape nuisances creates more nuisances. Every economic activity wants more space. As the urban population grows, as each new space fills up, the quest for space takes the suburbs farther out, multiplies the connecting links, and increases the effort and cost. As time goes by, as the population doubles or triples and material possessions get more numerous, the additional costs will mount until they cancel the gains in wealth.

Population Policy

No matter where we look, it is difficult to find solid reasons why the world's population should increase at all, much less at an unprecedented rate. Are we, then, really destined to have the enormous future increases that present trends indicate? In the short run, probably so; but not in the long run.

One possible halt to population growth may be a third world war fought with weapons that can wipe out whole continents. It is precisely to avoid such catastrophic "solutions" that many observers suggest a policy of reducing births. Why not, one asks, provide the same international effort in behalf of birth control that has been provided in behalf of public health?

This view is frequently criticized. One hears this question: "Since economic development can keep ahead of population growth, why worry about the latter?" In this statement, the important word is "can." Certainly economic development *can* keep ahead of even rapid population growth for a time, but it does not always do so and there is no guarantee that it will do so in the future. Anyway, the two lines of action are not mutually exclusive. Use of birth control in industrial countries has not prevented economic advance. One of the purposes of controlling fertility is precisely to aid, not hinder, economic development. Furthermore, as we noted above, the sole problem is not that of getting enough to eat and wear. Population growth is causing great inconvenience in prosperous as well as in poor countries.

Another criticism is that birth-control devices are not perfect. True, but there are few things completely efficient. Polio vaccine is not invariably effective, nor are automobile brakes, but nobody suggests giving up these techniques for this reason.

A third criticism, that peasant people *love* children and therefore want as many as possible, is self-contradictory. If one loves children, one will not be so cruel as to have as many as possible. Children are loved in every society. Modern field studies show that peasant women, no matter how poor or uneducated, are not so stupid as to wish to bear, nurse, and care for an endless number of children.

Realizing that people cannot live in the second half of the twentieth century with respect to deaths and in the Middle Ages with respect to births, some governments are adopting policies designed to encourage birth control. Japan has been the most thorough and successful, Puerto Rico next, but India and several other countries are also pursuing such a policy.

Future population growth is thus not automatic. It is subject to human control. If the effort is made, the problem of exploding populations can be solved by lowering the rate of reproduction without waiting for war, starva-

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tion, epidemics, or grinding poverty to strike the balance.

One reason people have been so slow to control population by the simple means of birth control is doubtless the connection of reproduction with sex. Fortunately, it is not necessary, as we have seen, to prevent sex in order to prevent excessive population growth. Moralists, however, have tended to view children as a just punishment for sin (that is, for sexual enjoyment). They have felt that to release men and women from this punishment by making it possible for them to use birth control would encourage immorality (i.e., sexual enjoyment). Experience has shown, however, that if birth control is not used, other means will in time be found for limiting the birth rate. The case of Ireland shows that postponement of the age at marriage for women to age 30, and consignment of one-fourth of the female population to permanent celibacy, can be a substitute for contraception. Most human beings, other than professional moralists, consider such a solution to be extremely cruel.

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KINGSLEY DAVIS

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Pornography, The Psychology of

"PORNOGRAPHY" is not a scientific term. It is an emotionally loaded word and means one thing to one person and quite another to somebody else. In the original Greek, it meant "letters of prostitutes," but that meaning has long been forgotten and no longer enters into the usage of the word as it appears in common speech, the press, and the literature.

In legal usage, pornography, particularly with the preamble "hard-core," has been used interchangeably with "obscenity." This has led to further confusions, but for all practical purposes, "hard-core" pornography and "obscenity" are used synonymously by the legal profession.

To the average person, "pornography" simply means "dirty pictures," "stag," "blue," or "French" movies, and beyond this—depending on the individual's degree of sophistication, attitudes, and beliefs—a variety of things from genuine pornographic writings (as will be defined) all the way to serious literature with erotic content or subject matter, and from so-called "girlie" or "cheese-cake" magazines to the "Venus of Milo," Michelangelo's "David," and Goya's "Nude Maja."

In order to give such a wide and loosely defined subject a more systematic treatment, we shall divide pornography into writings on the one hand and pictorial representations on the other. This will also aid in a more specific definition of pornography at which we feel we are able to arrive with regard to writings. Pictorial representations, however, have thus far eluded us in this respect.

Erotic Writings

In the case of writings, we have made a thorough analysis of hundreds of examples of "hard-core" pornography and have made a comparison with other types of literature with erotic content or subject matter that differ in certain essential qualities from pornography (narrowly defined). We have published the results of this analysis elsewhere in greater detail (Kronhausen and Kronhausen, 1959) but shall try to acquaint the reader with the basic issues involved in such a distinction.

For easier communication we have come to call all writings with erotic content or subject matter other than pornographic by the term *erotic realism*. By using this terminology we were able to include works both of fiction and of nonfiction in our differentiation.

In the case of *nonfiction* we are dealing, for example, with such publications as marriage manuals; psychological, anthropological, and sociological studies; anatomical, physiological, and biological texts; books covering family life problems; and a variety of similar publications. All of these, though communicating on various levels of sophistication, have in common the one factor that they are dealing primarily with *reality*. This reality may be of a psychological nature in one case, of a sociological nature in another, or of a medical nature in a third. But the fact remains that in every one of these cases, erotic subject matter is presented in the context of reality, regardless of the particular type of order of reality which the larger frame of reference demands.

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With regard to nonpornographic *fiction,* we are dealing with still another type of reality, namely the "reality" presented by the inner world or psyche of the fictional characters and the interaction process between them. One has to put this kind of "reality" into quotation marks, because it does not refer to any event or series of events in history or to any processes that lend themselves to scientific verification. Yet even this kind of qualified "reality" represents an attempt by the author to communicate intrapsychic or social processes as he "sees" or experiences them to be with regard to the fictional situation he is attempting to describe and convey.

If this kind of creative effort results in the description or inclusion of erotic scenes or feelings and attitudes related to the sexual impulse in the context of a piece of fictional writing, say a novel or a play, we refer to this as an example of "erotic realism" as distinct from pornography.

We feel justified in doing so, because the *basic difference* between "erotic realism" and pornography lies in the different approach and handling of the problem of *reality* in pornographic writings as compared to literature of the erotically realistic type. In contrast to erotic realism, pornography is *not* concerned with reality at all, but sets aside all considerations of reality in favor of the wish-fulfilling phantasies of its (predominantly *male*) authors and the anticipated reactions of a predominantly male readership.

The aim of pornographic writings is to evoke erotic imagery in the reader in order to bring about sexual arousal. In other words, *pornographic writings are "meant" to function as psychological aphrodisiacs and are successful only to the extent that they accomplish this particular purpose.*

In keeping with these aims, pornographic writings follow a certain *general outline or organization* and employ a *number of specific mechanisms* which we believe can be isolated and demonstrated. In fact, we consider the presence or absence of these criteria, not in isolation, but *in relationship to each other* (that is, *as a cluster or configuration of factors*), as bona fide evidence as to whether any particular piece of writing is pornographic or not.

Before entering into a discussion of these criteria of pornography, it is important to keep in mind that any one, or even several of these characteristics may be present in other forms of literature. In pornography, however, the entire content is organized around these principles, and always with *emphasis on the physiological sex response,* in order to provide maximum erotic stimulation for the reader by appealing to his voyeurism. In addition, all disturbing reality elements are carefully avoided, so that one rarely hears of unwanted pregnancy, abortion, venereal disease, and similar unpleasant side-effects that occasionally accompany sexual relations.

Keeping these qualifications in mind, we are now ready to discuss the characteristic structure or organization of pornographic writings. After that, we shall examine the individual points which as a *configuration* constitute the most objective criterion of pornography.

The characteristic feature in the structure of pornographic writings is the buildup of *erotic excitement* in the course of the text. A pornographic book or story may start out with a scene which is only mildly erotic and not highly stimulating. In progression, it will then become "hotter" and "hotter," include an even larger variety of sexual activities and involve more and more people, until it culminates in the description of the most lascivious group scenes and mass orgies. This is in keeping with the over-all design of pornography and absolutely necessary if the writing is to act upon the reader as an erotic psychological stimulant ("aphrodisiac").

The major individual criteria or favorite sub-plots or sub-themes within this general framework are the following (in all these the emphasis is on the physiological sex response):

Seduction
Defloration
Incest
The permissive-seductive parent figure
Profanation of the sacred
Sexual vernacular
Supersexed males
Nymphomaniac females
Negroes, Asiatics, and "low-caste individuals" as sex symbols
Homosexuality (predominantly Lesbianism)
Flagellation

The list represents by no means all but merely the most outstanding, the most com-

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mon, and the most easily recognizable subthemes in pornographic writings. However, there are other minor, though no less fascinating and psychologically significant characteristics of pornographic literature, such as the recurrent mention of erotically stimulating odors of the body, especially of the sexual secretions; the frequent emphasis on pubic and/or axillary hair (depending on the geographic origin of the book); the frequency of human contacts with animals (especially with reference to the human female); female masturbation with phallic objects; and others.

Seduction

Characteristic of "pornographic" books is the fact that in seduction scenes the "victim" is, more often than not, a *willing collaborator*. In other words, the women who figure prominently in "obscene" books are generally as anxious to be seduced as the men are to seduce them. In fact, in some "obscene" stories the women are the aggressors and the men are the seduced, in which case the male "victims" are as easily "persuaded" as are the women.

Still another distinguishing feature of "obscene" seduction scenes is their *brevity*, due to the ease with which the seduction is accomplished. We will therefore not find page after page, or entire chapters, of a "pornographic" book devoted to the hero or heroine attempting the seduction of his or her lover, as is so frequently the case in ordinary fiction. In any "pornographic" story, the hero typically meets an individual to whom he is sexually attracted and in the next sentence or paragraph the couple are already in the midst of various sexual activities.

Defloration

In pornographic books, defloration scenes with strong sadistic elements play an important role; in fact, defloration is here almost synonymous with rape. These rapelike defloration scenes are psychologically significant in demonstrating the fusion of erotic and sadistic impulses.

The astonishing feature of the sometimes blood-curdling defloration scenes in pornographic writings is that the violated girl, no matter what degree of agony is inflicted upon her, invariably disclaims any concern over her pain and displays little, if any, resentment toward her violators.

Even though the defloration scenes in pornography are naturally concerned with *virgins*, the underlying philosophy seems to be that there is no need for actual rape, since the women in these wish-fulfilling pornographic phantasies are pictured as highly sexed, fiercely passionate creatures of impulse who do not need to be coerced once they have lost their virginity and experienced the pleasures of sexual relations.

Incest

The *overt* incest theme is as rare in modern literature as it was popular in antiquity. In contemporary literature it appears, with very few exceptions (as in Thomas Mann's novel *The Holy Sinners*, and his short story, *Blood of the Wolsungs*), only in *veiled* or *allegorical* form. Pornographic literature, however, can hardly do without open, frank, and undisguised incestuous relations. These relations between the closest of kin, say between brother and sister, father and daughter, or mother and son, are consummated without any, or with only minor qualms, guilt, and emotional conflict.

The psychological mechanism operating in this case is the presence of the social taboo which acts as a mental stimulant. Psychoanalytic experience indicates that latent incestuous leanings are present in most people in our culture. As these incestuous feelings are discouraged from early childhood, the culture succeeds in inhibiting their overt expression. Our moral training even succeeds in driving incestuous desires out of most people's conscious awareness. However, man's fascination with incestuous relationships prevails in spite of all the forces of repression, a fact to which not only clinical practice, but literature in general, and pornographic books in particular, give eloquent testimony.

The Permissive-Seductive Parent Figure

In keeping with the wish-fulfilling phantasy character of pornographic stories, they frequently include *super-permissive parent figures* who not only *condone*, but even *participate* in the sexual activities of the child, or who actually

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seduce and *initiate* the child into various sexual practices.

The use of permissive-seductive parent figures in pornographic literature makes some psychological sense. In the first place, it uses the Oedipal attraction of the child for the parent, or of the parent for the child, as well as the incest taboos of our society. It has, therefore the subconscious attraction of the extremely taboo.

Besides, the hyperpermissive parent figure may correspond to the child's phantasy of the "good" mother or father who would unequivocally accept his sexual and scatological interests, who does not scold when the child wets the bed, does not object when it plays with its feces, and who does not criticize or stop the child when it masturbates or engages in sexual play.

Profanation of the Sacred

Among the most obvious characteristics of pornographic books is the tendency of their writers to intermingle the sacred and the profane. Here again, the authors of pornographic books have intuitively built upon solid psychological ground. It has been clinically observed that there may be a special attraction in mixing that which is supposedly the most "holy" and that which is supposedly the most debased. Even the derivation of the word "sacred," coming from the Latin *sacer,* bears this out. In its original usage, the word could signify either sacred or profane, its meaning being completely interchangeable.

The special value which this strange mixture of opposites has for pornographic books probably lies in the heightening of erotic tension which it produces. By using profanity in the presence of the sacred, we are, so to speak, thumbing our nose at our own conscience and at the collective conscience or superego of society itself.

Many pornographic books include, among their central figures, persons connected with the clergy and religion, such as nuns, priests, and monks. These "holy" individuals are then depicted as engaging in highly tabooed sexual activities that are considered "mortal sins" by religious standards. In so doing, the objectionable character of the "crimes" is magnified and the sins are compounded.

The basic principle behind this pornographic usage is that, for many people in our culture, sex is still inextricably linked to sin. Now, if sex is sinful, then sexual acts, committed in sacred surroundings, or with the participation of representatives of religion, would constitute the ultimate in blasphemy. In this way it becomes possible for sexual acts to take on a special meaning as expressions of one's need to rebel, not only against social and religious institutions, but ultimately against those cultural inhibitions which have become part and parcel of one's own character structure. Since most of us are at least to some extent affected by these cultural frustrations, it is not difficult to see why the blasphemous element in pornographic books holds such a strong attraction for so many people, and especially for those who find their sexual needs in conflict with the moral and religious values of society, from which they have not been able to fully emancipate themselves.

Sexual Vernacular

The use of taboo words in pornographic books is closely related to the frequent mixture of the sacred and the profane that we discussed in the preceding section. Its chief attraction lies in the open defiance of the "superego," or conscience, the flagrant violation of the social conventions of polite discourse, the flaunting of one's independence, the throwing off of social responsibility, and the assertion of the instinctual primitive side of life against all the restraining and inhibiting forces of the environment.

Prostitutes the world over have always known the magic of pornographic words and have used this knowledge to their advantage. In fact, some individuals are not aroused unless their partner uses profane language. Since not many wives or "good" women in our culture are willing to accommodate such males in this respect, these men seek out prostitutes, some of whom specialize in this type of service. We know of cases where the man would phone a call girl or prostitute and ask her for nothing more than to "talk dirty" to him, often at fees surpassing those for sexual relations. In these cases, the prostitute engages her customer in vulgar sex talk and thus arouses him either in

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preparation for intercourse or for autoerotic purposes. But there are also some females who are very much aroused by the partner's use of sexual vernacular.

One may also find this kind of sex talk in erotically realistic fiction where it is used in character portrayal, but it is more characteristic of pornographic books. The reason for this lies, again, in the fact that pornographic books deliberately try to arouse the reader by the use of "dirty" language, just as in the cited cases the prostitutes use this technique to stimulate their customers.

Another characteristic feature of pornographic books is the *quantity* of taboo words used, which generally exceeds that of nonpornographic fiction by several hundred percent.

In contrast to works of erotic realism, pornographic books do not, as a rule, resort to swear words, probably because the necessity to express angry hostility seldom occurs in such books, whereas in realistic literature swearing is used to serve the same purpose that it does in actual life—the release of emotional tension and hostility. This, however, is not the aim of pornographic books.

Supersexed Males

In keeping with the unrealistic nature of pornographic books, one of their outstanding characteristics is the emphasis they place upon the exaggerated size of the male organ and of the testicles, and the copious amounts of seminal fluid ejaculated. It follows that all of these factors add up to the picture of men whose potency is almost limitless and whose sex drive is constantly at record strength.

Pornographic books go far beyond the biologically feasible or likely with regard to the large amounts of semen ejaculated by the hyperpotent heroes of these stories. Apparently, phantasies associated with the powerful ejaculation of semen act as an additional stimulant upon many individuals.

In any case, the overemphasis on male potency and male sex anatomy in pornographic books is psychologically understandable on the basis of man's pride in the penis and of the stimulating nature of phantasies concerning erection and ejaculation. It is also possible that latent anxiety over potency has led some authors of pornographic writings to use reassuring and overcompensating exaggerations along these lines.

Nymphomaniac Females

In keeping with the wish-fulfilling nature of pornographic writings, the female characters in these stories are just as most men would wish women to be: passionate, sensuous, sexually highly responsive creatures.

The women in pornographic writings therefore lack the common traces of modesty, restraint, and sex-anxiety which are characteristic of the majority of women in our culture and with which nonpornographic fiction occupies itself at great length (here the novel *Lady Chatterley's Lover* is a cogent case in point, in that one of its central themes deals with the sexual liberation of Lady Constance Chatterley, which she finally achieves through a healthy physical and emotional relationship with her husband's gamekeeper).

Similarly to what we have seen to be the case with regard to the emphasis on male potency, pornographic books stress the physiological female sex response. Consequently, pornographic writings abound in references to the excitation of the clitoris, erection of the nipples, and copious female discharges (such as are rarely, if ever, found in the sexual behavior of the human female).

Negroes, Asiatics, and "Low-Caste" Individuals as Sex Symbols

In keeping with the popular notion that the colored races are extraordinarily virile, sensuous, and given to all kinds of "perversions," pornographic writings frequently feature one or more such persons to provide an added "exotic" element to their stories.

Common prejudice has it that Negro males possess larger genitals than Caucasians and pornography reflects this view. On the other hand, Asiatic women are often used as female sex symbols in pornographic writings, again in accordance with popular conceptions of Oriental sexuality.

Pornographic writings also emphasize the supposedly strong body odor of the Negro race,

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to which they attribute a sexually exciting quality.

In addition, pornographic writings make use of fictional characters (mostly males) from the lower social groups to portray uninhibited sexuality. Here again, pornography violates the actual facts of class-differentiated sexual behavior as they are known from large-scale statistical studies, such as the Kinsey reports.

Homosexuality

There are strong homosexual elements, if not direct references to homosexual acts and their detailed description, in nearly all pornographic writings. References to *Lesbian* activities and their descriptions by far outweigh incidents of male homosexuality in these stories.

The predominance of female homosexuality in pornography is most likely due to the fact that the male author and reader can more readily place himself in phantasy into a Lesbian scene because he experiences or visualizes these activities essentially as *heterosexual* situations. In addition, he can do so without the arousal of anxiety over his own possible latent homosexual impulses, as might be the case if he were to identify with a situation involving sexual acts between males.

Frequently, Lesbian scenes in pornographic books are supposedly narrated by females, but more often than not this female authorship is no more than a device to make the stories appear more "authentic."

While pornographic writings by and for Lesbians are extremely rare (as are pornographic writings by women in general), we have been able to study several pornographic manuscripts written by and for the enjoyment of male homosexuals. Manuscripts of this type are also not common, nor are they generally "professional," as is more frequently the case with regard to other types of pornography. Homosexual (amateur) pornography therefore consists usually of only a few typewritten or mimeographed pages and is somewhat more limited in the variety of sexual activities described.

It also appears that homosexual pornography has a decided sado-masochistic flavor. Repeatedly, one finds in them situations in which one or more aggressively dominant males lord it over one or more passive-submissive males, whom they subject to various sexual practices, often with the purpose of humiliating the weaker partner.

Flagellation

Flagellation, from its mildest to its most sadistic forms, is a frequent feature of pornographic writings. Many pornographic plots or dominant themes have been completely woven around flagellation, thus making a special appeal to those whose sex life is dominated by sado-masochistic phantasies or practices, and in some cases unmistakingly revealing the sexual predilection of the author.

Most of the pornographic flagellation literature in the English language dates from the Victorian era of the mid-1850's. At that time, England in particular was swept by a wave of flagellantism. Hundreds of so-called "massage-salons," houses of prostitution, and private clubs in London and elsewhere catered exclusively to this specialty, many of these establishments being equipped with complete torture chambers and huge arsenals of whips, spikes, wire brushes, and all the rest of the trade paraphernalia.

However, flagellation has always had its aficionados, not only in England, but also on the European continent and in the United States, and there has always been a literature catering to these tastes.

Generally, periods in which flagellation and flagellation literature flourished were times of severe sexual repression, as in the Middle Ages or during the Victorian era. However, recently in the United States there has come into vogue an "exotic" borderline literature, focusing on sado-masochism with strong elements of shoe-, corset-, underwear-, rubber-, leather-, and similar fetishisms which cannot be strictly classed as pornography.

With regard to all these criteria, pornographic writings are unique in that they differ from other types of literature in content, intent, and emphasis. The analysis of a piece of writing must consider the book under discussion as a whole and not take the presence or absence of one or several features common to pornograph-

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ic literature as bona fide evidence on whether the writing is pornographic or not.

One must also keep in mind that in all these factors or sub-themes of pornography, the emphasis is on the *physiological sex response*. This is in accordance with the essentially *voyeuristic* nature of pornographic writings and with the aim to stimulate vivid erotic imagery in the reader. In fact, *the pervasive voyeurism in pornography* is one of its main and most obvious criteria which separate pornography from erotically realistic fiction. Erotic realism emphasizes the emotional, and not the physical, sex response, even though it sometimes includes some physiological description.

Erotic Pictorial Art

Turning our attention to erotic pictorial art, we find that we are unable to make as clear a distinction between pornographic and nonpornographic art as has been possible with regard to writings.

If we apply the same principles to erotic art, we immediately encounter certain theoretical difficulties which we were able to overcome in the case of literature, but which have thus far proven insurmountable obstacles when dealing with pictorial representations of erotic scenes, in paintings, sculpture, moving pictures, or any other art medium where nonverbal communication is employed.

We shall first have to consider the problem of *intent*. With respect to pornographic literature, we have tried to demonstrate by indirect evidence that the only or primary purpose of such writings (and by inference also the purpose of its authors) is to stimulate erotic imagery (phantasies) in the reader with the aim of promoting sexual arousal. Now, we are still relatively safe in assuming that such was indeed the intent with certain artists, such as Van Bayros or Zichy, who gave most of their time and talent to the portrayal of erotic scenes that they had been commissioned to do as illustrations for books which would come within our definition of pornography.

But this is also the outer limit within which we can speak with assurance about the "pornographic" intent of the artist. There are, of course, relatively few professional artists and amateurs who either by their own admission or by overwhelming clinical evidence can be said to have produced erotic art solely or mainly for the purpose of sexual arousal. On the other hand, there is no way of making such inferences with any degree of confidence in the vast majority of cases where more diversified artists have depicted similar or identical erotic scenes.

To illustrate: Are we to assume that artists such as Rembrandt or Picasso, to mention only two of the better known painters who have portrayed intercourse scenes, have done so *without* the intent to produce erotic arousal in the beholder, whereas other artists (such as the before-mentioned ones) have done so with that intent in mind?

And if we do speak about "intent," are we not obliged also to take into consideration the problem of conscious versus unconscious motivation? Clearly, the problem of distinguishing "pornographic" from nonpornographic art on the basis of "intent" cannot lead to definitive results.

Nor can we use the manner in which the problem of *reality* is handled by the artist as a valid criterion of "pornographic" art. Let us, for example, examine a painting from India, a reproduction of which we have in our files, showing a couple in intercourse while riding on the back of an elephant, with the male shooting a tiger with bow and arrow. Now, this kind of tiger hunt is very unlikely to have ever taken place, but is this picture therefore "pornographic," while a companion picture which we also have in our files, showing the same couple in a more common or probable intercourse position, is not pornographic? Obviously, we must reject this kind of reasoning and abandon the attempt to distinguish between "pornographic" art and "erotically realistic" art on the basis of whether the picture is to a greater or lesser degree in accord with reality.

It is even less possible to use the criterion of artistic *quality* or merit in the fine arts, just as we were unable to use it in our attempt to define pornographic literature. Obviously, whether a piece is well written or poorly written, or whether an art object is well executed or not, does not decide whether it is pornographic, nor is it a safe indication as to what motivated the writer or artist in producing it.

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We may say that an erotic book or art object that shows little or no artistic merit may have as its sole object the sexual arousal of others and would therefore fall within our own psychological definition of pornography. However, whereas we have a number of supporting criteria and additional internal evidence for such judgments in the case of erotic literature, we do *not* have these advantages with respect to erotic art. We, on our part, would certainly not want to speculate on the motivation of a Rembrandt or Picasso in depicting various scenes of intercourse (including a self-portrait of Rembrandt during intercourse with his wife). The motives of these and many other acknowledged masters may have possibly been to express themselves artistically without special regard to the subject matter. But this is rather improbable. More likely, the erotic element played as much of a role for them as for the thousands of less talented artists and amateurs who have tried their hand on erotic pictures. The difference between erotic art and erotic writings is here again that in those cases where genuinely talented writers have produced writings within our psychological definition of pornography, these writings do contain a sufficient number of demonstrable internal "pornographic" criteria which are totally independent of the quality of the writing. Since this is not the case in erotic art, we cannot substitute the relative criterion of "quality" for the otherwise lacking criteria which could provide the needed additional evidence for such a distinction.

Having said this, it should be safe to point out that many of the specific criteria or subthemes of pornographic literature which we have enumerated and discussed also occur with amazing regularity in erotic art, including photographs and moving pictures. For example, one often finds in erotic art an exaggeration of the genitalia, especially of the penis. This is in evidence in the erotic art of the Greeks and Romans, where it is frequently connected with phallic worship, and in the erotic art of India.

On the other hand, the large genitalia on many of the Japanese woodblock prints and erotic scrolls cannot be said to reflect merely the phallic worship of the Shinto religion. There, the enlarged representation of the genitalia must be motivated by other factors. It is, for example, known that these pictures were used by the Japanese and Chinese as a means of providing sex education (bride's "pillow-books"). This would, at least in part, explain the technique of focusing the viewer's attention on the genital area. However, there is little doubt in our minds that the emphasis on the genitalia is, in addition, motivated by the same factors that apply in the case of pornographic writings. (There are, for example, Chinese and Japanese erotica showing couples viewing such pictures with the obvious intent of sexual arousal.)

In keeping with the principles applicable to pornographic writings, the following favorite subjects are portrayed with some regularity in erotic art: sexual activities between Negroes and Caucasians, Lesbianism, activities involving animals, activities involving children, oral and anal contacts, group activities, mass-orgies, sexual activities involving nuns and priests, the presence of religious symbols in connection with sexual activities, female masturbation with phallic objects, and a large variety of sexual scenes involving sado-masochistic practices, flagellation, and fetishism.

If, in spite of all these parallel phenomena, we still desist from narrowly defining pornography in the arts, it is simply because there is no apparent way of ascertaining sufficient convincing evidence with regard to the motivation or intent of the artist, as we can, in the case of pornographic writings, obtain by deductive processes, at least with a greater degree of certainty.

Attempts have been made to define pornography in the arts by drawing the "limits" of the permissible in many different and completely arbitrary ways. In the arts, the illogicalness of doing so is even clearer than in the case of literature. Private or official censorship over the past twenty years has, for example, decreed that the female breast should not be portrayed, then retreated under pressure of changing community standards to say that the breast could be portrayed, so long as the nipples were not shown. The same kind of irrationality applies to the official attitude with regard to the genitalia and the pubic region. Pictures showing the genitalia are at present only permissible in nudist publications. "Girlie" magazines are al-

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lowed to show the pubic region, though not the genitals or the pubic hair. And so on, ad infinitum.

We have already indicated that even the portrayal of scenes of intercourse in the arts (as well as in photographic still and moving pictures) is no sure indication that such representations have been made, mainly or solely, for the purpose of erotic excitation—in other words, that they have been designed and produced as psychological aphrodisiacs. Even the most flagrant "stag" movie does not lend itself readily to such an investigation concerning the motivation for its production. Movies of sexual activities that have been produced by scientific researchers are, for example, frequently indistinguishable from professional or amateur sex movies made for the obvious purpose of erotic stimulation.

In brief: we have shown that literature may offer a sufficient number of valid criteria to allow for reasonable assumptions concerning its pornographic or nonpornographic nature. We have also pointed out that this cannot be done in the case of erotic art with the same degree of assurance and that any such attempts have thus far only led into various dead-ends of absurdity.

With this behind us, we must consider the psychological effects of erotic art and writings, because the social implications of the problem, especially the legal and extra-legal suppression of this material and the repeated attempts by the courts to arrive at a legally workable definition of pornography (or "obscenity"), are based on the assumed effects of erotica on the mind and the behavior of the individual.

There appears to be a differential response to erotica on the part of males and females. Kinsey *et al.* (1953) suggest that this differential sex response is the result of biological sex differences in the human male and female. These researchers suggest that the same differential sex response to visual stimuli as it applies to humans is noticeable in the subhuman animal kingdom. They refer, for example, to the fact that male animals are aroused by such visual stimuli as observing other animals in coitus, whereas female animals are not so stimulated. The Kinsey group of investigators marshal considerable and convincing biological evidence in support of their thesis that the human female is simply following in the pattern of subhuman mammals in her lack of, or greatly reduced, response to visual and auditory stimuli of an erotic nature. They stress that the female is more readily aroused by tactile stimuli—in other words, by direct physical contact of one form or another—than by the roundabout way of psychological stimuli which involve erotic imagery and phantasy.

In addition, women very rarely produce clearly erotic art and writings, despite the fact that many pornographic books are purportedly authored by women, for the vast majority of them have been written by men using female pseudonyms. This pretense is, so to speak, merely another "trick of the trade" in order to give the illusion that the supposedly female author was as sexually active and lascivious as the male author wishes us—or himself—to believe.

Women are, however, known to enjoy and to produce a literature and an art that is mildly "erotic," but which stresses general emotional relationships, love, and tenderness, and that is not erotically stimulating to most men, nor intensely stimulating to women either.

We shall therefore have to accept the fact that in our society a differential sex response to erotica exists. We do, however, reserve our opinion on whether the basis for this differential response is to be sought mainly on a biological or on a cultural and psychological basis. The predominantly male interest in erotica (psychological aphrodisiacs) may at least partly be due to the specific problem of the male with regard to his potency. The male, in order to effect genital intercourse, is dependent on the erectability of the penis. In other words, his need for psychological stimuli (aphrodisiacs) is greater in that respect than that of the female, who is able to initiate intercourse without the necessity of prior excitation.

The same problem, of course, holds true with regard to the threat of ultimate decline and loss of potency in the male, whereas the capacity for sexual intercourse on the part of the female is not impaired with advancing age. Just as the male is more interested in physiological aphrodisiacs than the female, in order to counteract the real or imagined threat of impotence,

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so would we expect him to be more interested in psychological aphrodisiacs.

Females in our society also have considerably less access to pornography than males and are consequently less familiar with it, which may account for some negative replies to inquiries about their response to such material. More important is the fact that girls in our culture receive a much more severe childhood training with regard to modesty and learn from an early age to conceal their sexual responses. This kind of cover-up is undoubtedly also involved in many of the seemingly neutral, "bored," or "disinterested" reactions of women to pornography.

From this point of view, younger individuals, particularly adolescent males at the peak of their biological sex drive, should theoretically be less interested in erotica as psychological aphrodisiacs than older males. However, in apparent contradiction to this, adolescents do show a strong interest in erotica. This interest may be due to the particularly strong sexual frustration of this group, for whom virtually all socio-sexual outlets are blocked by the arbitrary restrictions of society. In addition, at our present halfway mark in sex-education, erotica represent to this group (as well as to preadolescents) the only means of acquiring definite knowledge as to how sexual intercourse in its various manifestations is actually performed. Only if we could remove these factors would it be possible to assess the true extent of adolescent interest in psychological aphrodisiacs.

At any rate, further cross-cultural research on sexual behavior and particularly on the female sex response is needed before we can draw definitive conclusions on this point.

There also appears to be a differential response to erotica on the part of males from the lower social and educational levels as compared to those on the upper level. The higher we reach on the social and educational scale, the more interest one finds in erotica in general. For this phenomenon, the Kinsey group (1948) offer the following explanation: "The very fact that upper level males fail to get what they want in socio-sexual relations would provide a psychologic explanation of their high degree of responsiveness to stimuli which fall short of actual coitus." The Kinsey researchers feel that, in addition, upper level males may have a greater capacity to visualize (erotic) situations. Such males are therefore said to be more affected by thinking about females, homosexual partners, and a variety of other erotic stimuli of a psychological nature.

Without necessary contradiction of all of this, there seems to be a considerable difference in the *type* of erotica which upper and lower level males prefer. Upper level males seem to prefer erotica of definite artistic merit, such as paintings and drawings by artists of superior skill and talent, as well as pornographic writings which show considerable imagination, fluency of style, and a plot which does not offend the intellectual integrity of these persons. The same principles apply for this upper level group of men with regard to photographs and moving pictures. In all these respects, they make, as may be expected, greater artistic and intellectual demands than "lower" level males; they frequently stipulate that they only prefer erotica with decided humorous, esoteric, or other elements added to the erotic subject matter. The lower level male seems to prefer photographs or movies showing erotic scenes to such representations in paintings, drawings, or statuary. These men apparently need a more direct type of stimulation and often remain totally indifferent to the "high-class" erotica which evoke a strong response from the upper level males.

Finally, we have to consider the objection against erotica raised by those who fear or are convinced that psychological aphrodisiacs have a "trigger-effect" in regard to acts of crime and violence. Most of our censorship laws are supposedly based on such assumptions and the problem of whether or not erotica do enter into the causation of crime, particularly of sex offenses, is therefore a serious one.

Most of the clinicians and researchers who have given the matter more than casual thought are inclined to believe that pornography is not a direct contributory cause of sex offenses. A delinquent or potential delinquent may conceivably pick up some information on *how* to perform an antisocial act through crime literature or movies, but he will not be able to acquire the *tendency* or inclination to commit antisocial acts in this manner. There is now

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considerable research evidence to that effect.

The effects of erotica other than writings have been no more subjected to scientific investigations than the effects of written pornography. This lack of research data is in itself a revealing cultural phenomenon. We have, however, sufficient experiental evidence to be certain that erotica do function as psychological aphrodisiacs and are capable of evoking physiological sex responses which may lead to sexual (*not antisocial*) behavior.

It is, of course, known that a good deal of sexual behavior has been arbitrarily declared illegal in our society. If erotica were able to encourage individuals to experiment with socially taboo forms of sexuality, this could be construed as leading to crime and delinquency. There is a possibility, though no evidence, that this may be the case in certain individual instances. General psychological experience, however, tends to support the thesis that most individuals will react to such stimuli according to a preconditioned pattern of behavior, regardless of the specific nature of the stimulus. To illustrate: an individual with no previous record of flagellatory or homosexual activities who is exposed to flagellatory or homosexual literature may be expected to react to such stimulation in accordance with his previous psychosexual disposition and sexual behavior pattern. In other words, if he becomes aroused by such specific psychological stimulation at all, he will most likely choose the same sex outlets (such as masturbation and heterosexual coitus) that he is accustomed to using, but will not be likely to engage in flagellatory or homosexual acts which are foreign to his psychosexual disposition and experience.

It is extremely doubtful whether even continued exposure to specific pornographic stimuli will result in behavioral changes, unless they are accompanied by actual contacts with individuals who are so predisposed. Such personal contacts are known to have the possibility of affecting behavior in nonsexual areas and may therefore be reasonably expected to have the same potential in the area of sexual behavior. In these cases, the role of erotica would remain a very minor one as compared to the effect of actual contacts with other individuals who may initiate the deviant sexual activity.

Ultimately, all of these problems concerning erotica cease to be purely matters of scientific concern and become issues involving moral convictions, religious beliefs, personal points of view, and social attitudes depending on the emotional climate of the community in which the problems arise. This, of course, is no longer the domain of the psychologist, but of the social philosopher who may or may not wish to take his cues from the social and behavioral sciences in arriving at the value judgments which are implicit in assessing this controversial area of human conduct.

One must also keep in mind that the effect of literature (in general) has been greatly overrated. The effects of literature with erotic subject matter have up to the present not been the object of controlled studies. The closest any studies come to our problem are those relatively few experiments with sex-educational literature. They seem to indicate shifts in *attitude* (in the liberal or more tolerant direction) do occur which are due to such reading, while behavioral changes are either not at all observable or are unpredictable as to the direction which they may take (individuals exposed to liberal sex-educational material may become more conservative in behavior).

One has to consider still another aspect of erotic art and literature, particularly of a scatological and sado-masochistic nature, namely, its possible therapeutic function as a harmless psychological release mechanism or "safety-valve" for certain individuals. While some scientists have expressed doubts concerning this function of erotica, others have cited rather convincing clinical cases in support of this theory (Ellis, 1961; Jahoda, 1954; Stekel, 1952).

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EBERHARD AND PHYLLIS
KRONHAUSEN

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Premarital Sexual Intercourse

Definition

THE TERM *premarital sexual intercourse* is generally used to indicate the experience of coitus by an individual who is single and not previously married with a person of the other sex. Strictly speaking, it should be used to denote only the premarital coitus of persons who eventually marry. Since, however, more than nine-tenths of all people marry, most coitus of single persons is actually premarital. Nevertheless, this distinction should be kept in mind, especially with reference to specific research findings and inferences drawn from them.

Although the coitus of preadolescent children is "premarital," it is usually considered as a special case and is treated separately from that of postadolescent persons. A single act of coitus can be premarital for one partner, extramarital for the other, and adulterous for both, as in the case of a single person who has sexual intercourse with a married person. Most premarital coitus in our society, however, and apparently in many other cultures as well, involves partners who are both single. The sexual experiences of divorced and widowed persons, even though they are single in a social and legal sense, are usually referred to as "postmarital."

Cross-Cultural Comparisons

Although other animals, particularly the great apes, and man practice many of the same sexual activities (such as precoital foreplay, masturbation, homosexual activities, and of course, coitus), only man can engage in premarital, as well as in marital and postmarital, experiences because these involve the cultural concept of marriage, which is uniquely and universally human. All known groups of human beings, past and present, primitive and civilized, have had the institution of marriage; and all have dealt with the ubiquitous problem of premarital sexual intercourse by a great variety of means, including attempts to ignore completely its actual occurrence, forbid it with severe punishments, forbid it and forgive it with mild admonitions, and permit it under regulated conditions.

Contrary to the theories of some scholars of the past and to some folk beliefs among ourselves, complete sexual freedom as the socially sanctioned custom of a society is unknown. Under certain circumstances, however, and for specific classes of people, the sexual taboos and restrictions may be temporarily relaxed, but not abandoned. Examples of this in Western culture are the gaiety and romance connected with many European carnivals and festivals and our own Mardi Gras and the expected and accepted greater intimacy between an engaged than a nonengaged couple, wherein premarital coitus may or may not be forbidden. These occasions and similar ones among other peoples are not considered sexual license or promiscuity.

Most cultures have been more lenient than ours in permitting nonmarital intercourse. In fact, ours is one of the few that has had, during certain periods in our history, a blanket prohibition of all sexual intercourse outside the marriage relation. Murdock (1949), on the basis of evidence compiled from a world-wide sample of 250 societies, maintains that, except for a few societies, sex itself is not the focus

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of regulation, as might be assumed with the existence of a generalized sex taboo; the control of sex is in terms of sexual intercourse with respect to one or more other considerations to which sex is pertinent, such as marriage, kinship, social status, and reproduction. This seems particularly relevant to the subject of our discussion. Of the 158 societies in Murdock's sample for which there is sufficient information about these practices, premarital sexual intercourse is permitted in 70 per cent. In the other societies, the prohibition is directed mainly at the female and seems to be primarily concerned with preventing out-of-wedlock births.

In a minority of societies, adults attempt to prevent children from engaging in or observing any sexual activity. Some relax these restraints when the individual passes through puberty or reaches adulthood, whereas others maintain or even intensify their restrictive efforts. The prevention of premarital sexual intercourse and sometimes of other nonsanctioned sexual activities is accomplished by attempts either to instill in the individual the idea that these acts are wrong and to reinforce self-restraints by threats of adverse public opinion, ostracism, disgrace, or punishment, or to prevent males and females from being together by chaperonage of girls or segregation of the sexes. The latter methods, whereby the sexes are made sexually unavailable to one another through adult surveillance, are presumably more effective and probably more widespread than those whereby control rests upon inculcating self-restraint in the young. Even threats of disgrace and death have not always been effective in preventing young people from engaging in premarital coitus.

Among known societies, as Ford and Beach (1951) and other writers have indicated, there is at one extreme relative agreement and at the other considerable variance between actual behavior and the idealized standards of sex conduct. Among some people, sexual transgressions of the formal mores are invariably and summarily punished. There are many societies in which child sex play and postadolescent sexual intercourse are formally forbidden, but are tacitly accepted by the adults, who either ignore them or fail to punish those who are caught. A majority of societies tolerate or permit sex expression in childhood, such as masturbation and mutual fondling, and sometimes permit observance of adult sexual intercourse and premarital sexual intercourse in postadolescence.

Contrary to popular opinion, that premarital sexual relations are permitted does not mean invariably or even usually that adulterous relations are sanctioned after marriage. Although some societies allow the male, and even a very few the female as well, to have adulterous relations, the more usual combination is sexual permissiveness prior to marriage and sexual fidelity to the spouse after marriage. In fact, in some societies, the path leading to the selection of a lifelong marriage mate to which one is sexually faithful begins in youthful sexual liaisons which might be eventually guided by parental and familial, as well as by individual, considerations.

Western Culture

Within the stream of our own cultural heritage, the attitude toward sex and particularly toward premarital sexual intercourse has fluctuated considerably in time and place between a rigid adherence to a general sex taboo, as among some early Christians and more recently among the New England Yankees, and a liberal permissiveness, as among the Elizabethan English and contemporary northern Europeans. Furthermore, there has been considerable confusion about sexuality—not only because there has sometimes been a marked divergence between what people did and what they were supposed to do, but also because there has been a conflict among the ideals that people have held about sex, especially premarital coitus.

The religious tradition of our culture with respect to both Orthodox Jewish codes and Christian precepts, especially those of the Roman Catholic Church and some of the Protestant sects, has been a strict single standard that has consistently forbidden premarital coitus, or any sexual activity other than marital coitus, for both males and females. At the same time, however, there have existed slight to strong undertones of a double standard which, although formally prohibiting premarital intercourse for both sexes, have meant in reality

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the strong condemnation of female sexual transgressions but only the mild toleration, or even the encouragement, of male sexual exploits.

One of the marked trends in contemporary times is the development of a more permissive attitude toward adolescent and postadolescent sexual expression for both sexes, which might be termed a permissive, lenient, or liberal single code of sex conduct. In parts of northern Europe there has been a tendency to embrace this standard openly, particularly insofar as it applies to persons seriously in love or engaged. By contrast, in the United States, although a pronounced liberal attitude has developed toward petting, particularly in the lighter manifestations of it in the form of kissing and hugging without more intimate fondling, a strong formal taboo against premarital intercourse still exists. Within this formal frame of reference, however, a more permissive code toward premarital intercourse is tacitly or covertly becoming acceptable, especially within certain social groups.

In the history of Christendom, complete confusion and conflict regarding sex have occurred because of the coexistence of two contradictory ideals: one says that sex is evil and sinful, and the other that sex is wonderful and the full expression of life itself. This conflict has affected both the single person and the married, but it has probably been more acute, although less persistent, for the unmarried because sex in marriage is tolerated as a function of reproduction, whereas outside marriage it has no justification whatsoever. It might be said that the soul of Western man has been truly tormented and fascinated by the dilemma of sex.

Studies on Premarital Intercourse in the United States

Recently in the United States, particularly within the last century, a more tolerant, humanistic attitude has developed toward human sexuality which has tended to alleviate many of the old dilemmas about sex, but which has undoubtedly created new ones. This manifested and admitted greater interest in sex seems to stem primarily from two motives: the general curiosity of modern man to know himself, and the specific hope to find more satisfactory means of achieving sexual satisfaction in marriage.

These two considerations, when added to the age-old problem of Western man's guilt-provoking fascination with sex, may be viewed as a triumvirate that has stimulated the scientific study of sex and especially of the extent and significance of premarital sexual intercourse in the individual and his society. It seems no accident that the spectacular rise in the United States of interest in empirical research in the social and psychological fields in general has included also a scientific concern with the problem of sexual behavior.

Sources of Data

Although there have been literally thousands of clinical reports, anecdotal accounts, and scholarly commentaries about sexual behavior, there have been only about fifty systematic researches of actual human sexual behavior. By systematic research is meant the organized collection of data according to a prearranged scheme and their logical and statistical analyses.

Scientific interest in sexual behavior appeared first in anthropological and clinical studies of Europeans in the last half of the nineteenth century. To the Americans, however, belongs the honor of both initiating just four decades ago and producing since then most of the systematic research into human sexual behavior. A majority of these have been partly or wholly concerned with premarital sexual behavior. Although the total number of studies is small, the body of knowledge they represent seems scientifically substantial and respectable.

The pioneer studies were those of Max Exner in 1915 of 1,000 male college students and of Katharine Davis in 1929 of 2,200 women. The monumental studies of Kinsey and his associates (Kinsey, 1948 and 1953; and Gebhard, 1958) mark the current culmination of sex research. Other major studies of sexual behavior that include extensive data on premarital coitus are Hamilton (1929), Bromley and Britten (1938), Terman (1938), Landis (1940), Burgess and Wallin (1953), Ehrmann (1959). To these can be added almost thirty studies which, though of lesser scope, have made ma-

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terial contributions to our fund of knowledge. (See Kinsey, 1953, pages 94-96 for a list of published researches.)

These studies have generally attempted to determine the extent of premarital coitus, the relationship between it and other personal and social considerations, and the attitudes and values held about it. In a general way, there has been an attempt to answer these kinds of questions: How many people have intercourse before marriage? How often? Are religiously devout people less sexually active than the nondevout? What effect will premarital sexual intercourse have upon subsequent marital happiness? What do people think is right and proper about premarital sex conduct? Is their behavior consistent with these attitudes?

The sample populations in these studies have been mainly young people who were predominantly white, college-educated, urban, middle class, and Protestant. Substantial, though fewer, data have been collected on Jews, Roman Catholics, Negroes, and rural and noncollegiate parts of the population. The number of individuals in each study has ranged from 100 in Hamilton's study to several thousand in Kinsey's.

When allowances are made for the variations in research techniques and composition of the sample populations, these studies are more often in general agreement than they are contradictory. There is a growing confidence in the findings being obtained, but there is considerably less agreement on the *interpretation* of the significance of these findings. The American public apparently believes strongly in the scientific ethic which now seems to include cooperation in studies of sex. In this connection, it is pertinent to note that the extent of premarital coitus seems to be one of the best-substantiated "facts" of sexual behavior in American society.

The remainder of this article summarizes very briefly the principal findings of the systematic research into premarital sexual behavior in American society. The reader who wishes more detailed information is referred to the works cited in the references.

Incidence

The data indicate that probably a majority of Americans—a large majority of males and a substantial minority to one-half of females—have experienced coitus before marriage. The only accurate means of arriving at this finding is through the study of the premarital sexual histories of persons who are or have been married: the married, widowed, or divorced. Studies of single persons who have not been previously married are valuable for determining the extent of sexual activities in a given group up to that time; but they give only an incomplete picture of premarital sexual behavior because these subjects have not completed their premarital histories.

The incidence of premarital coitus among *married males* as reported by Hamilton (1929) is 54 per cent; by Terman (1938) 61 per cent; by Burgess and Wallin (1953) 68 per cent; and by Kinsey (1948) 67 per cent for college-level males, 84 per cent for high-school-level males, and 98 per cent for males who never went beyond grade school. Incidence of premarital coitus among *married females* as reported by Hamilton (1929) is 35 per cent; by Terman (1938) 37 per cent; by Landis (1940) 27 per cent; by Burgess and Wallin (1953) 47 per cent; and by Kinsey (1953) 50 per cent.

The incidence figures of premarital coitus obtained from sample populations of married persons (which would, of course, concern only their premarital histories) is usually higher than those obtained from sample populations of single persons. For example, the range in the incidence of nonvirgins in the six samples of *married males* cited above is between 54 and 98 per cent, and in twelve samples of *single males* (not given here) it is between 32 and 93 per cent. In the five samples of *married females* cited above the range is between 27 and 50 per cent, and in eight samples of *single females* (not given here) it is between 7 and 26 per cent.

Number of Partners

Women are somewhat more monogamous than men in their premarital sexual intercourse relationships. One-half or more of all women who are nonvirgins have coitus with their future spouse only, whereas a majority of men have this experience with both their future spouse and other women. A moderate minority of men (between 10 and 20 per cent) and a

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very small number of women (about 2 or 3 per cent) report having had premarital intercourse only with persons other than future spouses.

Evidence on the number of coital partners is supplied in several studies, including those by Davis (1929), Hamilton (1929), Bromley and Britten (1938), and especially by Terman (1938), Burgess and Wallin (1953) for both males and females, and by Kinsey (1953) for females only. Considering only those who were not virgins at marriage, the number of persons with premarital coitus with *future spouse only* is 66 per cent of the women and 27 per cent of the men in Terman (those born in 1910 or later), 72 per cent of the women and 40 per cent of the men in Burgess and Wallin, and 46 per cent of the women in Kinsey. Most of the remainder of the women stated they had premarital coitus with both future spouse and others, and most of the men that they had this experience with either future spouse and others or with others only.

Decade of Birth

The general supposition that the marked liberalization of premarital sex practices, the so-called "sexual revolution," occurred during the period of World War I and the Gay Twenties immediately following is substantiated in the research findings.

This change apparently had a more profound effect upon females than males. Whereas the males in the studies of Kinsey and his associates (1948 and 1953) showed only a small difference in this respect, the females born after 1900 (those who reached sexual maturity around World War I or later) showed an increase of two to three times as many nonvirgins at marriage as the females born before 1900. For example, the incidence of premarital coitus in females by age 20 is 8 per cent for females born before 1900 and 18 to 23 per cent for females born after 1900; by age 30 it is 26 per cent for females born before 1900 and 48 to 53 per cent for females born after 1900.

This same trend was also reported earlier by Hamilton (1929), Terman (1938), and Locke (1951), but only the sample of Terman contained enough females born before and after the turn of the century to form the basis for a generalization about this trend. The rise in the proportion of persons experiencing coitus prior to marriage for each succeeding ten-year age group in Terman's sample, although marked for both sexes, was even more pronounced for females than males. The incidence of nonvirgins at marriage among husbands is 49 per cent for those born before 1890 and 86 per cent for those born after 1910; among wives it is 14 per cent among the oldest group and 68 per cent among the youngest. These findings led Terman to draw the then astonishing conclusion that, should this trend continue at the same rate, "virginity at marriage would be close to the vanishing point for males born after 1930 and for females born after 1940." Subsequent studies, including those of Kinsey and associates, Burgess and Wallin, and others, indicate, however, that the trend did not continue and that there has been a leveling-off of the incidence of premarital intercourse: the proportion of males and females with this experience seems to have remained relatively constant in the last two decades.

Age at Marriage and Educational Level

Two of the major contributions of Kinsey and his associates are the findings that incidences of premarital coitus of males and females vary with their educational levels, although there is a pronounced sex difference, and that the female pattern is probably related more to nearness to marriage, whereas the male pattern seems to reflect other social class differences.

For example, 98 per cent of the males who had never gone beyond grade school and 84 per cent of those who had gone to high school but not beyond, but only 67 per cent of those who went to college, had had sexual intercourse prior to marriage. The findings of Hohman and Schaffner (1947) from a sample of Army inductees are comparable to those of Kinsey. A converse relationship is revealed in the figures for the female: 30 per cent of the grade-school females, 47 per cent of the high-school females, and over 60 per cent of the females who went to college had had premarital coitus.

When, however, the data of Kinsey (1953) for the female are analyzed in terms, first, of educational level and second, of nearness to marriage, a somewhat different picture emerges concerning their premarital sexual histories.

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Girls in the grade-school groups began having premarital sexual intercourse in appreciable numbers before girls with more education did. By age 15, for instance, 18 per cent of the girls who never went beyond grade school, but only 5 per cent of the high-school group and 2 per cent of the college group, had experienced coitus.

The girls in the grade-school group, however, married earlier and their premarital histories were on the average shorter. The females with more education, although commencing their coital experiences at a later date, continued these activities for a proportionally longer period of time, and they eventually had more experience than the grade-school girl.

On the other hand, when these data are analyzed in terms of nearness to marriage, the apparent difference in terms of educational levels of the females tends to disappear, particularly for those married after the age of 16. The proportion of high-school, college, and graduate-school females with premarital coital experience who marry within the same five-year age range is relatively the same. This relation arises from the fact that a considerable portion of the coital activity of the female occurs within the year or two immediately preceding her marriage. In fact, of all the variables thus far studied, nearness to marriage seems to show the most marked correlation with premarital sexual intercourse among females.

Social Class

Some information on the comparative social class of companions is supplied by Hollingshead (1949) and Ehrmann (1955, 1959). Hollingshead observed, among high-school students, that boys of a higher social class exploit girls of a lower social class for sex purposes. In a sample college population, Ehrmann found that most males and females have their sexual experiences with persons of the same social class; but when class lines are crossed, the highest rate of premarital intercourse occurs between males of a higher and females of a lower social class.

Religion

With respect to religious considerations, the limited research findings indicate that the degree of religious devoutness as measured by regularity of church attendance or nonattendance is more uniformly related to patterns of premarital sexuality than is membership in any one of the three major religious groupings. According to Kinsey (1948 and 1953), the less devout males and females were sexually more active and had higher proportions of nonvirgins than the more devout. Furthermore, the difference among Protestants, Catholics, and Jews of the same degree of devoutness was generally less than the difference between the more and less devout of any one religious group.

One example of these findings concerns females who were married by age 25: 22 per cent of the devout and 44 per cent of the inactive Protestant, 21 per cent of the devout and 54 per cent of the inactive Catholic, and 23 per cent of the moderate and 42 per cent of the inactive Jewish females had experienced premarital coitus. Burgess and Wallin (1953) also found that, among the Protestants of college level, the religiously inactive couples were far more likely than the religiously active ones to have sexual intercourse frequently or occasionally, as compared to rarely or never before marriage. Their incidence figures for couples with the same, mixed, and no religious affiliations suggest that some of the difference might be associated more with formal participation in church activity than with religious identification. Premarital intercourse was lowest where both couple members were Catholic (29 per cent), highest where couple members had different religions (61 per cent) or none at all (56 per cent), and intermediate where both were Protestant (45 per cent) or Jewish (38 per cent).

Rural-Urban Residence

According to Kinsey (1948 and 1953), the urban male as compared to the rural male and the urban female after age 20 as compared to the rural female after age 20 have slightly higher incidences of premarital coitus.

Sex and Love

According to Ehrmann (1959) female premarital sexual expression, both petting and coitus, is primarily and profoundly related to being in love and to going steady, whereas male sexuality is more indirectly and less exclusively associated with romanticism and inti-

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macy relationships. This conclusion receives confirmation from the findings of other investigators, particularly Terman (1938), Burgess and Wallin (1953), and Kinsey and associates (1953)—that a greater proportion of females than males have premarital coitus with the future spouse only.

Attitudes toward Premarital Sexual Intercourse

The studies of attitudes about premarital sexual behavior have usually been either in terms of the extent to which persons approve or disapprove of this behavior as an abstract proposition (Do you think it all right for boys, for girls, to have sexual intercourse before marriage?) or in terms of the reasons people give for not engaging in this activity (What are the reasons for your not having had sexual intercourse?).

In general, studies of the first type have reflected the traditional mores even among young people, in that they have tended to condemn premarital coitus for both sexes and to expect girls to be more chaste than boys. These polls have also shown that romance and eventual marriage are justifications for greater sexual freedom in that greater sexual intimacies (through petting, however, rather than coitus) are approved for those who are going steady or engaged as opposed to those who are not.

Variations in the findings of research into the reasons for abstaining from premarital coitus suggest that, even though different techniques of investigation will produce different results, there may have been an actual shift in the attitudes of young people in recent years. For example, fear of pregnancy was cited as a much more important reason for not having premarital intercourse among the subjects in the studies of Bromley and Britten (1938) and of Rockwood and Ford (1945) than among those of Landis and Landis (1953), Burgess and Wallin (1953), and Kinsey (1948 and 1953). Morals, religious beliefs, family training, fears, and a desire to wait for marriage are the most important reasons given for restraints. In addition, Burgess and Wallin (1953) and Kinsey (1948 and 1953) point out that lack of opportunity, and Kinsey (1948 and 1953) that lack of desire, also are significant deterrents to sexual activity.

Even though youths in general formally condemn premarital coitus, as revealed in the studies of opinions and attitudes, a majority of those who have actually had this experience seem to condone, justify, or accept it. Several of the findings of Kinsey (1953) and one of Burgess and Wallin (1953) suggest this conclusion. According to Kinsey, among the unmarried females who had never had coitus, 80 per cent stated they did not intend to have it before marriage (the remainder said they would, considered it a possibility, or were undecided); but among those who had already had this experience, only 30 per cent said they did not intend to have more. Of this group, 69 per cent had no regrets, 13 per cent had minor regrets, and 18 per cent had definite regrets for having had this experience. An even larger proportion, 77 per cent, of the married women who were not virgins at the time of marriage expressed no regrets for their premarital coitus; 12 per cent had minor regrets and 11 per cent had definite regrets. An even more positive finding in this regard is cited by Burgess and Wallin (1953). Among their sample of engaged persons who admitted having this experience, 93 per cent of the men and 91 per cent of the women stated that sexual intercourse had strengthened their relationship.

Pregnancy

The Kinsey researchers are the only ones who have systematically collected and published findings on the relationship between premarital coitus and pregnancy. The estimate in Kinsey (1953), based on data supplied by over 2,000 single, white females with coital experience, is that 1 premarital pregnancy had resulted from each 1,000 copulations.

The percentage of single women who became pregnant, however, is relatively larger. As reported in Gebhard (1958), ultimately one-tenth of their sample of white, nonprison females had a premarital pregnancy. Of the premarital pregnancies that ended before marriage, almost nine-tenths were induced abortions and the other one-tenth were either spontaneous abortions or live births in about equal numbers. Among the women 36 years of age and older who had premarital coitus, about the same number of those who never married

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(21 per cent) as compared to those who were married once and were still married (18 per cent), at the time they were interviewed had had a premarital induced abortion.

Marriage

The possible influence of premarital sexual intercourse upon subsequent marital sexual adjustment in particular and the marriage relationship in general has been a much-discussed topic in our society. Although the extent of the speculations upon this subject is still great, it is probably somewhat less now than it was a generation or two ago. The general public interest in this matter is reflected in the extensive discussion of this topic in textbooks on marriage and the family, and as a constant source of concern in novels, stories, and commentaries.

In spite of this great public and academic interest, there have been only a few systematic research studies on this question. Although they have been pioneering and exploratory, as are most studies in this area, they have been provocative and suggestive rather than definitive. The criteria that have been used by researchers to measure "marital happiness" have included such items as self-ratings of one's happiness, the desire to be married to another or not to be married at all, the desire for extramarital intercourse, complaints about one's spouse, amount of disagreement with spouse, the display of affection between spouses, and so on.

Generally speaking, the research findings do not confirm the old folk belief that premarital unchastity, particularly of the female, leads almost inevitably to marital conflict, unhappiness, and failure. Probably the outstanding fact about these findings to date is that premarital chastity shows only a slightly greater statistical relationship to subsequent general marital adjustment than does premarital unchastity. Furthermore, many other variables (such as childhood happiness, happiness of parents, lack of conflict with mother and father, attitude toward sex, parental discipline, and others) have been found to have a far greater relationship to marital adjustment than do premarital coitus or abstinence.

The three most important research-established relationships among premarital coitus, marital adjustment, and marital sexual adjustment (which include the one just discussed and two others) appear initially to be contradictory. Stated simply, they are: (1) premarital virginity is related to marital adjustment; (2) marital adjustment is related to marital sexual adjustment, particularly as indicated by the orgasm adequacy of the female; and (3) the marital orgasm adequacy of the female is related to her premarital sexual behavior. However, these findings are not contradictory for these simple reasons; first, each expresses a statistical probability relationship rather than an absolute cause-effect, or one-to-one, relation; and second, the variables in one set of considerations are not necessarily comparable to those in another (for example, virginity does not imply either presence or absence of potential orgasm adequacy).

Research findings on these questions with reference to premarital coitus are found in Davis (1929), Terman (1938), Locke (1951), Burgess and Wallin (1953), and Kinsey (1953), a few of which are briefly summarized here.

More of the unhappily married women (15 per cent) than of the happily married ones (6 per cent), in the study of Davis, reported that they had had premarital intercourse. Locke discovered that a significantly larger proportion of divorced men (85 per cent) than of happily married men (57 per cent) reported having had intercourse with a few or many women before marriage, but that there was no difference in this respect between the divorced and happily married women.

Terman found a small relation between men's and women's premarital sex histories and their marital happiness scores. The mean happiness scores of (1) husbands who had no premarital sexual intercourse experience was 70.9, (2) husbands who had intercourse with only the future wife was almost the same, 69.3, (3) husbands who had intercourse with "others only" was slightly lower, 67.1, and (4) husbands who had intercourse with both future wife and others was the lowest of all, 64.2. A similar distribution was found for wives. The mean happiness scores of (1) wives who were virgins at marriage was 69.6, (2) wives who had coitus with future spouse only was 67.0, (3) wives

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who had coitus with "others only" was 64.3, and (4) wives who had coitus with both future husband and others was 63.6. Burgess and Wallin report some association between premarital chastity or infrequency of premarital coitus and (1) love scores, (2) engagement success scores, and (3) marital success.

Three studies show a correlation between the wife's orgasm reaction in marital coitus and her premarital sexual behavior. Both Terman (1938) and Burgess and Wallin (1953) found that the wives who were most likely to experience orgasm usually or always, as compared to never or rarely, were those who had premarital intercourse with their future husbands and other men. The data of Kinsey (1953) indicate a correlation between premarital coitus, premarital coitus with orgasm, and premarital orgasm through other outlets, on the one hand, and marital orgasm on the other. These findings suggest that marital orgasm adequacy in coitus may be more directly connected with premarital orgasm experience, irrespective of the means through which it is achieved, rather than with premarital coitus per se.

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WINSTON EHRMANN

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Prostitution

PRACTICALLY all of the books, articles, and essays on the subject of the purchase and sale of sex services (usually and not too fortunately referred to as prostitution) fall into one of two categories: (1) those dealing with the subject impartially, scientifically, and objectively, examining it simply as an existing phenomenon in human society; and (2) those approaching it strictly within the atmosphere and confines of the Judeo-Christian (Western) civilization, therefore prejudging, disapproving, and—in most instances—more or less severely condemning all prostitutional relationships as objectionable, immoral, or "sinful." (In Anglo-Saxon countries, reformers often speak of the "social evil.")

The following article is meant to adhere as closely as possible to the first category.

Definition and Characterization

The word prostitution implies something bad, something derogatory. In using it here, concession is made to custom. It could best be replaced by a term that is less pharisaical, but more objectively descriptive. Such a term should not be charged with any emotional potential of a sanctimonious nature, leading to the usual righteous condemnation. "Sex service" may answer the purpose until a better term is invented.

The usual and rather narrow definition of prostitution is "promiscuous intercourse for hire," to which, however, can and should be added that such intercourse is largely indiscriminate, without affection, and frequently anonymous, payment being made in cash.

If honest affection on the part of the woman enters into the relationship, it ceases to be prostitution even if advantages are being gained. Likewise, the woman who gives her sexual favors unselfishly, without profit although without affection, should not be classed as a prostitute, some contrary opinions notwithstanding.

Types of Prostitutes and Prostitution

The *professional prostitute*, sometimes referred to as the *public prostitute*, derives her sole and only livelihood from her activity. It is her vocation. She may be a high-class "cocotte" or "courtesan" with relatively few lovers—one, for instance, paying her rent, another buying her clothes or luxuries, and others supplying ready cash. If she has only one lover at a time for whom she has no affection but to whom she is faithful in order not to lose him, she is a "kept woman," a mistress. It is a question of one's sensibilities whether to classify her as a professional prostitute or not. Whoever disapproves of her form of making a living is likely to use the derogatory term. The broad-minded and the impartial observer, however, will put her into a class by herself (that of a mistress), because the indiscriminate and promiscuous acts of prostitution are lacking.

The largest number of professional prostitutes and the most typical ones work in brothels. The number of brothels seems to be decreasing steadily in the Western part of the world but they are rather widespread in Eastern and Oriental countries. All types and classes can be found, from the most luxurious establishments to the cheapest "cribs" in slum areas. The girls working in the lower-class brothels are usually older and worn out. A similar type of girl is represented by many streetwalkers,

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who have relatively low remuneration. Those who find their clients in bars, hotel lobbies, or similar places receive much higher fees. Such more expensive girls may also be "call-girls." Either they live alone and have their own clients whom they serve by appointment, or they work for a madam with whom they split their earnings.

Most professional prostitutes are said to have "pimps." They are not necessarily procurers, but live on the girl's earnings and supply their emotional need for affection and companionship. Often they are married, not necessarily to each other. In the lower classes of prostitution, the pimp is usually also the "business manager," arranging for "bookings" in brothels, etc.

The *nonprofessional prostitute,* also known as the *clandestine* or *secret prostitute,* renders sex service as an avocation. She is usually gainfully employed or married but adds to her income by committing acts of prostitution. She may accept money or presents or derive other advantages. She is also referred to as the amateur. The number of such prostitutes is increasing as steadily as that of the professional prostitute is decreasing.

The amateur may work in a factory, store, or office, and is sometimes underpaid or out of a job. She may be a telephone operator, a waitress, or a manicurist. Chorus girls and models are considered to be particularly inclined toward part-time prostitution. But among nonprofessional prostitutes are also divorcees, housewives, students, and even schoolgirls. Whatever their vocation, they are unable to satisfy their desires for the better things in life with their allowances or salaries alone. In other instances, they accept occasional dates in order to meet immediate obligations (pressing debts, a sick husband or child, or needy parents). They illustrate the frequent transitory character of prostitution.

With minor variations, these definitions and examples apply to conditions in the larger cities of Europe and America, provided legal suppression has not succeeded in replacing the professionals almost completely by their clandestine competitors. Their number will largely be determined by the extent of the masculine demand at a given time or locality. Prostitution therefore is an effect, not a cause.

Prostitution usually refers to female prostitution, but there is also male prostitution—homosexual or heterosexual men offering themselves and their services to other men. This type of prostitution is widespread in large cities. Although both forms have much in common, homosexual prostitution constitutes a separate social, medical, and legal problem.

There is also heterosexual prostitution, in which females pay males (gigolos) for their sexual services, and a homosexual (Lesbian) form, in which females pay females. Their incidence is considerably lower than the first two, particularly when compared to the heterosexual female prostitution with which we are dealing here.

It is often difficult, if not impossible, to differentiate prostitution from ordinary fornication. Money may be given not to pay for sex services but to buy a present merely as a friendly gesture. The attitude of an observer, for instance a judge, and his evaluation of a particular incident, would be the decisive factors.

Very frequently females gain advantages by allowing sexual relations that they would otherwise refuse (procuring employment, for instance). Yet, in every-day language, this would not be considered prostitutional. Marriages exist in which wives demand payment for every act of intercourse with their husbands. Literally millions of American wives, having no love or sex desire for their husbands, continue to have sex relations with them in order to maintain the socioeconomic benefits of marriage.

One of the most common errors made in characterizing the activities of a prostitute is to say that she "sells her body." Havelock Ellis called this expression "crude and inexact." He felt that the prostitute should be classed with professional people who receive fees for services rendered. René Guyon, the pioneer French sexologist and a prominent legal expert, accuses the puritans of making a "deliberate mistake in bad faith" when they speak of a prostitute's "sale of her body." He calls such an interpretation "legal and social nonsense" because the

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prostitute merely hires herself for a "special and momentary use" and under a "legitimate contract," provided there is no violence or threat. Such a concept completely dispenses with moralistic and religious considerations and employs common sense and scientific detachment.

Another misconception that is based on a purely emotional reaction is the argument that prostitutional relationships are bad because "love cannot be bought." It is, of course, not "love" that a prostitute sells. She merely provides the opportunity for a man to find release from sexual tension in a manner physiologically more normal than, for instance, self-gratification.

There are enough valid reasons to criticize prostitution, at least in our day and age, without resorting to false, naive, and untenable arguments.

It would be logical and also scientifically sound to say, with Albert Ellis, that prostitution exists when a woman (or a man) engages in sexual relations for other than sexual or amative motives. With such a definition, much misunderstanding could be avoided. For the present discussion, however, the more narrow interpretation of prostitution as socially taboo and legally prohibited is the subject of description, examination, and evaluation here.

Some Historical Data

Throughout recorded history, prostitution has existed in one form or another. But even long before the dawn of civilization, acts of prostitution must have occurred when primitive man bought the woman he wanted, with a special morsel of food, clothing, or some other object, if he was not strong enough to take her by force.

There has always been and always will be a market for something men want and women have to sell. "The ever-raging animal in man," as Plato called it, has remained fundamentally the same throughout the centuries of culture and education.

The "marriage custom" is older than the human race. A "matrimonial" response in contrast to the sexual impulse exists in animals and in birds, as well as in mammals. Only as a by-product of marriage has prostitution come into being. In a state of true promiscuity, the extent of prostitution would be small indeed.

Religious Prostitution

One of the oldest known forms of prostitution was intimately connected with religion, and existed as "temple" or "sacred" prostitution. It originated in the Orient where, around 300 B.C., it was already highly developed and esteemed. The priestesses of the Babylonian temples rendered sex service for pay, and were always treated with great respect and dignity.

Herodotus describes the high form of temple prostitution that existed in the famous tower of Babel after its renovation. On the top floor was a sacred room with a large, richly adorned bed and a golden table. Every night a woman was chosen by her god to sleep there. We are not told whether she embraced the god only in her dreams or whether a mortal—a king, or a high priest—acted as "understudy."

Ancient Greece

In ancient Greece, men of all ages and classes favored prostitution, although marriage was held sacred, especially in Athens. There, as in Sparta and Corinth, visiting with hetaerae (companions), in or outside of temples, was an accepted custom by married as well as unmarried men. Hetaerae were not ordinary prostitutes but were mistresses of many men, as were the high-class courtesans of later days. They were not despised by other women; in fact, they were frequently envied. They served not only the sensuality of their clients but also their intellectual interests. Famous people, such as Pericles, Alexander, Plato, Socrates, Alcibiades, and Praxiteles, had intimate friendships with hetaerae, whose names they preserved for posterity.

The Athenian lawgiver Solon recognized prostitution. Although he described it as an "inevitable, if not necessary evil," he built a temple to Aphrodite Pandemos (which by that time had become identified with extramarital sexual practices). The Greeks appreciated business. The hetaerae paid taxes in accordance with the prices they charged. Not all of them

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"worked" in temples; most of them were in brothels and occasionally in what could be called a "maison de rendezvous," a form of call house but with a less commercial atmosphere. The state also provided for the poorer classes. In cheaper, tax-free brothels, customers paid no more than one obulus (about 3 cents in American money) for sex service.

In Corinth, the Temple of Aphrodite was usually thronged with beautiful women who charged high fees for their favors, part of which went to the State or to the Temple treasury. According to most Greek writers, organized prostitution performed a service for the State. It was not an instrument of licentiousness, but constituted a means to satisfy the natural wants of men. Homosexual prostitution was likewise recognized and flourished throughout the ancient world. Sacred prostitution was also bisexual, men offering themselves to other men as well as to women. In spite of the term "sacred," it was often a rather cold-blooded business proposition.

Rome and the Near East

In Rome, most prostitutes were slaves who had been captured in the wars. Brothels (lupanars) were numerous and were considered an aid to the purity of family life. The circus, the theaters, religious assemblies, and public gatherings all served prostitution. Courtesans were freely allowed everywhere. The Emperor Tacitus once attempted to abolish all brothels in Rome, but found it impossible. At one time in Rome prostitutes wore distinctive costumes, as richly and brilliantly dyed as they could afford. In the third century, all courtesans in the Roman Empire were taxed and the proceeds were devoted to popular amusements. Harlots received licenses and their names were registered. Legal attacks on Roman prostitution took place only in Christian times, never before.

In ancient Egypt, Arabia, and Israel, many courtesans were recruited from divorced and cast-off wives. The Hebrew code was extremely severe regarding Jewish maidens who became prostitutes, but condoned "strange women" as prostitutes. When Jesus protected a prostitute (but flogged the money-changers), he did not conform to the sexual intolerance of the Jews. Did he do so because he saw a justification for prostitution?

Christianity

Later on, the leading fathers of the Christian Church were at times inclined to tolerate and even to sanction prostitution, and some Christian emperors derived taxes from brothels. On the other hand, the concept of original sin, and the condemnation of all sexual pleasure (even in the marriage bed, which was to serve procreation only), had its start in the same Christian Church that had adopted much of its antisexual philosophy from older Hebrew codes.

The Middle Ages saw many changes in the attitude of the authorities and of the public toward prostitution. Under Charlemagne and Frederick Barbarossa (twelfth century), laws against its practice were enacted, with severe punishments and the death penalty for (female) violators. In France in the thirteenth century, all courtesans were at one time driven out of the country after their possessions had been confiscated. Before the Crusades, brothels were destroyed but their inmates allowed to mingle freely with the population or to follow the armies. An unusual attitude is found in a paper read by a priest at the Council of Basel (1431), in which he argued that the sanctioning of prostitution was the only way to preserve good morals.

Venereal diseases were widespread in the Middle Ages. Although their cause was not known, it was somehow felt that brothels had something to do with their dissemination. When an epidemic of syphilis swept over Europe in the sixteenth century, the brothels were blamed and closed. Medical diagnosis had been preceded by shrewd medical observation. Gradually, prostitution became a public-health problem. Segregation and the red light districts came into existence. Toward the end of the seventeenth century, medical examinations of prostitutes were undertaken, and registration, distinctive dresses, and badges were required.

Probably the first attempt to approach prostitution from a social, philosophical, and scientific viewpoint "bereft of all hypocrisy and cant" was made in the early eighteenth century, when

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Bernard Mandeville wrote the *Fable of the Bees*, preceding another Bernard by 100 years. In so many words, he anticipated Shaw's wisdom: "Any vice that cannot be suppressed should be made a virtue."

In England prostitution is not as old as it is on the European continent. Toward the end of the sixteenth century London was still a city about one quarter the size of Paris. The English "stew" and "ale" houses were centers of prostitution which, however, were (and still are) neither outlawed nor licensed. From time to time, puritan societies forced the police to close "bawdy houses" but the institution as such continued to flourish. Casanova, in his *Memoirs*, described the customs in London around 1750. We can gather that, knowing too little English, he was unable to use his art of seduction, but had no difficulty in buying what elsewhere was given to him so freely.

Up to the present time, England viewed prostitution with a measure of common sense. So did France, particularly under Napoleon the First, who, breaking with many of the older moralistic prejudices, established the system of the "maison de tolerance." These supervised brothels seemed to function well and were widely imitated in other countries. Yet, without taking advantage of the new medical discovery for preventing venereal diseases, French politicians, aided (or prodded) by the Church, succeeded only a few years ago in outlawing and closing all "houses." They did not do away with prostitutes nor with venereal infections (rather the opposite). But they did change the character of Parisian life, especially for tourists.

A reaction set in rather promptly. The police in Paris complained of a new "black market" in vice, impossible to control. Corruption increased and diseases spread, so much so that one of the originators of the repressive law (Mme. Richard) openly admitted in a book and in speeches that she had made a mistake and pleaded for the reopening of the brothels (the inmates were to be designated as "social workers" and not as prostitutes). So far she has had no success. It is always easier to have a new law passed than to have it repealed. Whenever something is suppressed for which there is a public demand, corruption and graft follow with large unearned incomes. In this way, new money and political powers are created that can successfuly preserve a *status quo* under which they profit.

The experiences in France did not deter Italy or Japan from following suit. They, too, closed their licensed or tolerated houses in 1958. Undoubtedly they will see a similar reaction. Japan, after only a few months under the new law, reported a significant increase in venereal diseases among prostitutes, who can now be found far outside the formerly restricted neighborhoods. Instead of the (at least partly) controlled brothels, Japanese cities are now said to have adopted the Western call-girl system.

China and Japan

The Orient has always had a more stable form of prostitution than has the Western world. For many centuries the cities of Japan had their "love quarters," the most famous being Tokio's Yoshiwara. China had its "Blue Houses" in urban areas, and its "Flower Boats" in coastal regions. Modern innovations must indeed resemble a true revolution. For a more detailed description of the history of prostitution in Oriental and other countries, the reader is referred to the books of Sanger (1921), Sorge (1920), Scott (1936), and McCabe (1932), and to the article on "Sex Life in the Orient" in this Encyclopedia.

The United States

Almost everywhere during the Middle Ages prostitution was treated with hypocrisy and violence. In modern times it changed to hypocrisy and confusion. Nowhere is this more evident than in the United States.

A. W. Calhoun, in his *Social History of the American Family* (1919), called the conditions in the South "rotten to the core." His rival from the South retorted that the North was "as bad as Rome in its worst years." The large American cities, until the turn of the century, had expensive "parlor houses," with inmates mostly of American birth, and houses of assignation, as well as cheap brothels and streetwalkers, many of whom were recruited from newly arrived emigrants. They were often shamefully

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exploited by the madams and the Capones of their day.

Attempts to regulate prostitution were generally similar to those made in England. Medical examinations of prostitutes at ten-day intervals were customary in various cities in the middle of the nineteenth century. Moralistic groups finally objected to this "licensing of vice" in spite of some success in checking venereal infections. Since then, examinations are only conducted when a woman is arrested as a suspected prostitute, usually under the obtuse "Vagrancy Act."

Typical of the American scene were and still are the "vice commissions," "vice crusaders" (usually self-appointed), "committees for the suppression of vice," a "social hygiene association," and others. The most notorious was the Committee of Fourteen. Around 1930 it was most active in "suppressing vice" in New York. Although its members gloried in the ever-increasing arrests of prostitutes, it was revealed during the so-called "Seabury Investigation," in one of the worst scandals of that sort, that a blackmailing ring of stool-pigeons, corrupt policemen, crooked judges, bondsmen, and lawyers were extorting money from women, whether they were guilty or not guilty. Thoroughly discredited, the Committee had to disband.

The American Social Hygiene Association, a "philanthropic" group existing on private donations, is of an entirely different nature. Under the guise of combating venereal diseases, it conducts a hysterical fight against prostitution and encourages its legal suppression. Rather than recommending, it strikingly ignores all prophylactic measures against venereal diseases, apparently believing that such infection is a punishment for sin.

Also typical of conditions in the United States in our days are the regularly recurring "clean-up campaigns," usually a political expedient on the part of a politically ambitious mayor, who appoints a fanatical police chief more concerned with vice than with crime. The latter uses his manpower to conduct raids on suspected call houses, individual prostitutes, and, incidentaly, bookmaking establishments, innocent card games, bookstores allegedly selling pornographic literature, etc. "Vice" is more or less successfully driven underground or actually suppressed. The city (for example, San Francisco in 1957) is proudly proclaimed to be "clean," with an increase in crimes due to the preoccupation of the police and to other causes completely ignored, although factually admitted. Police corruption sometimes accompanies these tactics.

Most American cities undergo from time to time such eruptions of civic virtue, but sooner or later the former conditions return, the offenders merely having changed their tactics. Call houses and brothels, for example, become massage parlors or escort bureaus that, for a while, exist side by side with their legitimate competitors.

As this sketchy account has shown, the history of prostitution is, on the one hand, the history of unchanging human sexuality and, on the other, the history of human stupidity, avarice, and hypocrisy.

Sociological and Psychological Aspects

The Role of Prostitution

As we have seen, sex service on a commercial basis has existed throughout the ages. There have always been people who have made their living by supplying—either directly or as intermediaries—the means to satisfy the sex urge as a basic and irrepressible human instinct.

The human sex urge is fundamentally promiscuous. The establishment of marriage and the family with all their advantages—and the resulting promotion of monogamy—have only somewhat repressed and modified its basic character.

Monogamy is, after all, only an artifact of civilization. It is, no matter how desirable in this stage of evolution, by no means universally wanted nor individually and constitutionally attainable; nor is it, as an institution, uniformly successful. The man who does not care for variety in sex, or does not include it in his pursuit of happiness, is in the minority. He has either been rarely fortunate in finding a perfect mate, or nature has provided for him a "low-level" psychosexual constitution.

Whether it is admitted or not, the majority of men do desire novelty as well as variety in

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sex. This natural urge cannot be abolished, either by sermons or by laws. An intelligent society will therefore try to direct such urges into the least harmful channels. Tolerated but supervised sex services (prostitution) could provide such channels.

Our largely antisexual Western civilization insists on a different approach, no matter what the consequences may be. It outlaws prostitution, closes a possible safety valve, with the result that the polygamous man seeks nonprostitutional outlets for his libido. In this way we are likely to have more seduction with illegitimate pregnancies and abortions; more adultery and divorces; more rape and attacks on children; more homosexual activities for the bisexually inclined.

All these dangers have been pointed out again and again by thoughtful writers, by independent social scientists, and by sexologists. However, in our day and age, the views of the Church and of the sex-hostile puritan have invariably prevailed. The sociologist, Lecky, called the old-fashioned form of professional prostitution ("parlorhouses") a "bulwark for the home." Long before Lecky, the Roman Senator Cato remarked that he was always glad to see a man emerge from a brothel because "otherwise he may have gone to lie with his neighbor's wife." Even the Church has not always been opposed to prostitution. St. Augustine once warned: "Suppress prostitution and frivolous lust will ruin our society."

Returning to the present and to the American scene, it may be worthwhile to scan the statistical data that Kinsey and his group have been able to gather. They came to the conclusion that "the frequencies of coitus with females who were not prostitutes has increased to an extent which largely compensated for a decrease in contacts with prostitutes."

They also found that 69 per cent of white males in the United States had some experience with prostitutes. Of this group, 15 to 20 per cent have paid sex relations for "a five-year period." About 4 per cent of the total sex outlet of all American males is drawn from relations with prostitutes. (This is a "minimal" figure. The actual figure is undoubtedly higher. Kinsey once indicated to this writer that 10 per cent may be nearer to the truth.)

If one considers that 40 per cent of our population of 175 million (or 70 million) is composed of men in their prime, and if one further considers that such men have an average of three sex outlets weekly (210 million outlets), the total number of even this low 4 per cent prostitutional contacts (8,400,000 contacts a week) is truly staggering. The 10 per cent figure would swell the total weekly contacts with prostitutes in the United States to 21 million. To attempt their suppression by police methods appears almost childish in its uselessness. All that is ever accomplished is that prostitution is driven underground, that is to say, is diverted from a recognizable form that could be supervised into a system and into a section of society that is beyond any control.

The Social Position of the Prostitute

The social position of the prostitute has undergone constant changes. State and society have, with great regularity, alternately tolerated and combated the commercial service of sex.

Since the system itself, based on an unalterable demand of nature, cannot be abolished or prevented, the repressive efforts of the puritans were directed against the individual prostitutes. This resulted frequently in outright persecution, shameful methods of entrapment that are intolerable in any democratic society, in unjust punishment, and, on the part of the prostitute herself, in the adoption of an antisocial character and the finding of "protectors," in the form of pimps, racketeers, or corrupt officials. In this way, graft and venality arise out of efforts meant to promote morality. The parallel with the prohibition of alcoholic beverages easily suggests itself.

Arguments against the repression of prostitution invariably bring forth the counterargument that greater toleration would result in an increase of prostitution, in more temptation and more dissemination of venereal diseases. For an average intellect and for the average conformist's mentality this latter argument, together with the idea of "sin" attached to all nonmarital sex relations, has much appeal. Therefore attempts by scientists and more advanced thinkers to have sex service recognized morally, legally, and socially have been doomed to fail-

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ure and the present unhealthy system of repression has been preserved, at least in many countries of the Western world.

An additional influence on the spread and character of prostitution is naturally exercised by economic conditions, depressions possibly increasing the supply, prosperity raising the demand (and the price).

The woman's approach to the entire question is too often ignored because of the more dominant masculine approach. To present the female attitude, Dr. Maude Glasgow (1945), an American woman physician, may be quoted. She claimed that prostitution is a man's business and is established and supported by men, who reap huge financial profits. The woman alone is the offender, whereas the man goes scot free. "Men," the doctor demands, "should be arrested, finger-printed, placed under police surveillance and perhaps imprisoned. . . . A register should be kept within a brothel of patrons, giving name, age, marital status and date of visit."

Although some of the charges made by the doctor are essentially true, it is not man's tyranny that is responsible for the injustices, but rather the biological differences between the sexes. The recommendation that the male customer be prosecuted together with the prostitute may appear militantly feministic, but is actually an emotional reaction rather than a logical analysis. To put such a proposition into practice would undoubtedly result either in an absurdly high number of arrests or in much more corruption. Furthermore, such repression of male sexuality could be highly dangerous. Explosions in the form of sex crimes, seductions, or diversion into homosexuality would be infinitely greater than they are under the present system, where they are certainly great enough. A more objective examination of the reasons women become prostitutes on a permanent or temporary basis would reveal a different and much more complex picture than the theory that they are merely victims of evil men.

It is obvious that prostitution must have distinct advantages for the woman, otherwise it would not continue to exist. The noted sociologist Kingsley Davis (1937) says that from a purely economic point of view the prostitute comes "perilously near the situation of getting something for nothing." He continues: "The woman may suffer no loss at all, yet receive a generous reward, resembling the artist who, paid for his work, loves it so well that he would paint anyway. Purely from the angle of economic return, the hard question is not why so many women become prostitutes, but why so few of them do." It is of course the limitation of the demand that would answer this question.

Some of the advantages that women derive through prostitution, at least within European and American cultures, seem to be as follows:

1. Prostitution, as previously noted, means the trading of sexual favors for a nonsexual advantage. But this employment of sex for nonsexual ends characterizes all our institutions (notably courtship and marriage) in which sex plays a part and which many women enter only for the economic and social status provided by men. As Davis says, this practice includes the employment of pretty girls in stores, cafes, charity drives, and advertisements which, while not generally involving actual intercourse, still contain and utilize erotic stimulation. Furthermore, engaging for profit in virtually any kind of nonsexual activity is also prostitution. Many girls, therefore, consciously or subconsciously, seem to realize that prostituting themselves sexually is no worse than prostituting themselves (usually for much less cash gain) vocationally, manually, or otherwise.

2. The economic rewards of prostitution are normally far higher than those of most other female occupations. This reward is not only for actual services rendered but also for the chance the woman is taking when engaging in an illegal occupation and for her loss of social standing in the community. An attractive girl, when working in large American cities as a call girl with good connections, may earn several hundred dollars a week for herself.

3. The call of adventure lures many girls to a life of prostitution. Prostitutes, especially when they are working for a "high-class" madam, call house, or brothel or are working for themselves in a good neighborhood, meet many intelligent, prominent, wealthy males whom they would never meet under ordinary circumstances. Their life is likely to be far more interesting and exciting than that of the average stenographer or shopgirl.

4. Not a few prostitutes find romantic attrac-

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tions in their profession. Contrary to popular notion, a good many males become emotionally attached to and ultimately marry girls whom they first started to patronize as prostitutes. There have also been cases of a policeman marrying the girl he was sent to arrest as a harlot.

5. A small minority of prostitutes are so highly sexed that they actually enjoy many or most of their sex participations, and these women find a life of prostitution virtually ideal. Kinsey and his associates find that although most women are not as easily aroused or as highly sexed as are men, 2 or 3 per cent are far more interested in sex stimuli and sex relations than any man. It is likely that some prostitutes are in this group.

6. Many girls in our culture resort to a life of prostitution to satisfy some of their neurotic needs. There are those who are punishing themselves for some actual or imagined "sins." Others are neurotically tied to pimps or panderers who unscrupulously exploit them or virtually (though not physically) force them to work at their trade. Still others prostitute themselves to obtain narcotics. Some girls are rebels and become prostitutes to wreak (conscious or subconscious) revenge on their parents, broken homes, or society, or they enter prostitution on the rebound from an unhappy love affair.

7. Many girls who are too mentally deficient, psychologically inadequate, lazy, or physically weak to hold down regular employment in our culture find that they have to resort to prostitution in order to earn a living.

8. A large proportion of prostitutes, contrary to what the public often thinks, finds considerable expediency in temporary prostitution. Many of them work as call girls or in "houses" for a limited period of time, until a financial emergency in their families has been met, until a debt has been paid or certain luxuries have been acquired, or until other advantages have been gained. They may then return to a legitimate job or to being a housewife until a new emergency arises.

The Client

Several advantages of prostitution for the male have already been indicated by previous remarks. Aside from the necessity to relieve sexual tension when neither steady nor sporadic satisfaction is available through any other (nonprostitutional) contact, men visit prostitutes for the following reasons:

1. They need variety in order to satisfy their normal sex urges.

2. They are too shy emotionally, too handicapped mentally or physically, or too old to compete with other males in winning female sex partners on the basis of mutual enjoyment. The availability of a prostitute is actually a blessing to them.

3. Many men have deviated sex urges of a sadomasochistic or fetishistic nature that can only be satisfied in purchased sex relations. Frustration in this respect may be dangerous to society. Other men desire socially tabooed forms of sex relations that only paid-for sex service can provide for them. Others again have an active libido but are impotent, and could not satisfy a wife or sweetheart. To the prostitute their disability is immaterial.

4. A large number of men want to avoid obligations, are afraid of impregnating a girl, or want to escape emotional entanglements. Others do not have the time to court a girl until she may agree to sex relations on a nonmarital basis or they do not have the money for extended courtships. Still others do not want to take a chance to have their libido aroused by love-making and then perhaps be left frustrated by the girl's refusal to have intercourse. A visit to a prostitute may be, for all of them, simpler, safer, and even cheaper.

5. Some men merely want to relax in female company with ordinary conventions removed and, as Havelock Ellis noted, "add an element of gaiety and variety to the ordered complexity of modern life, a relief from its mechanical routine, a distraction from its dull and respectable monotony."

In connection with these advantages for individual males, prostitution, as mentioned previously, can have a salutary effect on society by preventing sex crimes or sexual neuroses that may develop under enforced sex starvation. This effect is, however, not generally admitted, in spite of the fact that studies have shown that sex crimes increase when prostitution is successfully suppressed. One should hardly need statistics to prove this connection. Common sense alone should tell us that it is true. It is impossible to estimate how many women

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and children have been raped so that our puritanical standards could be maintained. But many undoubtedly have.

Furthermore, it seems self-evident that the bisexual man who can be attracted and aroused by either sex will go the path of least resistance, choosing homosexual outlets with a possible permanent fixation, when the ("normal") avenue of heterosexual prostitution is blocked.

A final but by no means insignificant service that prostitution could render would be the prevention of hasty, ill-judged marriages, entered into almost solely as the result of sexual pressure. Utilization of the services of a prostitute could have diminished the imperious sex drive, making possible a more considered and therefore more hopeful union.

It can well be argued that, in a democratic society, there should be a place for all kinds of voluntarily entered, noncoercive sex relations, prostitutional or nonprostitutional. As long as prostitutes freely choose their profession and as long as some males harmlessly choose to enjoy their favors, rather than those of nonprostitutes (including their wives), two major modes of sex behavior instead of one are available for human satisfaction, and human existence can thereby be enriched.

Disadvantages

For both sexes the disadvantages of prostitution are evident. The worst aspect of this profession in large parts of the world is its illegality, which forces the girls of the demimonde (half-world) into the underworld. Easy virtue, mental defects, or delinquency are made crimes. Stigmas remain for the girl as a former "social outcast" when she wants to enter or re-enter the so-called respectable society. Unless she can leave the profession relatively early in life, her prospects for the future are dim. One pimp may follow another, one exploiter be replaced by the next. Prisons and hospitals alternate. With every arrest and conviction a more hardened, resentful personality emerges. Increasing frustration easily leads to alcohol or dope, which in most instances means the end of the road.

The male customer of prostitutes runs his risks too wherever the profession is outlawed. He may be robbed, arrested, blackmailed, infected, or ruined by scandal. To most males, the honest, joyful cooperation of a sex partner is essential for their own enjoyment. Prostitutes rarely satisfy such hedonistic wishes, although many have learned to act the part and supply the illusion.

But, in spite of all, prostitution continues, merely changing its face with changing times and places.

Legal Aspects

The attitude of the law toward prostitution has always been one of confusion, contradiction, and change. The intention of the law is either to suppress prostitution as such, or to prevent its harmful consequences and by-products. An example for these two objectives is the situation in England as compared to that in the United States.

In England no prostitute can be punished for what she is. But if she does something in the interest of her profession, such as soliciting or advertising, she commits an offense. In that way she is different from those in other professions. Any working girl is allowed to flirt as much as she wants; let a known prostitute do the same thing and she can be arrested.

In the United States, prostitution is, for all practical purposes, illegal everywhere. Only in the state of Nevada is prostitution as such not unlawful by state law, but almost everything connected with it is illegal. A number of towns, however, in Nevada and in some other states, have red-light districts or allow brothels, but all of them operate illegally. They usually, although not always, buy immunity from law-enforcement agencies and politicians.

Naturally, it is often impossible to separate a prostitutional relationship from that of simple fornication. It is also impossible to decide how many sexual relationships for a monetary consideration a girl must have before she is classed as a professional prostitute. Furthermore, the prostitute, being a social outcast, is not likely to receive justice even in a court of law. In America it is even possible for a girl to be arrested and detained because a policeman merely suspects her of being a prostitute.

The laws dealing with prostitution, like most sex laws in Western countries, derive from the

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old Hittite and Hebrew moral codes that were taken over to a large extent by Christianity. Prostitution is therefore treated as a moral offense and a sin more than as a crime. Lawmakers act emotionally rather than scientifically when they formulate laws against sex service for a fee.

René Guyon (1934) calls prostitution "nothing more than one modality of sex-relations" and condemns "puritan-inspired" laws against it as "unjustifiable," a "scientific, social, and legal error." A woman's sexual attractiveness undoubtedly constitutes an economic asset comparable to an opera singer's larynx or a wrestler's muscular development. "The woman's sex value should be permitted to be used for her own benefit," continues Guyon, "and should be protected by law like any other value and asset of her personality." Dr. Edward Glover, of the Institute for the Scientific Treatment of Delinquency, of London, makes the following comments (1945):

> We must remember that the definition of prostitution is for all practical purposes a legal one. Hence we must not neglect to consider how far our present legal procedures are responsible for aggravating the very condition they are intended to control. For example, to impose a fine is both irrational and absurd; it encourages the girl to repeat the offence in order to have the wherewithal to pay the fine. To imprison takes away her last chance to find "respectable" employment later on. In any case, the "moral" indignation so frequently expressed by magistrates dealing with prostitutes, although strictly speaking no part of their legal prerogative (which is to deal with infringements of law), is a positive encouragement to recidivism. Moralistic fulmination is never a very satisfactory form of therapy. Indeed, the authorities might well consider whether prostitution and other sexual irregularities might not be dealt with solely from the point of view of public decency, i.e. by summons and not by conviction, and even then only after due cautionings and warnings have been given and ignored. Appearance in Court would then be for acting in defiance of the warning. It is obviously idle to raise moral issues unless the Court is prepared to behave in a logical manner, to trace these moral problems to their innumerable sources, and to cooperate in removing or alleviating the causal factors.

The realization that brothels and prostitutes disseminated venereal diseases had a profound effect on the legal attitude. After ruthless persecution had run its course, laws of regulation and control came into existence, with enforced medical examinations and attempts to reeducate and reclaim the "fallen woman." Many European countries, particularly France, tried the system of regulation, and its actual value is still a debated issue.

For many years the struggle went on between those who favored "regulation" (with medical inspection) and those who wanted to abolish it (abolitionists). Both systems have their advantages and disadvantages, which are reflected in the ever-changing legal statutes. For the abolitionists, any "regulation" means "licensing vice" and is therefore objectionable. Those that favor regulation do so because they feel that even a superficial medical examination is better than none. They think of hygiene and the teaching of preventive measures first, while their opponents consider the moral issue before all others.

At present, the case for regulation appears to be losing ground. More and more countries are closing their medically inspected brothels. That, of course, does not mean that either they or the individual prostitutes cease to exist. Some of them merely continue as illegal enterprises and often pay for police "protection." Others change their outward appearance and function as "massage parlors," "dancing academies," or "Turkish baths," unless assignations go on in a tearoom or bar with an otherwise legitimate trade.

In order to procure evidence against such establishments or individuals and enforce the letter of the law, the police have to resort to methods of entrapment that are rather doubtful as to their "morality." Recently, John Murtagh, the Chief Magistrate of New York City, in a book written with Sara Harris, scathingly denounced these methods as contemptible, leading to corruption and degradation of police officers.

The English laws that are not directed against prostitution itself usually forbid the use of premises for illicit sexual intercourse, but only by more than one couple. A woman may entertain as many men as she wishes in her room or apartment without breaking a law. But if two girls live together and both en-

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tertain, the place becomes a brothel and is illegal.

In 1956, the British Wolfenden Report stirred the English-speaking countries. After long investigations, it recommended changes in the laws dealing with homosexuality as well as with prostitution. The latter, says the Report, "cannot be eradicated through the agency of the criminal law. It remains true that without a demand for her services, the prostitute could not exist, and that there are enough men who avail themselves of prostitutes to keep the trade alive. It also remains true that there are women who, even when there is no economic need to do so, choose this form of livelihood. For so long as these propositions continue to be true, there will be prostitution, and no amount of legislation directed toward its abolition will abolish it."

An agency in the United States that has fearlessly and with scientific detachment investigated the American sex laws and criticized most of them is the American Law Institute in Philadelphia. So far it has not yet dealt with prostitution. But even if it does and would make its recommendations as to changes in the law, it may take a generation or more until the lawmakers act and the present state of confusion and injustice is corrected in accordance with common sense and modern science.

Venereal Disease

"The professional prostitutes that come here for examination are generally very clean women. Some of them carry penicillin or terramycin tablets in their handbags." So spoke a health officer in charge of a medical clinic in an eastern prison of the United States. It is understood, of course, that this remark does not mean that all prostitutes are healthy and clean. Many are still infected and could spread the infection.

Routine examinations of prostitutes in the United States are carried out only on those that have been arrested. Drs. Rosenthal and Vandow (1958) report from the New York City Department of Health that in 1946 (one year before the introduction of penicillin) 23.6 per cent of arrested prostitutes had gonorrhea, as compared to 5.2 per cent in 1956. Syphilis was found in 21.3 per cent in 1946 and in only 8.5 per cent in 1956. "In 1946, 38.2 per cent of the arrested group of prostitutes had one or more venereal diseases; 10 years later, in 1956, this percentage had fallen to 13.2 per cent."

It is routine at this clinic, as in many others in the United States, that all prostitutes, infected or not, are given penicillin injections, either as a curative or as a preventive measure, because it is assumed that they have had frequent contacts with infection.

Naturally, prostitutes who are arrested do not represent prostitutes in general. It can be logically assumed that among those that never come in conflict with the law infections are rarer. The same higher intelligence that protected them against arrest has probably protected them against disease.

Modern Therapy and Prophylaxis

The previous quotation from a health officer illustrates two important facts that must be considered when the danger of veneral disease dissemination through prostitution is discussed.

First, even in the pre-penicillin days, the professional prostitute was a frequent, though not the principal, carrier of gonorrhea and syphilis. There are many statistics, including those gathered by the American Social Hygiene Association, especially in wartime, to prove this contention. The "amateur," the willing "pick-up," and "friend" were much more dangerous. The professional, although more frequently exposed to infection, had, to some extent, learned to protect herself, and also her business and her clients. The "amateur," uncontrolled and uncontrollable, seeking pleasure for herself, often neglects the simplest hygienic measures.

Second, we are now well advanced in the understanding and use of antibiotic remedies. For the treatment and prevention of gonorrhea and syphilis the most effective antibiotic is still penicillin. When other so-called broad-spectrum antibiotics are used, it is for the treatment of gonorrhea only.

For the purpose of treatment or prophylaxis of gonorrhea, one single injection of an adequate dose of penicillin is effective in the vast majority of cases. For prevention, one or two tablets of 400,000 units of penicillin were found

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to be generally dependable when tested by the Navy. However, it is possible that strains of gonococci have developed that are resistant to penicillin, although possibly yielding to other antibiotics. This question is still being debated in scientific circles. In any event, gonorrhea continues to be a significant health problem, not to be ignored, although it can hardly be called "a menace to the nation's health," as it was twenty years ago. All these factors are to be considered in dealing with prostitution.

For syphilis, a single injection of an adequate dose of a slow-absorbing form of penicillin (for example, Benzathine Penicillin G) was established in 1954 "as a method of choice for the treatment of early syphilis." According to a two-year scientific study, it "yielded success rates of 96 to 100 per cent in the primary and secondary stages of the disease." In this way the time during which the Spirochaeta (responsible for syphilis) can be transmitted is greatly shortened. Yet syphilis has by no means been conquered, because public education as to prevention lags behind the advances in treatment.

Preventive methods, as practiced in nonmarital sex relations and particularly in brothels and by individual prostitutes and their customers, have likewise undergone changes in the last decade. The once popular Sanitube and calomel ointment are largely outmoded. Antibiotic creams containing aureomycin or terramycin are being used, but their effectiveness is more than dubious. The liberal use of soap and water, with early urination after contact, is probably better than anything else, except, of course, the condom, which is still the best protective device.

Many professional prostitutes who visit private physicians regularly for inspection and smears insist upon a prophylactic penicillin injection at the same time, this method having proved to be more dependable than tablets.

The antibiotics, through their success in the prophylaxis and treatment of venereal diseases, have become a thorn in the side of the antisexual propagandists. They claim that by removing the fear of infection, immorality is encouraged. From their point of view, they are probably right. But what appears as "immoral" to them is not necessarily immoral to others, morality being not only a matter of time and geography, but also of individual conscience and conviction.

To summarize: Venereal diseases are more widely spread by nonprostitutes than by professionals, and medical science has advanced far toward their control and eventual eradication. Education of the public on preventive measures seems still to be urgently needed in order to remove what is left of the menace of these diseases.

Outlook

The future of prostitution is bound up with the future of society in general and the effect of wider and more effective sex education in particular. Professional prostitutes will continue to decrease in numbers as free love becomes freer and adultery more and more fashionable. "Sex service" for a fee will be rendered more on a part-time basis by otherwise employed women than as an exclusive occupation, except for a limited period of time.

Promiscuity on a nonprostitutional basis will increase but will be selective in form. Men, especially young men, will receive gratuitous sexual favors more readily, but some men will always have to pay for them. The demand will continue to produce a supply, less and less on a professional and more and more on an "amateur" basis.

"Heavy petting" as one form of sexual activity will probably become more popular and will be more easily procured than other forms, especially intercourse, from nonprostitutes. More and more prostitutes will begin to "specialize" in various forms of deviations.

So long as a society structure exists as we know it now, prostitution in some form must persist, not necessarily as a "problem" but rather as an established institution with all its advantages and disadvantages.

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HARRY BENJAMIN

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Protestantism and Sex

THE attitude of the Reformers toward sex must be considered against the background of prevailing conditions in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. The clergy were forbidden to marry, yet substantial numbers of them were involved in sexual relations, some casual and clandestine, others open and more enduring, common-law marriages that were often blessed with offspring. Luther was convinced that "whoever does not marry must misconduct himself" and Calvin commented that "it is scarcely possible to find one convent in ten that is not rather a brothel than a sanctuary of chastity." One might suspect statements of this kind, considering their source, were they not substantiated by other historians of the period. Even Catholic writers admit that the conditions prior to the so-called Counter Reformation were deplorable. This state of affairs led Luther, already at odds with Rome over doctrinal questions, to question the whole institution of clerical celibacy. He came ultimately to strike at the very foundations of the traditional exaltation of virginity and celibacy on the twofold basis of his study of the Scriptures and his own experience.

Luther

Shortly after his move from the monastery at Erfurt to the faculty of the University of Wittenberg, Luther was given the responsibility of teaching Biblical theology. His growing familiarity with the Old and New Testaments (which was later increased still further by his translation of the Bible from Hebrew and Greek into German) resulted in his challenge to the accepted ecclesiastical doctrine and practice at many points. He found in the Catholic tradition already delivered to him a firm conviction that sex is a part of the divine creation and therefore to be affirmed by the Christian believer. Had there been sex between Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden before the Fall, it would have been pure and holy. There would have been no uncontrollable lust, no shame over nudity, and no pain connected either with coitus or childbirth. The medieval tradition displays a remarkable unanimity in agreeing that Adam and Eve had not shared coitus before their expulsion from Paradise.

The original sin of the parents of the race, however, corrupted all facets of human life, sex among them. The first penalty and result of the Fall is what the Catholic theologians called concupiscence, the ravages of lust. This malady is by no means confined to man's sexual life; it pervades his entire existence. It makes him discontent with whatever he has, however much or little, and eager for more, be it money, power, knowledge, or sexual pleasure. The last is the most dramatic illustration of the predicament and therefore came into such frequent usage as an example as to become almost identical with concupiscence. But every major theologian of medieval Catholicism and the Reformation understood full well that sexual desire, awakening again each time it had been lulled to sleep, is only one facet of concupiscent lust. It is true that fallen man finds it difficult ever

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fully to satisfy his sexual urges, for the more he gets the more he wants. But the identical principle rules in all areas of life. Does he have money? He wants more. Is power, or fame, securely within his grasp, so that he says, "Enough"? Never. Always he reaches out so that he is never satisfied, but continually frustrated and restless.

This understanding of the human predicament led to the ascetic impulse in Christianity, even as it did in Buddhism. If man purges himself of what Gautama called *tanha*, or craving, and what St. Augustine called *concupiscientia*, or lust, then he takes the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, giving up his desire for possessions, for passion, and for power. This essentially monastic attitude led the Catholic church to distinguish between two orders: the higher, "more excellent way" of priest, monk, and nun, as opposed to the lower path taken by the weak and struggling laity. Luther's quarrel was not with the Catholic view of concupiscence and its tragic consequences in human life. He accepted that wholeheartedly and applied it with an even more rigorous consistency. He denied that any man or woman (save only a small and exceptional minority) could be free from lust, and he shattered the distinctions between the higher and lower ways.

His violent rejection of clerical celibacy was not, as his Roman Catholic detractors have sometimes suggested, motivated by his own inability to remain true to his monastic vows, by his uncontrollable passion for the nun who became his wife, Katherine von Bora. Chronology refutes such a canard. In 1521, four years before he had even met Katherine, he set forth his opposition to the whole institution in a letter to Melancthon:

> The argument briefly is this: Whoever has taken a vow in spirit opposed to evangelical freedom must be set free and his vow be anathema. Such, however, are all those who have taken the vow in search of salvation, or justification. Since the greater number of those taking vows take them for this reason, it is clear that their vow is godless, sacrilegious, contrary to the Gospel, and hence to be dissolved and laid under a curse (*Briefwechsel*, 3, p. 224).

His argument, in other words, was theological and not personal. He married Katherine several years later out of a sense of duty, feeling that he ought to marry and finding Katherine on his hands in need of a husband. Theirs was no romance, in the modern sense of that term, although their marriage ripened into a mature affection and respect.

Luther's conviction was set against all those aspects of Roman Catholic piety that suggested a man could or ought to earn his own salvation by his good works. To Luther this was a blasphemous impossibility, since salvation was the absolutely free and unmerited gift of God. All men, including monks and priests, were sinners in the divine sight, deserving only damnation. All distinctions between higher and lower forms of life were therefore false and pernicious. The monk at his prayers in his cell was no less in need of divine mercy and grace than was the maid sweeping a room, and neither was the monk's "sacred" activity more pleasing in God's eyes than the maid's "secular" occupation. All work was sanctified, but none of it earned salvation. That came from God alone. Luther admitted that there may be those who by a special gift of God's grace are enabled to remain single, but to make a general rule binding on all religious orders seemed to him not only unwise but positively contrary to God's will. "There must be no general law and everyone shall be perfectly free. Any priest, monk or nun who cannot restrain the desires of the flesh should marry, and thus relieve the burden of conscience" (*Works*, Holman edition, Vol. 2, p. 401). Here Luther was simply following the Apostle Paul's advice to the Corinthians: "It is better to marry than to be consumed with passion" (I Cor. 7). In addition, he was concerned about the troubled consciences of the multitudes of the clergy involved in illicit sexual relations.

This, then, was the first consequence of the Protestant break with Rome, so far as the realm of sex is concerned: the destruction of clerical celibacy and the establishment of a married clergy. Note, however, that this did not spring from any higher valuation of the sexual impulse, from any conviction that sex is natural and good and therefore open to all. Rather,

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Luther strikingly foreshadowed Freud in his insistence upon the irresistible power of the libido. Virtually no man is free of its imperious demand. Human beings must have a sex life of some kind or another and the least of all the evils possible is marriage, which God has provided as a remedy for concupiscence. Not that this was the original divine intention. Marriage as it was created was altogether pure and good and still retains vestiges of its original righteousness. But such is the wisdom of God that he provided the cure for the malady of sin even before the disease had put in its appearance!

Calvin

John Calvin, in most respects, followed the lead of his predecessor in reform, but he took a somewhat more positive view of the possibilities of marriage and sexuality. He agreed that the sexual life of man contains "an irregularity, which, I allow, is beyond others violent and next to brutish." But he insisted that

> . . . whatever there is of vice or baseness is so covered over by the honorableness of marriage, that it ceases to be a vice, or at least is not reckoned a fault by God. . . . You may then take it briefly thus: conjugal intercourse is a thing that is pure and holy and honorable because it is a pure institution of God: the immodest desires with which persons burn is a fault arising from the corruption of nature; but in the case of believers marriage is a veil, by which the fault is covered over, so that it no longer appears in the sight of God (*Commentary on I Corinthians,* Ch. 7).

Calvin cautioned against two extremes: either to abhor sex and seek celibacy, regarding all forms of sexuality as evil and degrading, or to regard sex as self-justifying, arguing that "married persons might indulge themselves in whatever license they please." Sex in marriage, then, is no sin, but it must be proper and decorous, not immoderate or lustful. Medieval Catholic moral theology had seen sex as a two-lane highway, carrying the traffic of a double motivation. The first and most fundamental was procreation, the second, the quieting of lust. Any marital coitus entered with the purpose of begetting offspring was proper and correct, an obedience to the divine command to "be fruit ful and multiply." If reproduction were secondary to pleasure in motivation, then the spouse accepting intercourse on such grounds was free from sin, simply rendering what St. Thomas Aquinas called "the marriage debt," protecting the lusting partner from the worse sin of adultery. The initiating spouse, however, was guilty of venial sin, although the sacramental grace of matrimony covered the lapse from grace.

The Reformers scorned such nice distinctions and recognized the necessity and the validity of marital intercourse as a relief from libidinal tension. But this did not, in their eyes, justify utter license. Paul's "permission" to the Corinthians to engage in sexual relations in marriage was, according to Calvin, given "that they might not . . . loosen unduly the restraints of lust." Paul deliberately commented that he had written as he had on account of their infirmity—"that they may bear in mind that marriage is a remedy for unchastity, lest they should inordinately abuse the advantage of it, so as to gratify their desire by every means; nay more, without measure or modesty."

Classical Protestantism opened matrimony to all, clergy and laity alike, recognizing the power of the sexual drive over virtually every human being. But the Reformers were by no means emancipated moderns. They shared the suspicion of sexuality that had been the heritage of Western civilization since the Hellenistic Age in the third century B.C. The Calvinistic Puritans in England and the Anabaptists on the Continent laid considerable stress on the importance of companionship in marriage (see *What Christianity Says About Sex, Love, and Marriage,* by Roland H. Bainton, especially Ch. 5). But prudery and shame retained their sheltering position around human sexuality in Protestant circles generally throughout the modern period. Puritanism in the Reformed sector of Protestantism and pietism in the Lutheran combined to nurture the shadowy aura beneath which sex struggled to survive. The England of Queen Victoria led a proper existence, where all was modesty and decorum, approved alike by the Establishment and the Nonconformists. Continental Europe

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and the United States sought the same shelter and Protestantism led the way.

Twentieth-Century Protestantism

The long-overdue protest against the price paid by Western civilization for such repressions and against the hypocrisy that flourished in the darkness came in the late nineteenth century not from Protestant sources but from the secular world. Havelock Ellis in England and Sigmund Freud on the Continent shattered the complacency and the blindness of bourgeois society and stripped away the false front behind which hid powerful sexual drives and vigorous sexual activity. Neither of these pioneers nor their followers were libertines, either personally or theoretically. In fact, Freud was himself something of a proper Victorian. But both men insisted upon two things: first, that sex is a natural instinct to be accepted and enjoyed, and second, that sexual repression produces perversion and deceit.

The initial reaction to their protest from all quarters of polite society—and Protestant circles were no exception—was a storm of protest. The very foundations of sexual morality were threatened, so it seemed to Protestant divines on both sides of the Atlantic. Freud's religious scepticism was seized upon as evidence of his desire to attack the fortress of respectability and righteousness.

Twentieth-century Protestantism finds itself in a somewhat schizophrenic position with regard to sex. The supporters of traditional moralism, with all of its repressive restraints, still represent the majority. Sex is justified only within the bonds of matrimony; all else is sin. There are, of course, various gradations even within the ranks of the conservatives. Some would countenance mild premarital expressions of affection as comparatively harmless: holding hands, a chaste good-night kiss. Some would argue that the Kinsey studies should have been made but not published. Others would frown even on dancing as a dangerous arousal of the "lower" passions, eschew the cinema and most modern fiction, and persist in referring to a woman's legs as her "limbs." Probably the extreme reactionaries now find themselves outnumbered by the holders of a somewhat moderate position. But there is a growing company of liberal thinkers on the "left wing" of Protestantism. These men and women have not surrendered grudgingly to the advance of modern sexology but rather have embraced its findings with gratitude and enthusiasm, regarding all truth as coming from God.

It is perfectly clear to all contemporary Protestants that Western society is undergoing a sexual revolution of considerable magnitude. The relaxation of rigid codes of censorship in all forms of art and literature, the sexual emancipation of women, the high degree of deviation from the "accepted" moral standards, the apparent growth of male homosexuality—all of these things are so obvious as to be unavoidable.

Where Protestant schizophrenia appears is in the response to the revolution. The traditionalists call for a radical reform, a return to the old standards of decency and decorum. They argue that Freud and Ellis have been proven wrong. We have lifted the lid, talked about sex openly, written about it freely, raised children without repressions and fear. And the result? A healthier, more natural attitude toward human sexuality? On the contrary, a neurotic sex-saturated society that has lost all sense of balance. Beside the compulsive obsessions of twentieth-century culture, the Victorians were the emancipated ones. They were free to control themselves, whereas moderns are enslaved by their passions. Accordingly, the traditionalists seek a return to propriety, to morality, and to decency. They would censor art and literature, teach the young to discipline their desires and to channel their sexual drives into the place where they belong—matrimony. Their position represents essentially a return to the golden age of the pre-Freudian Era.

Against this company of conservatives in Protestant ranks is arrayed a minority of liberals who argue that it is impossible to reverse the clock, to go back. They agree that the situation is serious but they do not regard it as hopeless. What is called for is not a return to negative moralism but an advance to responsible freedom. Roman Catholicism appears to them, as it did to the sixteenth-century Reformers, to represent the path of legalism, of proscription, of the careful delineation of per-

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mitted and prohibited acts. This may well be not only an effective but the most effective way of dealing with the pitfalls and perils of the human libido. But it is not the Protestant way.

Classical Protestantism insisted upon what Luther called "the liberty of the Christian Man." The only absolute that this principle allows is the law of love, love of God and of neighbor. The specific application of that absolute in any concrete situation, however, must always be seen in context, in the light of the relativities of the individuals and the societies involved. Despite the so-called "emancipation" of modern society, there are still sizable walls of guilt, shame, and loathing surrounding sex.

The problems of twentieth-century society are not to be solved by applying greater restraints, by laying down more prohibitive laws, nor by seeking to enslave men to moral codes imposed upon them from outside themselves. Rather, those problems will be solved only by setting men free, by encouraging and enabling human beings to act with maturity and responsibility in adopting their own moral standards and to live by them because they spring spontaneously from within. In that enterprise, the assistance of modern psychotherapy and sexology are to be welcomed.

The split is essentially a question of strategy, of means rather than ends. No Protestant is complacent about the decay of family life, the breakdown of sexual responsibility, the anarchy of moral standards.

Two final words remain to be said. First of all, it should be pointed out that however divided Protestantism may be on many questions of sexual morality, it presents a well-nigh unanimous front on the question of birth control. Churches and individuals from the most diverse theological and historical traditions agree that planned parenthood is not only the right but the duty of the Christian family. Anglicans, Lutherans, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Congregationalists, Unitarians —all contend that marital coitus that is an expression of love is self-justifying. It does not require procreation to complete or sanctify it. Therefore, any method of spacing offspring that is compatible with the consciences of the individuals concerned is acceptable in Protestant eyes. No wrong is involved in the case of contraceptive devices or chemicals to assure the optimum economic and emotional environment for the arrival of a child. Official statements to that effect are appearing in increasing numbers from official Protestant bodies throughout the world.

The second word has to do with the problem Protestantism confronts as it seeks to minister to all sorts and conditions of men, especially the sexual deviant, of whatever magnitude. From the troubled boy or girl who suffers from guilt about masturbation, through those practicing premarital or extramarital intercourse, to the homosexual, Protestantism, with its traditional orientation toward conventional morality, has tended to cut itself off. The curious historical anomaly is that Luther's doctrine of the spiritual priesthood of all believers, which was supposed to bridge the gap between pulpit and pew, has in fact widened the gulf. The Protestant parson has become a paragon, a plaster saint, the guardian and the spokesman of all that is right and decent. His parishioners find it virtually impossible to turn to him for help with sexual problems, for they fear his shocked rejection of them as persons. Protestant seminaries are giving increasing training to future ministers in psychotherapy and counseling, but the problem remains. How can the church at one and the same time stand for stern moral codes and accept those who violate the codes? Roman Catholicism manages it with the anonymity of the sacrament of penance, which provides both personal protection and sacramental power. The Protestant pharmacopoeia possesses no such balm and therefore loses its wounded to the secular priesthood, the psychiatrist, and the psychoanalyst. In an age of sexual anarchy, such is a serious loss!

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WILLIAM GRAHAM COLE

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Psychoanalysis and Sex

IN THE first years of this century psychoanalysis was considered almost synonymous with sex. In fact, Freud's monumental contribution to the understanding of the human psyche was repudiated as scandalous because of its emphasis on this unmentionable prime motive force, not only in neurosis but also in the lives of highly respectable people and in innocent babes. Far from being deterred by the bitter criticism of his work, Freud, with a handful of devoted helpers, concentrated more fiercely than ever on the nature and role of sexuality. He developed the concept of the sexual libido and eventually of Eros, a life-giving principle opposed to a Death instinct (aggression).

From the first, Freud observed that "something" opposed the free gratification of sexuality. This "something" he labeled the Censor and left it undifferentiated. By the nineteen twenties, however, he had proceeded to what he called the *structural* approach. The instinctual drives—the sexual instincts and aggression—were grouped together as the *id*. Controlling mechanisms were now seen as the *ego* (which is present in rudimentary form from birth but becomes elaborated and strengthened with experience) and the *superego* (roughly, conscience). The superego is not inborn, although it draws directly on instinctual forces. One might say that it is a part of the id which is normally precipitated out as a separate entity at about the fifth year of life and thereafter functions as a control if not an enemy of the primordial forces of the id.

In this article we shall first discuss Freud's views of the sexual instincts and the superego, and then review later developments of Freudian ego psychology. A third section will deal briefly with dissident schools which derive from Freud but deny the preponderant role he ascribed to the sexual instincts.

The Sexual Instincts and the Superego

Freud early broadened the concept of sexuality to include all the erogenous zones, notably the mouth, the anus, and the urethra. Other component instincts were tentatively mentioned. Primitive gratification from tactile sensations and from motility have been emphasized in recent years. Scoptophilia (pleasure in looking), masochism (pleasure in being hurt), and sadism (pleasure in hurting) were originally considered as component instincts, but were later reconsidered as derivatives.

Mature heterosexual genital satisfaction is achieved, if at all, only through a long process of development. The *focus* of the sexual drive is at first oral (first passive, a little later actively seeking and biting), then anal, then phallic. Freud felt that from about the sixth year until the approach of puberty the sexual drive went into a phase of relative abeyance, which he called the latency period. It re-emerges during adolescence, but at that time bears the mark of the special experiences of the infant and young child. Age demarcations for these phases of sexual development are not rigid. Furthermore they interact with each other in various ways depending on the constitution and experience of the individual child.

There is, nevertheless, a sort of consolidation of the emerging personality at each stage before it moves on to the next. If conditions surrounding a particular stage are especially difficult, the personality may remain essentially

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"fixated" at that stage. This means that the longings, the fears, and finally the techniques of coping with the problem of that stage of development tend to be built in as fundamental character traits. Overly abrupt weaning and premature or harsh toilet training are examples of common situations leading to profound modifications that tend to persist as deep-seated character traits, occasionally as neurosis or even psychosis. Interestingly enough, overindulgence and failure to encourage the child in his spontaneous impulse toward growth may produce similar results. Early experience of moderate delay in gratification seems important for the development of toleration of instinctual demands in later life which cannot be met immediately. Some mothers enjoy suckling the infant, but are lax about toilet training when the baby is ready for it, and perhaps fail to play with him in the usual way, which stimulates his spontaneous interest in objects and other people. There may be an unconscious wish for continuation of the symbiotic period of early infancy, a sort of jealousy of any personal autonomy that may infringe on the relationship. Often an oversolicitude develops that spares the baby many of the small tribulations of childhood but leaves him ill equipped for handling the inevitable difficulties of life independently. There are many variations, of course.

Stress has been laid here on overindulgence in early years because after a period of scientific advice to mothers concerning strictly regular feedings, regardless of howls, and toilet training at three months, the trend has gone rather too far in the other direction. The infant does indeed require gratification in the oral and excretory zones, but he must also be "hardened," like plants started in the hothouse which must be exposed to small doses of sun, wind, and dryness if they are to survive in the open garden. We shall return to this problem later.

During the phallic stage, the child's libido normally becomes centered on his phallus, or on its absence in the case of little girls. Partly the primal urge is gratified by masturbation, but also there seems to be a primal urge to find a sexual object. The object normally chosen by the little boy is the one he knows and loves the best—his mother. This "love" is the origin of the famous Oedipus complex. The early phallic urge is necessarily frustrated. The little boy is physiologically incapable of consummating the sexual act. The mother repels his fumbling sexual advances, sometimes with direct punishment, often with shock and anxiety which the child senses even though the psychologically informed mother may try to conceal them. He also observes that the father enjoys intimacies from which he is excluded. The father thus becomes his rival, bitterly resented and hated. On the other hand, the father as a person is also normally loved, respected, and taken as a model. Furthermore, he is so powerful that competition is futile. His commands, especially in the sexual area, may not be gainsaid.

In this complex dilemma, the little boy normally has recourse to a mechanism practiced since infancy—identification. Instead of fighting his parents, he "introjects" them. Their commands become his own commands. The policeman at the corner, external authority, is converted to the inner voice of conscience. In this fashion, according to Freud, the superego emerges as a separate entity. He called it the inheritor of the Oedipus complex.[1]

To understand Freud's concept of the superego adequately, one must realize that it is not the parental commands realistically considered as by the adult outsider, but the child's phantasy that is the determining factor. The father may never have spoken a harsh word to the child, but his very aloofness, often reinforced by the mother's subservience to him, may allow the child's phantasy to build up, unchecked by reality, to a harsh superego. The child projects his own hostility. Weak fathers and even those totally absent may produce the same result. Apparently the child *needs* controls of the early instinctual drives, once they

[1] The superego has been redefined even by analysts who call themselves Freudian. The opinion of this author is that Freud's definition is applicable, with minor modifications, to cultural conditions roughly similar to his Vienna. It is applicable to some primitive cultures but not, as Freud assumed, to all. Probably changes in our own family and social structure are gradually changing the predominant structure of the superego in our own society. For the nonce, however, deviations from Freud's essential model may still be considered more as the exception than the rule.

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have found an object, and supplies them in phantasy when they are not forthcoming in reality.

Freud felt that the major fear leading to repression of sexual love for the mother—or rather, to its handling by the superego—was the loss of the penis. Many of his patients reported direct threats of cutting it off by the parents during the period of childhood masturbation. Probably such threats are rare nowadays, but strong disapproval persists, social as well as parental, which the little boy easily translates to the phantasy of direct bodily injury. Indeed, punishment for other misdoings tends to be assimilated to his main preoccupation at this period, and contributes to the *castration complex*. Freud considered this the nuclear complex in all neurosis, a point of difference with most other contemporary psychoanalytic schools.

The little girl's development is more complex. According to Freud, there is initially no psychological difference between male and female infants. The girl's interest must be transferred, however, from the clitoris—the female homologue of the penis—to the vagina. Her love object like the boy's, is at first the mother, but she soon learns that the clitoris is not a satisfactory organ of pleasure, and that boys are better equipped. She phantasies that the mother has done her this injury (she construes it as castration), or is at least an inferior being like herself. Hence female *penis envy* and attraction to the father develop. The penis of the male in the sex relationship and the conception and birth of a child normally become substitutes for the lack in herself. The normal psychological transition is from hatred of the mother (always mixed with the dependent love of infancy) to identification with her and introjection of her attitudes. This process is similar to the development of the superego in little boys, and this developing relationship with the parents is known as the Electra complex. Freud remarked, however, that this process is less abrupt for the little girl, that the superego is less intransigent, more personal, more directly related to the mother.

It has been observed that the infant who has *no* stable love object may actually die of emotional neglect despite good physical care. Others may survive, but often seem incapable of abiding love for another person and deaf to the still, small voice of conscience. The technical term for this condition is psychopathy. It is thought to be caused by failure in the development of the superego along the lines indicated above. Under favorable circumstances, psychopaths are often charming, generous, talented, effective, with an undertone of irresponsibility and selfish whimsicality. They cannot stand monotonous routine or severe frustration. Theft and even murder come easier to them than to most of us. Although their actions are typically impulsive or foolish, they can cover up with a *sang-froid* impossible to the person encumbered with that troublesome item, the superego, rooted in the deep attachments of early childhood.

Thus, according to Freud, the Scylla of the difficult path toward maturity via the viscissitudes of the love (sexual) relationships with the parents is matched by the Charybdis of failure to establish such relationships at all. A middle road, charted by scientific study of the rocks and shoals, is our best hope for the future.

The Latency Period

Beyond noting the existence of latency, Freud himself was not much concerned with the psychodynamics of middle childhood. He thought that the sexual urge in humans was biologically diphasic—the early infantile drives reasserting themselves in puberty under pressure from the maturing gonads. Although no one doubts the pressure of direct sexual impulse in adolescence, Freudians themselves have carried further the study of what happens to the child during the latency period, and how adolescence differs from both infantile and senile sexuality, and from the mere re-emergence of the problems which have fallen under repression around the age of six. Such further study has involved investigation of the ego, a study which Freud always considered necessary and the next step he could not fully carry through.

Later Freudian Ego Psychology

It is significant that the first and still the most important name in this area is that of Freud's daughter, Anna. Her book, *The Ego and the*

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Mechanisms of Defense (1936), remains a classic. In no way repudiating her father's position, she points out that the ego (Freud described it as being roughly the reality principle —not to be confused with the self of common parlance) operates from birth and develops its own defenses which must be clarified before one approaches the problems of the id. For example, a child may be destructive because he has insufficient control over his id impulses or because he has won release in therapy from inhibitions. But he may also be destructive because his very fear leads him to *identify with the aggressor*. There are many reasons for early aggressiveness. Anna Freud clearly saw how the defense mechanism of the emergent ego could similate primary id impulses, although their dynamic background is quite different. "Reality" for the child is not the same as the objective reality viewed by the adult. We have already seen that identification with the person feared is a normal device of childhood in the formation of the superego. It may also be used in a neurotic setting.

Identification with the aggressor is only one example of the ego mechanisms Anna Freud studied in her work with children and adolescents. She cautions against an overly direct interpretation of sexual and aggressive behavior as a release of id impulses, whether spontaneous or appearing in the course of therapy. Very often they result from the adjustive maneuvers of the ego.

Heinz Hartmann has attempted a theoretical integration of the current emphasis on the ego with Freud's original position. (I repeat that Freud always said the ego should be studied, and was sympathetic toward the efforts of his daughter and others in this direction. What he could not tolerate was the repudiation of his basic tenets by the dissidents to be presented later.) Hartmann emphasizes that the ego has primary autonomy in some functions, notably those relating the organism to the outside world—for example, with the sense organs and their associated reflexes and such more generalized functions as speech and motility. In part these functions have an independent course of their own, which should not be ignored. They readily become tools of the instinctual drives, however, and attain an organization within this relationship which *becomes* relatively independent of its origin. Such organizations—there are many, with varying degrees of stability—are termed ego functions of secondary autonomy. For example, the development of speech has its own natural course with relatively small individual variations on the basis of constitutional endowment. If it becomes unduly linked with the emergent drives, exaggerations or impairments appear. One of the most familiar is chronic stammering. Its roots are usually psychological, but it does not yield easily to psychotherapy alone. Correction of speech *habits* is often a necessary secondary line of treatment. This observation suggests the secondary autonomy of the deviant speech pattern persisting beyond resolution of its emotional "cause." By the same token, however, the stammering cannot be cured by mere exercises so long as the "causative" drives are still in dynamic relationship to it.

The example from pathology serves to present with special clarity processes which are obscured by the complexities of normal growth. The autonomous subsystems of the ego, primary and secondary, are constantly integrated and reintegrated into broader units as the child matures. Ego institutions formed to meet the primitive instinctual problems of infancy are not abandoned, but are modified and included in the wider organizations by which the ego of the child and later the adult meets the assignments of living.

In general the ego has three important tasks, mediating: (1) among the instinctual drives themselves, (2) between id impulses and the superego, and (3) between the organism and reality. To these three, Hartmann adds a fourth —the synthetic function of the ego, that is, the general maintenance of the personality as an entity.

Among the Freudians, Erik Erikson has done most to study what he calls the search for identity. Space does not permit a detailed description of his views on earlier stages, which are essentially Freudian with special emphasis on how society influences the adaptation of the child at each stage. At all stages the child is building a "self," but during adolescence the business of establishing who and what he is becomes especially important, and may often supersede even the reactivation of the sexual drive. Talking about the meaning of life, about

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social problems, about one's personal vocational aspirations and sexual feelings is often more important to the adolescent than direct sexual activity. Some young girls grant sexual favors in a clumsy effort to be "popular," probably a larger number than those who are carried away by the sexual urge itself. Some invent scandalous affairs out of whole cloth in order to gain a sort of prestige among their age mates, or for other reasons. Even more frequently, young men find it necessary to prove their virility to their comrades or themselves. I know one idealistic young man who failed in his first essay with a prostitute and then felt it his *duty* to solve the problem by several transitory affairs before venturing upon marriage, which he considered as enduring and monogamous. It would not have been fair to his potential wife to marry without assurance of full masculinity.

Doubtless there are deeper reasons than those here mentioned for this "nonsexual" sexuality, but these examples will serve to suggest that the adolescent is influenced by more than lust or the unmodified return of attitudes repressed in childhood. Erikson's stress on the search for identity is clearly important. It has been emphasized here as one of the major *Freudian* approaches because it is closest to the position of the dissident schools of psychoanalysis about to be discussed. Erikson, however, like Anna Freud and Hartmann, retains and builds upon Freud's instinct theory, whereas the other schools repudiate the primary role of sexuality and aggression. For them these orientating instinctual drives are given short shrift as mere incidentals of the body's physiological equipment, important mainly because our culture has made them so. The key to understanding of the human personality lies in its sense of "self." Since the dissident schools disagree among themselves as to the nature and course of development for the "self," only three examples will be briefly presented.

Dissident Schools

Adler

Alfred Adler began his specialized work with a careful study of organ inferiority and soon came to the conclusion that it was not the organ that mattered, but the person's attitude toward it. Furthermore, *any* organ might produce a sense of *inferiority* against which the person might struggle in a variety of ways. A little later he observed that the child's position in the family was even more important than a defective organ in fostering an inferiority complex. Order of birth tends to set up a competitive situation with which the little child must cope. The first-born is dethroned by his successor; the second-born always has a pacemaker before him, more advanced in the years of early childhood, and so on. Adler then observed that the attitude of the parents played a crucial role in this drama. This role was not sexual as Freud had said. Instead the child was hated or spoiled, with characteristic reactions.

Adler believed that the infant has a native urge toward superiority. He is inevitably frustrated by his smallness and helplessness, and within the first five years develops modes of coping with this problem which tend to remain as his "life style" throughout life. If he has been loved and encouraged, he naturally approaches life with courage, social feeling, and common sense (that is to say, a grasp of reality). Otherwise he solves his problems "erroneously." He is selfish, lacking in true courage, and tries to satisfy himself by *phantasies* of superiority instead of by realistic efforts.

Sexuality as such plays no role in this scheme. However, since society calls women "the weaker sex" a *masculine protest* is a common compensation. Women may strive directly for power, or use their sex as a device for gaining power over men. Men with feminine trends may become exaggerated he-men, or as homosexuals try to dominate through weakness—a very common erroneous solution of the striving toward superiority.

Horney

Although Horney did not break from the Freudians until the late nineteen thirties, and at first repudiated any connection with Adler, she is discussed briefly here because eventually she came to acknowledge one aspect of Adler's theory—the extreme importance of the phantasy image of the self. She saw the major problem of the human personality at first as insecurity, and outlined the various "safety devices" employed in the effort to maintain self-esteem.

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Her contribution toward understanding of what the Freudians call the defense mechanisms of the ego was great, but is not related to sexuality as such. She was more ready to acknowledge its importance in the individual case than Adler, as well as family constellation and wider cultural factors. The crux of neurotic development is, she believed, a *basic anxiety*, which springs from "the feeling a child has of being isolated and helpless in a potentially hostile world." This feeling arises more from the general attitude of the parents than from particular frustrations, although the latter determine the special form of the safety devices developed. Any pronounced development in one direction involves repression of other trends. For example, the overcompliant person must repress his natural self-assertiveness and above all the hostility consequent upon each surrender. Every act of assertion reinforces his neurotic fear of the consequences, not only from the outside world but from his own potential aggression. So his compliance is increased until it is no longer tolerable, and the psychic operation is continued in a vicious circle with increased conflict between overt compliance and repressed hostile aggression.

The human personality requires a sense of unity and self-esteem. Confronted with these serious inner conflicts, the person constructs an *idealized image* of himself which reconciles and justifies his neurotic expedients—and which eventually stifles his *real* self. In her last book, *Neurosis and Human Growth*, Horney presents the conflict between the idealized image and the real self as the central conflict in all neurosis. This position is a far cry from the castration complex as the nuclear cause of neurosis, but Horney herself recognizes the similarity of her position to Adler's concept of the self-aggrandizing phantasy versus realistic achievement with social feeling.

Jung

Jung broke from the Freudian coterie in 1912. He too felt that sexuality was overly stressed in Freud's theory, that the libido was not essentially sexual but a sort of general life energy taking many forms. His position is difficult to present briefly because, apart from an almost Hegelian emphasis on "opposites" in basic theory, any adequate discussion must take account of many dynamically important subdivisions which are thought of as relatively independent, although in constant interaction. Sex as such is important—as it is for Adler and Horney—only insofar as it is *made* important through the vagaries of individual experience—except in one respect. Jung thought that every person is essentially bisexual. The male frequently represses the female side of his nature, but it survives in the unconscious as the *anima*, a receptive, nurturing trend which normally softens the masculine logical, dominating, forming trend. In pathology this influence may be lost in a shriveled, ineffective, unconscious representative. Or the anima may predominate, as in the case of some homosexuals or excessively weak, tender men. The female counterpart of the anima is the *animus*, which may undergo similar transformations in the unconscious. The coquette who gathers male "scalps" without love and the virago may be controlled by their animus, whereas the oversubmissive woman who gives in to everyone may have in the unconscious a shriveled animus or a bottled up monster capable of extreme aggression.

Jung's position is that all aspects of the psyche are necessary to full development of the mature self, and that repression of any aspect leads to distortion in the unconscious, either as withering away or as pathological growth. It is a bit unfair to Jung to place the contra-sexual problem first. For him it is incidental to deeper dichotomies, especially the interplay between the basic attitudes of introversion and extraversion, and the four functions of sensation and intuition, feeling and thinking. Every personality, whether by constitution or by early experience, tends to be oriented toward one of these attitudes and functions. The fully healthy personality—so rare as to be considered the hero who has won through many obstacles—achieves an integration of these opposing trends, all necessary to full living. Most of us overemphasize one aspect to such a degree that its opposite becomes unconscious. Jung calls this personal opposite the *shadow*. The thinking type tends to repress the feeling aspect so that it grows monstrously in the unconscious without control and may burst forth with unexpected violence, or so far wither away as to

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leave the person with a miserable sense of emptiness and futility.

Another set of psychic constellations derives from the archaic experience of the race, renewed by each infant: the *collective unconscious.* These are represented by symbols called archetypes which are found the world over in art and also in psychosis. Examples are the compassionate mother and the mother as devouring witch, figures of power probably reflecting the primitive feeling of the father, geometrical images perhaps related to the early body image, actions such as crossing a river apparently associated with birth and rebirth. Some are beautiful, some hideous. In psychosis they have escaped control by ego-consciousness, the "I" of common parlance. In great art they express the profound experiences of humanity, and so have universal appeal to all who can accept the foundations of our common heritage.

Finally Jung introduced the concept of the *persona,* a term derived from the mask worn by the actors in Greek drama. This is the face which we present to the world and which most clearly reflects the social adaptations we have made from childhood on. Extraverts may have several faces chosen for their usefulness in different situations. Introverts, living more within themselves, tend to have only one. Sometimes the persona is almost consciously a mask which the person almost deliberately assumes, often with the uneasy feeling that he is not genuine, is never really "himself." Sometimes the person is so identified with his persona that he rarely feels that he is different from the front he shows the world. Unless this persona is deeply related to a mature Self, however, it may collapse in the face of any real challenge. Thus the perfect gentleman may become a whining cur in a concentration camp, or perhaps cling to a stiff formality under circumstances where a little human adaptability would actually save his life.

The persona reminds us of Horney's idealized image. Jung was less interested than Horney in tracing its origin and its dynamic relationship to the potential Self, which he considered a much more complex structure than her rather loose hypothesis of a "real self." For him the persona was one psychic construct among many. It might or might not play a crucial role in the dynamics of a particular personality.

Despite his emphasis on a monistic libido in contrast to Freud's dualistic approach to basic theory, Jung's contribution seems to this writer essentially pluralistic. Bisexuality has its repercussions in the contra-sexual form of the anima and animus. The primitive experiences of the infant (or race) are expressed in the archetypes. Broad personality trends appear as the attitudes of extraversion and introversion and in the four functions—and their unconscious shadow. And then there is the socially influenced development of the persona.

Jung believed that the therapist could understand the current dynamic interaction of these various constellations by the study of unconscious patterns—especially as revealed in dreams. Jung believed that he saw the constructive, forward-looking power of the unconscious better than Freud with his emphasis on the repression of sexual drives in early childhood. This criticism had some validity in 1912. It is less valid today after the development of Freudian ego psychology. But as Freudians have much to learn from Horney's investigation of the defense mechanisms of the ego, so they have much to learn from Jung's description of types and symbols of the archetypes and other representations of relatively durable aspects of the personality as it grows within the family and the social structure which reaches the young child first via the influence on the parents, but eventually quite directly in terms of the opportunities and frustrations offered to the child, the adolescent, and the adult.

The contribution of psychoanalysis is mainly an understanding of how a personality is formed and equipped to handle the circumstances of living. There are, of course, other dissident psychoanalytic schools of current importance, each with its own coherent theory of how the personality develops and functions. None of them rejects sex as a very significant factor because of the squeamishness shown by the medical profession as well as laymen when Freud first introduced his doctrine. What they reject is Freud's inclusive view of the sexual instincts, and their primary role in psychic development. Understanding of the subsidiary role played by sex in these schools depends

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upon understanding of the whole theoretical scheme, most of which is irrelevant to the special topic of this article. The three dissident schools presented in some detail serve as examples rather than as a full report of such schools.

The reader has doubtless noted many similarities among the differences described above. In conclusion, it may be remarked that by far the largest psychoanalytic group today is *Freudian*. It may be remarked further that *Freudians* are amending the limitations of Freud's early position in a manner Freud himself considered a necessary development of his theory. Freudian ego psychology seems on the way to correcting the one-sidedness against which the dissidents rightly protested, without the new limitations introduced by the new theories.

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RUTH L. MUNROE

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Race and Sex

OF ALL the myths that beguile men, few are more powerful than the concept of "race." Yet it is a concept so confused that it is almost impossible to define.

From ancient times people of different colors and biological inheritance have mingled and married. Instances may be found recorded in such classical authors as Aristotle, Plutarch, Quintillian, Juvenal, and Martial.

The barriers against intermarriage have, over the years, been those of religion and class, rather than of the law.

H. G. Wells, taking the long view of history in *The World of William Clissold*, sums up his view in these words: "Everyone alive is, I am convinced, of mixed ancestry, but some of us are more white, some of us more Negro, and some of us more Chinese."

In the countries of the Caribbean and South America, 85 per cent of the people are non-white, Indian and Negro blood being so mixed in them that it is all but impossible to say which is preponderant.

Nature raises no barriers against the mingling of the races. In fact, wherever races meet, sexual interchange occurs. The offspring are not monsters or freaks of nature. They are average men and women experiencing whatever normal achievements their society allows them.

As early as 1757, for example, in Virginia, Peter Fontaine wrote in *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family*: "Many base wretches among us take up with Negro women by means of which the country swarms with mulatto bastards, and these mulattoes, if but three generations removed from the black father and mother, may, by the indulgence of the laws of the country, intermarry with white people, and actually do every day so marry."

Jefferson, watching the same events, went so far as to say: "The course of events will likewise inevitably lead to a mixture of whites and blacks, on the whole, a wise provision of Nature; and, as the former are about five times as numerous as the latter, the blacks will ultimately be merged in the whites." He then adds that this is "an ultimate issue, however remote, independent of the exertions of statesmen, which, notwithstanding its repugnance to our reason, as well as our prejudice, will arrive."

As long as slaves were kept in good supply by importation, any white man might be whipped for intimacy with a Negro woman. When importation of slaves was stopped, however, and the supply of slaves had to be maintained by natural processes, white men were paid bonuses up to $20 for each Negro woman they got with child.

Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, himself born a poor white, made this comment on his rich neighbors: "As you pass their dwellings, you'll see as many mulatto as Negro children, the former bearing an unmistakable resemblance to their aristocratic owners."

"Miscegenation, or the interbreeding of ethnic and racial groups is a universal phenomenon," wrote Dr. Franz Boas in 1922. It has been sometimes frowned upon, and at other times encouraged, according to the economy and mores prevailing; the same community, as we have seen, changed its attitude within a century according to changing circumstances.

Are There Laws of Race-Mixing?

Dr. Lester F. Ward, sometimes called the "Father of American Sociology," set forth four

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laws which, he thought, govern the mixing of races:

1. Women of any race freely accept the men of a race they consider superior. (Negro women will freely accept white men.)
2. Women of any race will vehemently reject men of a race they consider inferior. (White women will vehemently reject black men.)
3. Men of any race will prefer women of a race they consider higher. (Negro men prefer white women.)
4. Men of any race, in default of women of a higher race, will be content with women of a lower race. (Negro men unable to get white women will be content with Negro women.)

A close look at these "laws," however, brings out the fact that the emphasis is not on race as such, but upon "higher" and "lower," that is, on status rather than blood or color.

This is an interesting comment on the peculiar history of race discrimination in the United States.

It has its own story within the total history of slavery. Since time immemorial, wherever slavery or serfdom has existed, the law has recognized a lord's interest in the marriage of his villein, since his offspring add to the lord's wealth. It frowned on the marriage of the free and the unfree, since this threatened the lord's property rights in the offspring. Roman law, for instance, forbade the marriage of a free Roman citizen with a Greek slave, though, here, no question of white and black was involved. The decisive factor was *status*, involving, as it did, property rights.

This "common law" of slavery carried over into the laws of intermarriage in the American colonies. The master was forbidden to marry the slave. In the laws of Maryland of 1664, for example, the language is that of "free men" and "slaves," with no reference to color. Within thirty years they were changed. In the statutes of 1691, the law specified prohibition of intermarriage between white and Negro.

What had happened? Color had become a mark of status. Caste, on the basis of color, was established by law.

This brought with it not only the legal basis of caste, but the social patterns which everywhere follow caste. These comply very largely with the four "laws" of Dr. Ward.

One fundamental rule characterizes caste everywhere: the male of the lower class is excluded from sexual contact with the female of the upper class.

This does not carry over to forbidding the higher-class male from sexual contact with the lower-class female. He may consort with her. At least two Presidents of the United States are reported to have had children by Negro mistresses. It is also well known that the gentlemen of early American days gave their hospitality a flavor by providing a "wench" to entertain a guest, much after the fashion of Oriental princes who offered their visiting equals the favorites of their harems.

Southern convention still looks with a different eye upon a white man consorting with a Negro woman and a Negro man consorting with a white woman. The Negro is restricted to his own race. The white man may enjoy both races.

The Southern Lady

One consequence of this taboo against the Negro male was that it put the white woman in an especially protected position. She became the unassailable female. Thus grew the image of "the Southern Lady," an idealized figure around whom developed the exaggerated code of chivalry of "the Southern gentleman."

Under the pressure of this protective approach, laws governing defense of the lady grew stricter and stricter. Parallel with this, her image became more and more sentimentalized. She became a figure as idealized as the lady of Medieval chivalry. Caste reverted to feudalism for its prototype.

A natural corollary of this was that the Negro accumulated more hostility. Attitudes toward him became harsher as the ideal of "pure, white womanhood" became more dazzling. This has laid him open to easy attack on the basis of "rape" and other similar sex charges. Not only have these led, often on doubtful evidence, to mob violence and lynchings, but also to corruption of Court proceedings, in which a charge by one threatened lady has been enough to suspend the judicial weight of evidence. The presumption in such cases goes to guilt which has to be disproved rather than to innocence to be proved.

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Punishments meted out to Negro men in such cases are frequently symbolic. Castration is obviously a sex revenge. Sex resentment is usually the passion which keeps lynching mobs at the emotional heat required for carrying out their violence, and reported comments from participators give ground for believing that the rope and the kicking figure hold sex symbolism for them.

In such acts of violence men are obviously motivated by neither rational nor logical, perhaps not even by conscious, drives. They are swept by emotional conditionings inflamed from infancy. They act in response to deeply imbedded folk imaginations and attitudes.

Folklore of Sex and Race

Race has developed its own folklore of sexual differences. Perhaps the most frequently recurring folk-idea is that the men of the inferior race have extraordinary virility. In particular, he is said to have larger genitals—an ascription which involves envy as well as hostility. This idea has been reinforced by some travelers, even so great a one as Sir Edward Johnson, who have returned from Africa with stories of individuals having enormous organs of sex. But it is by no means restricted to white-Negro comparisons. *Der Sturmer*, the Nazi's official newspaper, produced a whole gallery of cartoons picturing the Jews with exaggerated genital parts.

Almost as universal in race folklore is the attribution of inveterate sexuality to the female of the inferior race. In the South, for example, both among men in smoking rooms and among ladies in sewing circles, favorite stories find their point in some reference to the sexual intensity of Negro women. Stories like these, among all groups, reflect folk attitudes with peculiar clarity, so these stories in themselves testify to the folk-emphasis upon the Negro woman's sex resources. Again, this ascription carries over to sex attitudes toward other groups. The "red-haired Jewess," the Magdalen figure, and the Oriental seductress, the Mata Hari figure, carry the same idea.

Here we approach a third myth which, among the superior races particularly, has powerful influence. It is the idea that any move toward social equality is a move toward sexual equality. The fierceness with which this is propounded is perhaps the most vocal evidence of how sex fears enter into racial attitudes.

"Would you want your daughter to marry a Negro?" is a question presumed to stop all further discussion. The specter is calculated to enforce silence.

We note with interest that the caste pattern persists here. No one ever asks, "Would you like your son to sleep with a Negro woman?" As a matter of fact, young white men of the South often have their first sex experience with a Negro woman—and think that, by doing so, they maintain their chivalry by not using a white woman for premarital or experimental purposes. Older Southern men calculate to increase their reputations for virility by proving their power to consort with Negro women.

This folklore follows the patterns of folklore in all caste societies. It is caste not color which dominates, indistinguishable as they may be when color becomes the symbol of caste.

Eugenics

Caste, however, has been reinforced by eugenics, or, more accurately, by pseudo-eugenics.

It is worth recalling that the full title of Darwin's book was *The Descent of Man and Selection in Relation to Sex*. His cousin, Sir Francis Galton, extracted from this the study of eugenics, which he named, and which he defined as "the study of agencies under social control which may improve or impair the racial qualities of future generations either mentally or physically."

The idea that men can improve the quality of their progeny by sexual selection is one which exercises a peculiar fascination over men's minds. It may be difficult to define exactly what one means by "improving" men, but it is less difficult to make a fetish of so-called "pure blood," intermarriage confined to persons of the same race and color. This concept of "pure race" was seized upon by such pseudo-eugenists as Houston Stewart Chamberlain, in whose hands "pure Aryan" easily passed over into "Master Race"—inherently superior to others in intelligence and ingenuity, and thus

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foreordained to rule. The echoes of men such as Chamberlain sound clearly in the voice of Adolf Hitler, who carried "mastery" to its bitter conclusion in cosmic tragedy.

Eugenics is, to say the least, an incomplete science when applied to human generation. Its distinction between a "pure" and a "mongrel" race remains a doubtful category. Its influence on the study of sex and race has been rather to confuse than to clarify it.

Sociological Studies in Miscegenation

There is no comprehensive study of interracial marriages on a national scale in the United States. We have no exact figures on Negro-Caucasian, Caucasian-Oriental, or Negro-Oriental unions. There have been many studies on interreligious and international marriages, but these do not involve race.

The United States is cited as the country with strict taboos against racial mixtures, but figures do not show any high preponderance of interracial marriages, or of acceptance of them, elsewhere. Anthropological studies indicate that where such intermixture has taken place completely (as among the Moors and the Spaniards) it was accomplished relatively swiftly, and usually as a result of military conquest and entrance into the defeated country by invading armies.

In our present time, intermarriages have resulted from the invasion of armies, but both the conquered and the conquerors have tended to disapprove of them, as is illustrated in Japan. In general, assimilation has not been encouraged by such intermarriages.

Although we have no comprehensive national study of intermarriage in the United States, individual sociologists have made local studies. It must be confessed that these have employed relatively small samplings of from thirty-five to fifty families, but their findings are in general agreement and tend to confirm one another.

The sources will be found listed among the references. We can summarize the findings as follows:

Intermarriage and Group Attitudes

Those who tend to intermarriage are drawn from individuals who are rebellious against their own groups on both sides. Many of them feel rejected by their own group, and identify themselves with the rejected group. They modify their own norms to match those of the new group and idealize its way of life. This identification leads to dating and selection of a mate from the new group.

The social distance between the individual's original group and the one from which he selects his mate is a positive factor in the amount of hostility he has toward his own group.

Often, as an individual turns to the new group and accepts a new set of values, he is convinced that this action is a proof of his own "superiority," and he then returns to this to explain that his original rejection of, or by, his own group was itself due to this superior quality, rather than to any inadequacies in himself.

Frequently, as the individual assumes his place in the new group, he tends to go to extremes to emulate and defend its practices, as all new converts do. Observations in Hawaii indicates that American soldiers married to Japanese become more Japanese than their brides, who strive to become more Caucasian.

In Florida, a study showed no instance of a white spouse of a mixed marriage in any prominent community position. On the other hand, some Negro spouses were prominent in their communities. Most Negro leaders were of the opinion that a Negro spouse did lose some of his popularity. In Chicago disapproval was found to be more marked: "Negro professional men are likely to have fewer clients if they marry white women."

Inadequacy of Scientific Studies

Studies find their most specific data in marriage licenses issued by particular cities. But these are not always reliable. An investigation of such licenses in Washington, D. C., recorded thirty-six marriages of Negro and white; personal contact revealed that ten of these were not interracial marriages. In eight cases, both persons were obviously Negro. In two cases both were white.

Sister Annella (1956) attributes lack of accurate case studies to two reasons. First, it is difficult to locate the couples party to mixed marriages. Second, it is difficult to get such couples to talk about the subject.

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Legal Status

In 1661 the Colony of Maryland passed a law declaring that all freeborn women who married slaves would thereupon serve their husband's master until the death of their husband, and that children born of such marriages would be slaves.

The first and only state to declare a law against miscegenation invalid was California in the case of *Perry et al.* vs. *Leppold etc.* Andre Perry, a white woman, and Sylvester Davis, a Negro, contended that the California statute forbidding intermarriage was unconstitutional because it denied free exercise of religious beliefs and participation in Church rites. Since both were Roman Catholics and the Church had no rule forbidding their marriage, they claimed they were entitled to receive the Sacrament of Matrimony. In October 1948, the Supreme Court ruled out a rehearing of the decision in their favor, and rendered a decision final except for possible reversal by the United States Supreme Court.

Twenty-nine States now have laws forbidding intermarriage: Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Virginia, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

Legislation prohibiting interracial marriages has been more common in Protestant countries and colonies than in those where Catholic opinion dominates; the Roman Catholic Church has no rule against such marriages, and secular law does not deny what the canon law sanctions.

Courtship and Family

Courtship is characteristically carried on *sub rosa,* except in instances where the couple involved relish shocking people or are openly defiant of conventions. This pattern continues in many cases after marriage. Such marriages are concealed from fellow-workers. In some cases investigated, parents were not notified; in others, they were told half-truths. (One Jewish girl simply told her father she was married to a Gentile.)

White families refuse to meet the spouse more frequently than Negro families. Negroes tend to accept the white spouse if he or she shows qualities Negroes find acceptable to them.

Where white families agree to meet the spouse, a warm relationship is likely to result. This is particularly likely to happen when the white family is foreign born.

None of the studies reports a situation where the mixed couple was ostracized by both groups.

Mixed couples are likely to live in areas where there is a small proportion of Negroes, that is, in peripheral areas between white and Negro communities.

Golden reports that his study showed that child production was small. The number of children averaged higher where the husband was Negro than where he was white. The children are considered to be Negro except when they are white enough to "pass." White parents find this hard to accept, but when they do accept it, the children's adjustment is easier.

Where couples prior to marriage had associated with radical or Bohemian groups, their popularity among such groups increased after marriage.

Of the white female partners examined among thirty-four couples averaging five years of marriage, most revealed attitudes of resentment against their mothers. Educational background averaged about two years of college. Original contact had come through common employment or common educational pursuits.

Security

Some sociologists have maintained that intermarriage and assimilation are so interrelated that they are functionally interdependent: intermarriage rises in proportion to the degree of assimilation. Some studies, however, indicate that mixed marriages are lower in rate among the oldest ethnic groups than among the younger ones. This would indicate that there are factors other than assimilation at work.

Dr. Simon Marcson of Queens College, in "A Theory of Intermarriage and Assimilation," comes to the conclusion that high education, middle-class status, middle income, professional and proprietary occupations, second and

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third generations, and rural farm areas are conditions facilitating intermarriage.

Dr. Risdon's conclusion is: "Interracially married couples must rely upon themselves and their power of determination to continue a marriage in the face of covert and, sometimes, overt social disapproval."

In general, the prognosis for interracial marriages already established, and the outlook for others, does not appear very favorable. The nature of society is such as to make difficult that security in orderly living which most people anticipate in matrimony.

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FRANK KINGDON

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Reproduction, Human

Conception and Development of the Fetus

HUMAN reproduction starts with the introduction of the sperm into the vagina through intercourse. The sperm then travels through the cervix (neck of the womb) into the uterus, and from there to the Fallopian tube. In the tube it meets the ovum (egg), which has been expelled from the ovary and has found its way into the tube. Fertilization, or as it is known by the laity, conception, takes place in the tube. The fertilized ovum then divides into various stages and, after a three-day journey through the tube, finds it way into the uterus. After traveling around in the uterus for from two to four days, it imbeds itself in the previously prepared uterine lining.

At the time of implantation, the ovum "digests" its way under the cells lining the uterine wall and taps small blood vessels of the mother. It finds itself in a short time surrounded by a lake of the mother's blood, into which it dips its hungry cells. These cells grow out like streamers from the surface of the ovum, absorbing all the minerals, proteins, etc., that are essential to growth. With absorption of these nutrients, the ovum increases rapidly in size. Inside the ovum a thickened mass of cells now appears, called the inner-cell mass. It is from these cells that the embryo develops. The outer layer of the ball-like egg also continues to grow and from it the placenta, or afterbirth, is formed.

The development of the fetus in the next weeks and months is somewhat as follows: With the beginning of the fourth week, the egg is still barely visible to the naked eye. At the beginning of the fifth week, the embryo is a small piece of uniform, gray-white tissue. At the end of the fifth week, the backbone is beginning to form out of five to eight vertebrae, and the spinal canal is forming. The embryo at this time is 1/12 of an inch long and about 1/8 of of an inch wide. At the beginning of the sixth week the head is forming and the heart begins to be visible. At the end of the sixth week, all of the backbone is laid down, the spinal canal is closed over, and the tail end of the embryo is distinct. The beginnings of arms and legs are visible. Depressions appear beneath the skin where eyes are to be formed. The length at this time is 1/4 inch.

At the seventh week, the chest and abdomen are completely formed and the beginnings of the fingers and toes appear. There are clearly perceptible eyes and the length of the fetus is about 1/2 inch. In the eighth week the face and features are beginning to form, the ears are forming, the length is now about 7/8 inch, and the fetus weighs about 1 gram. By the ninth week the face is completely formed and the arms, legs, hands, and feet are partially formed, including stubby toes and fingers. The length is 1 1/8 inches and the weight about 2 grams. From this time on, the fetus looks very much like a miniature infant. At the end of the third month (thirteen weeks) the arms, legs, hands, feet, and toes are fully formed. The external genital organs begin to show differences, and at about the eleventh week a trained observer can determine sex. The eyelids are closed. If the fetus is removed and placed in a warm fluid, movements of arms and legs will occur. The head is extremely large in proportion to the body. The length of the fetus is 3 inches

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and it weighs about 1 ounce. At the end of the fourth month, the lay person can now distinguish sex. Fetal movements are felt and the heart can be heard. Fine hair is found along the skin, which is less transparent and pinker than previously. The eyebrows and eyelashes appear. It is now about 8½ inches long and weighs about 6 ounces.

At the end of the fifth month, hair begins to appear on the head and fat is deposited under the skin, although the fetus is still very lean. If it is born it might live for a few minutes, but it would never survive. The length is 12 inches and it weighs about 1 pound.

At the end of the sixth month, the fetus is covered with a cheeselike secretion, the skin is wrinkled, the hair on the head is fairly well developed, and the eyes are open. If it is born at this time, it might live for a few hours. Its length is 14 inches and it weighs just about 2 pounds.

By the end of the seventh month, the testicles in males descend into the scrotum. A child born during this month has a fair chance of survival. The age-old superstition that a baby born in the seventh month will do better than one born in the eighth month is wrong: each day that the baby comes nearer to term makes its chances for survival that much better. The length at this time is 16 inches and the weight is a little over 3 pounds.

At the end of the eighth month, the child is 18 inches long, weighs a little over 5 pounds, and of course is fully formed. If born now it will most likely survive.

At the end of the ninth month, or forty weeks from the day of the mother's last menstrual period, the baby is now what is called full term. The skin is smooth and is covered with the cheeselike secretion called vernix caseosa. The hair is about an inch long. The nails protrude a little beyond the finger and toe ends and the eyes are usually a slatish color. Circumference of the head equals the circumference of the shoulders. The length is about 20 inches and the weight is a little over 7 pounds on the average.

The amniotic fluid in which the fetus floats serves many purposes: (1) It prevents the walls of the uterus from cramping the fetus and allows its unhampered growth and movement. (2) It surrounds the fetus with a fluid of constant temperature. (3) It acts as an excellent shock absorber. A blow on the abdomen merely jolts the fetus and it floats away. For this reason, accidents to the mother that might be considered severe almost never injure the fetus.

During its existence in the uterus, the fetus automatically swallows the amniotic fluid that is manufactured by the cells lining the uterine cavity. The fetus excretes this as fetal urine. At the time of birth the amount of amniotic fluid is somewhere in the neighborhood of a quart. Amounts in considerable excess of this are considered pathological.

The fetus is attached to the placenta by the umbilical cord, which runs from the navel to the inner surface of the afterbirth. Extensions of fetal blood vessels run through the cord and then course through the placenta. The umbilical cord, a semitransparent jelly-like rope, averages 22 inches in length, although cords of a few inches to 50 inches in length have been recorded. Some are straight and some are twisted.

The placenta is a rather complex organ through which the fetus absorbs food and eliminates its waste products. The blood of the mother and the blood of the fetus come in close contact in the substance of the placenta and the materials pass over from one blood system to the other. If, for example, the mother's blood contains more sugar than that of the fetus, the excess comes over into the fetal blood until a relative equality of the two is reached. In this way, the sugar that the mother eats is fed to her baby. Similarly, the excess carbon dioxide of the fetal blood goes over into the mother's blood and is exhaled by her lungs. In this way, the mother breathes for her child. Other waste products of the fetus are likewise absorbed by the mother's blood and excreted by her kidneys. This delicate interchange between mother and fetus is further illustrated by the observation that cigarette smoking by a mother temporarily increases the rate of the fetal heart, although there is no proof that nicotine causes any ill-effects in the fetus. There are many other substances that pass through the placenta from the mother to the infant. Many antibodies, which later serve to prevent disease in the new-

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born infant, are passed over and in this way a child is born with an immunity, or at least a temporary immunity, to certain diseases.

The weight of the baby does not depend on the amount of weight the mother gains. It depends in some instances on the sex of the baby –boys being usually heavier than girls–and also on race. Other than this, little else is known about what causes one baby to be heavier than another.

Sex is determined by the chromosomes that are carried in both the sperm and the ovum. The study of genetics has advanced very rapidly in the last few years, many of our old ideas about the chromosomes having undergone a marked change, and it is probable that within the next year or two our theories on this subject will become more definitive.

Human reproduction depends on significant contributions of both parents, the male and the female, to the fertilized ovum and its development; and these contributions may be viewed from anatomical, physiological, pathological, and psychological frames of reference.

The Role of the Male

The male sexual apparatus may be divided into four parts: (1) organs for production of sperm, the testes; (2) organs for storage and conduction of sperm, the epididymides and ductus deferentes; (3) organs for mixing sperm with the vehicles to produce the semen, the prostate and the seminal vesicles; and (4) organs for delivery of the sperm, the penis and urethra with the accessory glands.

Spermatogenesis takes place in the testes and the adult spermatozoa are transferred through the epididymis and the ductus deferens, finally being ejaculated by the penis and deposited in the vagina at the time of intercourse. The sperm then migrates through the uterus into the Fallopian tube, where it meets the ovum, and fertilization takes place.

Spermatogenesis starts at puberty and may continue on into the ninetieth year. The normal sperm count is anywhere in the vicinity of 100 million per cubic centimeter. It was once thought that the minimum number required for pregnancy was approximately 60 million, but it has been found that 20 million is considered capable of producing pregnancy.

The Role of the Female

The female anatomy consists of the vagina, the uterus, the tubes, and the ovaries. In the normal female, there are thousands of ova present in each ovary at birth. Each month, after puberty, ovulation takes place and an ovum is extruded from the ovary on about the fourteenth day of the cycle (in a 28-day cycle).

Hormonal factors influence this process. The pituitary gland produces follicle-stimulating hormone, the ovum is extruded, and the corpus luteum, which is formed in the area where the ovum was, produces both estrogenic hormone and progesterone. The egg then finds its way into the tube where, if sperm are present, it may be fertilized.

Ovulation usually takes place two weeks before menstruation. At the time of ovulation there is a sharp rise in the basal body temperature. The temperature remains elevated until menstruation, when there is a sharp drop. If fertilization takes place, the temperature remains elevated.

Factors in Fertility and Sterility

There are many factors in both the male and the female that may interfere with reproduction. Some are congenital and some acquired. Some of these can be corrected and some cannot.

In the male, undescended testicles, so immature that they can produce no sperm, can be the cause of sterility. The testes may be injured by trauma or by mumps, gonorrhea, or other infections. Gonorrhea is less likely nowadays to cause this, unless it is greatly neglected. Actually very little can be done to rehabilitate the testes once they have ceased to produce sperm, although some surgery has been successful. Also, production of sperm has followed successful therapy in cases of debilitation, other body illnesses, and obesity or low thyroid function. Psychological factors have also been known to influence not only the production but also the quality and quantity of sperm.

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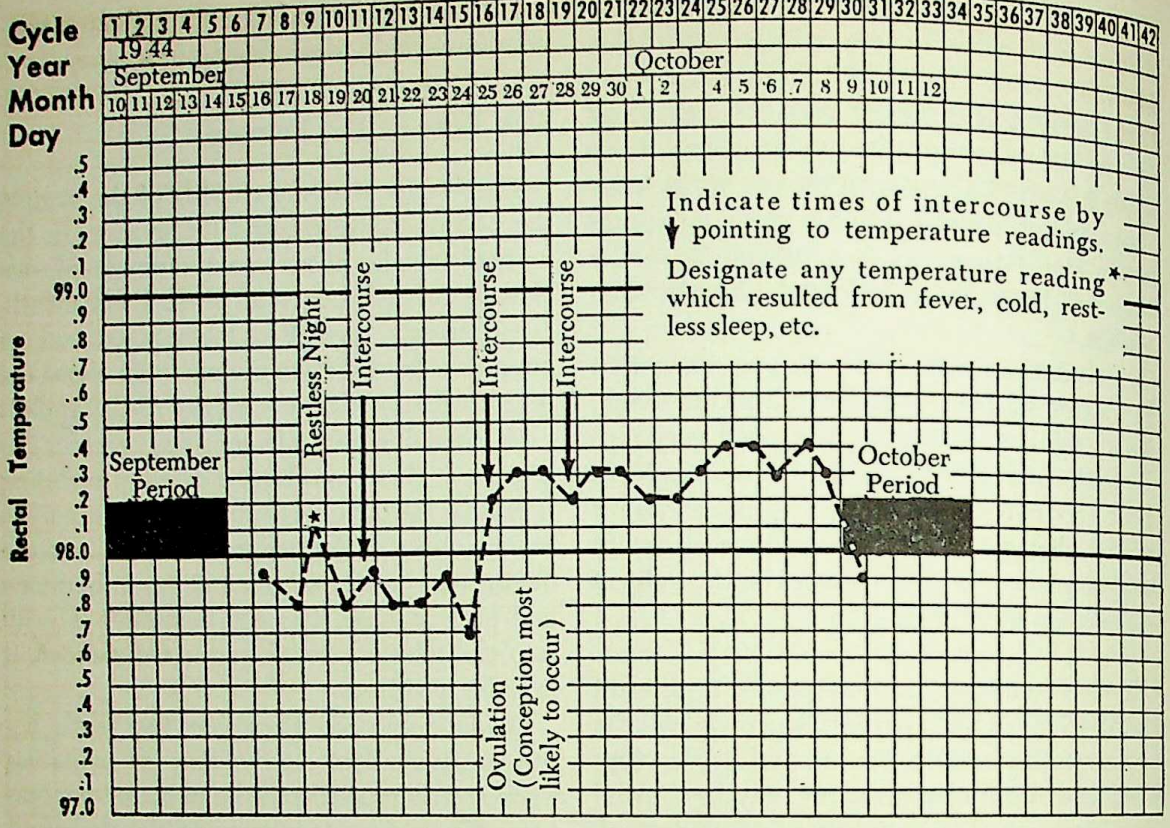

FIG. 1. Temperatures between periods

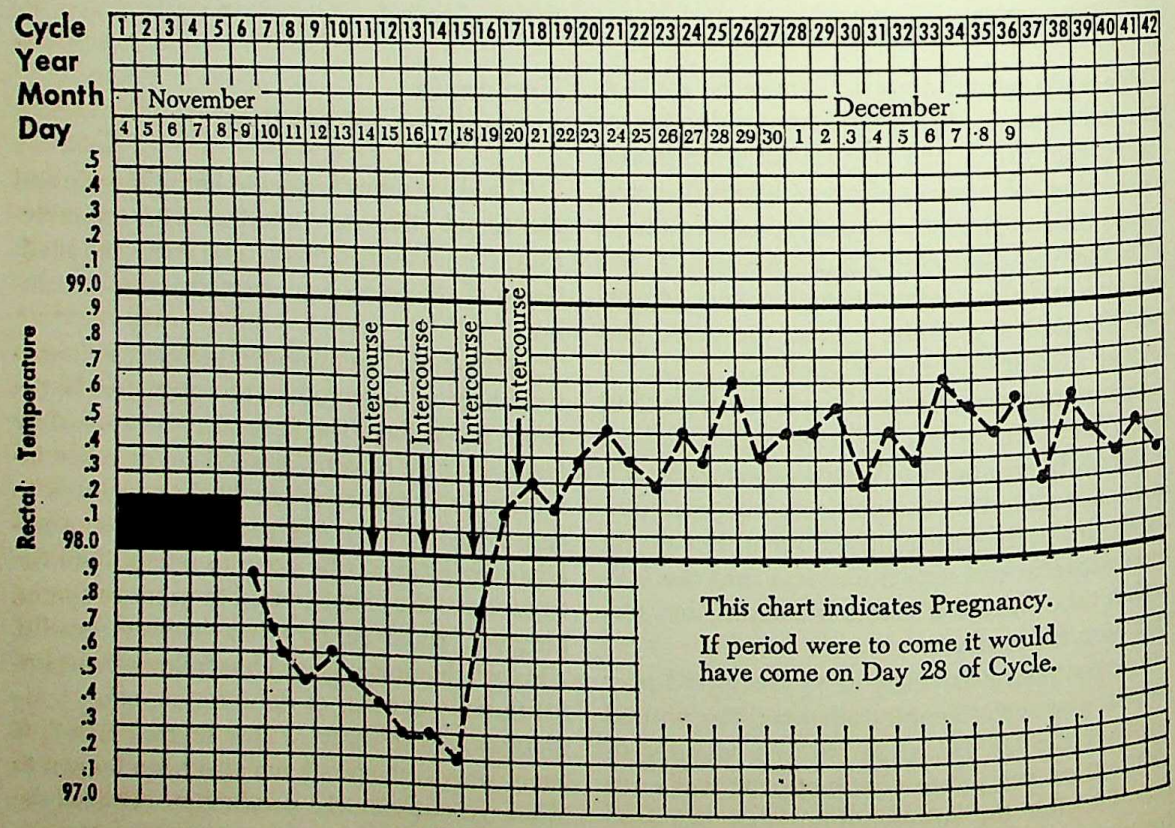

FIG. 2. Temperatures after conception

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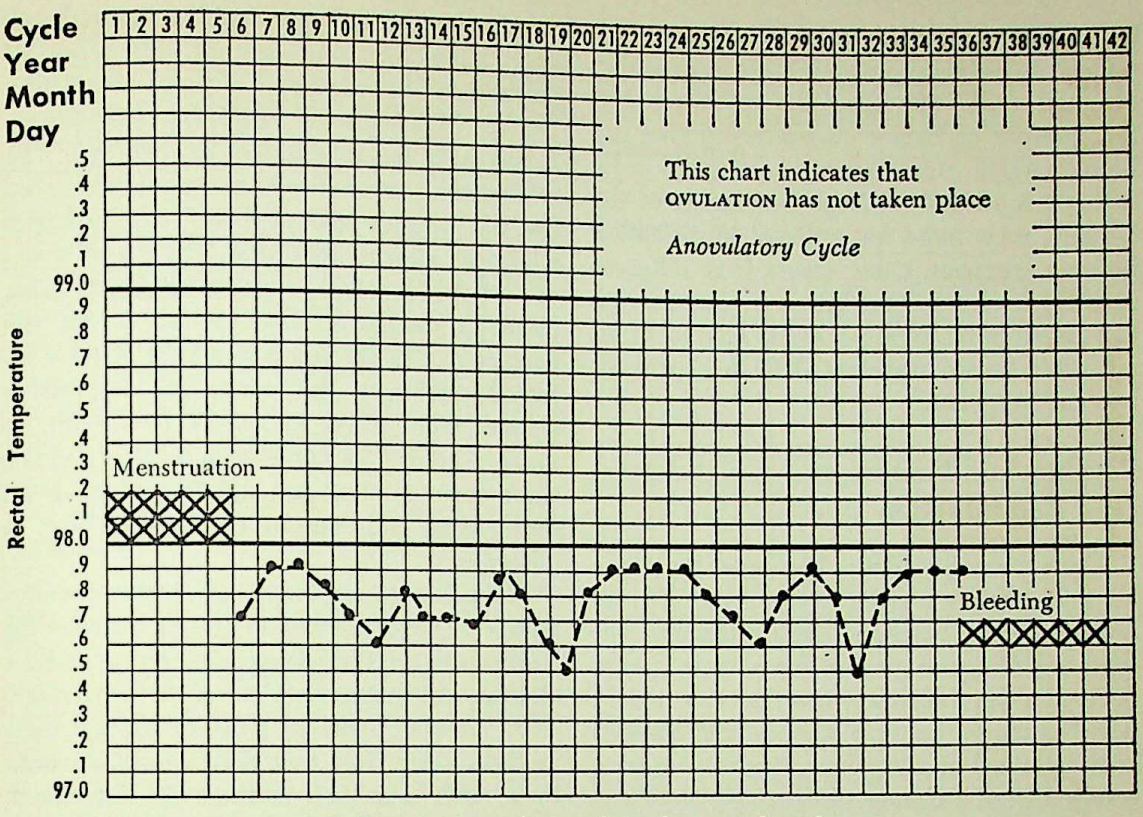

FIG. 8. Temperatures when ovulation has not taken place

A rare condition that produces sterility in the male is retrograde ejaculation, in which the semen is ejaculated into the bladder. It is possible to recover the semen from the urine by centrifuging the urine and then to inseminate the woman with the sediment (sperm), with successful results. Retrograde ejaculation may be congenital or acquired. It is acquired following operations on the prostate, transurethral resections, or fulguration of the verumontanum. Recently, some work has been done indicating that retrograde ejaculation may also be psychogenic in origin.

In the female there is a wide variety of conditions that may interfere with reproduction. As in the male, there are congenital and acquired conditions, and some that can be corrected and some that cannot. Among the congenital factors may be an absence of any or all the female organs, but this is rare. Malformations of the uterus that cause infertility, such as a double uterus, can often be corrected. Tubes that are partially closed can be surgically repaired and reimplanted into the uterus. Disturbances of menstruation due to ovarian disfunction can be corrected. Acquired infections that cause sterility can be successfully treated.

Hormonal disturbances can cause infertility. The pituitary gland and the thyroid gland are the most important in this respect. Today, with potent natural and synthetic hormones, endocrine conditions can be corrected and pregnancy ensured.

Fibroid tumors of the uterus may interfere with fertility in two ways: (1) They may cause blockage of the tube, so preventing fertilization. (2) If fertilization does take place, they can cause the fetus to abort. These fibroid tumors can be removed, thus restoring fertility. As many as 150 tumors have been removed from a patient at one time; following such operations patients have succeeded in becoming pregnant and have delivered normal, healthy children. Some required Cesarean sections, but many delivered normally.

Another condition that causes sterility is azoospermia, in which the male has no sperm at all. In such cases of infertility artificial insemination has been used much more frequent-

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ly in recent years than in previous years. It is difficult to estimate precisely the exact number of couples who are using this technique, but the number of babies so conceived that are born yearly in this country is estimated to be as high as 100,000. A large percentage of the patients who come for artificial insemination become pregnant. Case reports from different men engaged in this field show the success rate to vary from 60 to 90 per cent. That is, of all patients who are inseminated, 60 to 90 per cent become pregnant.

Psychogenic Factors in Reproduction

There is much evidence to support the premise that sterility can be psychogenic: We all know of many cases in which pregnancy has followed adoption or the decision to adopt. Successful psychotherapy in an infertile patient who has sought help for other reasons has also been followed by pregnancy. Pregnancies have resulted from a change of marriage, improved economic status, or the establishment of a home free from parental irritation. Excluding organic factors, how else can "one-child sterility" be explained?

Psychogenic sterility is not limited to the female. I believe that the male plays almost as important a role in this form of sterility, although he has been largely neglected by those interested in this approach to the subject. I have previously discussed (1953) the fact that the ejaculation and the quality and the quantity of the semen can be definitely influenced by psychogenic factors. In their book *Psychosomatic Gynecology*, Kroger and Freed state, "psychiatrists have shown that behind the conscious desire to have a child, there may be a deeper, unconscious wish not to have one." It must be emphasized that this can be equally true of both female and male.

The female personality types seen in patients with psychogenic sterility can be roughly divided into two fundamental groups: (1) the weak, emotionally immature, dependent, overprotected woman, and (2) the ambitious, masculine, aggressive, dominating, career type of woman. Group 1 can be subdivided further into (a) women who feel that their own upbringing was inadequate and are afraid of motherhood, and (b) women who are not only afraid of motherhood but are afraid of pregnancy, labor, death, loss of figure, or loss of husband. Group 2 can also be subdivided further into (a) women who are motherly and tender but confine this attitude toward their weak husbands who need their motherliness, (b) career women, artists, scientists, woman suffragists who, although motherly, unconsciously avoid the conflict that might result in a split of their interests, and (c) the masculine, aggressive women who refuse to accept femininity. It must, of course, be borne in mind that none of these types is clear-cut and that there is an overlapping and merging of characteristics in all types.

In the first group, the overprotected females who were never allowed to make a decision for themselves, are the women who try to make a child-parent relationship out of their marriage. They have a repressed hostility toward their mothers. They feel that they would do unto their children as their mothers did unto them. They fear motherhood. Benedek (1952) states: "Functional sterility is a somatic defense against stresses of pregnancy and motherhood." It is in this group, however, that we find the women who become pregnant following adoption: they come to realize that the responsibility of caring for a baby is not as great as they had thought, and the unconscious mechanism responsible for their infertility is released. As Dunbar says, "The experience of a baby in the family may serve as a catalytic agent."

In subdivision *b* of this group, among women in whom fear of death, pregnancy, labor, etc., plays a role, we find no response of pregnancy to adoption. These women can adopt two, three, or more children and will not become pregnant.

In subdivision *a* of Group 2 we find the woman who has all the qualities of motherliness, is warm and tender, but who directs her motherliness to her husband, whose love for her is based on this quality. He needs a mother and she is it. If a child were born, this would threaten him. It could be said that a wife in such a marriage renounces motherhood out of love for her husband. However, in this type of case, the infertility may well be due to the husband's

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attitude. Deutsch (1945) has observed that "where men choose motherly women for their love partners, they become impotent when their wives are pregnant or after the children are born. Some flee their homes or become alcoholics."

Subdivisions *b* and *c* are not too difficult to understand. The career woman may be motherly enough, may have no fears of pregnancy, etc., and may have a good psychosexual development, but she is afraid that motherhood may interfere with her career. It is among this group that, following renunciation of career, pregnancy often results.

"One-child sterility," or secondary psychogenic sterility, is even more baffling than primary psychogenic sterility. The mechanism here is the reverse of what takes place in a pregnancy following adoption. The patient conceives without apparent difficulty, but then is overwhelmed by the responsibility of motherhood. Or, due to a complicated pregnancy or difficult labor or delivery, she may suffer enough psychic trauma to render her infertile. It is not uncommon to find women in this group whose infertility spontaneously resolves when the first child is 10 to 15 years old. During the interim she has matured somewhat, responsibilities have lessened, she does not believe she can get pregnant anyway, she is under less tension—and she becomes pregnant.

The response of the body to these psychic stimuli is probably through the hypothalamic tracts to the pituitary and adrenal glands and the ovaries. The uterus, tubes, and blood vessels can also be affected locally through the autonomic nervous system. Thus, through imbalance in the autonomic nervous system due to tension, a tubal spasm or interference with the peristalsis of the tube can occur, as well as irregular uterine motility, which may interfere with implantation. Through vascular changes, pelvic congestion may result, which may interfere with ovulation and thus produce infertility. Anxiety may produce changes in the vaginal and cervical secretions, just as it modifies salivary and gastric secretions, and this also may interfere with the patient's ability to conceive. Sperm count may also be altered by these mechanisms. All these phenomena are transitory and therefore, in most instances, defy detection. When the stimuli are present long enough, actual somatic changes may take place, but these are nevertheless the result of emotional factors.

Summary

Human reproduction depends on male and female factors. Where there are abnormalities these can be corrected in many instances by medication or surgery. Artificial insemination is frequently resorted to. Until recently, those psychological factors that hinder human reproduction have not been considered. Today, these psychogenic factors are being studied in many large centers throughout the world, and more and more evidence indicates that a large percentage of infertility is due to psychosomatic factors.

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IRVING C. FISCHER

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Scandinavian Countries, Sex Life of

NORWAY, Sweden, and Denmark are all highly developed modern democracies, both politically and socially. In Sweden the feudal system took stronger hold and lasted longer than in Denmark and Norway, but since the ideological will to conform, so prevalent in the United States and the Soviet Union, is almost nonexistent in Scandinavia, conservatism is not a powerful political or social force.

At the time of the Reformation, while the rest of Europe was wracked by religious wars, the Scandinavian countries quietly adopted a form of Lutheran protestantism, which avoided both the Roman and the Puritan extreme. The idea that sexuality is "sinful" is not so firmly implanted in the Scandinavian mind as it is in the official thinking of the Catholic countries or of England and the United States.

There has been, therefore, an almost perfect climate of opinion for reform in the three Scandinavian countries in the last few decades, and serious attempts have been made to bring laws and customs governing sexual behavior into line with modern thought. Since, however, each country has its own cultural background and its own current minority opposition, it has been found advisable here to treat each as a separate entity.

DENMARK

The Attitude of the Law

Civil Law

In Denmark, a certificate under oath is required from all persons intending to marry. Men under 21 and women under 18 require royal permission to marry. The insane, idiots, psychopaths, alcoholics, and epileptics must have a special license from the Ministry of Justice. Where one partner has a contagious venereal disease, both partners must together see a physician and discuss the risks involved.

Each partner pledges support; both undertake to educate and care for the children. Property is in joint ownership, unless otherwise specified by marriage contract. Responsibility for legitimate children is shared and lasts until the child is 18. Responsibility for the child's property extends until the twenty-first year. Children have the right to inherit from both parents. In the case of illegitimate children whose father is unknown, the mother has sole responsibility. Where the father is known, rights and responsibilities are the same as for legitimate children.

Legal separation of marriage partners may be obtained by mutual consent or on demand by one partner. Divorce in the first case follows automatically after one and one-half years, in the second after two and one-half years. Other grounds for divorce are: four years' mutual estrangement, two years' desertion, legal dis-

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appearance, adultery, threat to life and limb, cruelty, imprisonment, danger of transmission of venereal disease and mental sickness of at least three years' duration without prospect of a cure. Where both parties request divorce, the decree can be given by a government board. If only one partner demands divorce, the case must come into court. The most usual form of divorce is that following automatically on legal separation.

Criminal Law

Adultery is not a crime. Bigamy, rape, pandering, white slavery, and the seduction of minors under 15 are crimes. The seduction of persons under 18 is also illegal, when the minor is in the care of the seducer.

The publishing and distribution of pornographic pictures, texts, or objects is only illegal if minors under 18 are involved. Dealing in contraceptive devices is only illegal if provocative advertising is used. Provision is made by the law for prosecuting offenses against public morals, but this is seldom used.

Brothels were abolished in 1901, registration of prostitutes in 1906. Prostitution as such is no longer illegal, but persons supporting themselves by this means can be compelled to take regular employment. Soliciting is punishable only if it takes the form of a public nuisance. Concubinage is not illegal; spreading infectious venereal diseases is.

Voluntary sterilization is permitted on medical or eugenic grounds. Involuntary sterilization is permitted only in cases of extreme mental weakness or following a criminal act. Castration is permitted as a means of forestalling criminal action and as a rule is only performed with permission of the individual. In cases of habitual criminals, however, it may be ordered by the courts.

Induced abortion is legal in the following cases: (1) where pregnancy endangers the life or health of the mother, (2) where pregnancy results from a criminal act, (3) where the child is likely to be born with mental or physical disabilities. Induced abortions are legal only if undertaken in public hospitals and if two physicians have pronounced them necessary or advisable. Since 1936 the regulations have been interpreted so that endangering the life or health of the mother includes possible damage to her fullest living or well-being; but decisions in this respect must be made not by two physicians but by a board consisting of a surgeon or gynecologist, a psychiatrist, and a representative of the Mothers' Aid Center.

Social Regulations

Excellent provision is made for the welfare of pregnant women and others. All pregnant women, rich or poor, married or unmarried, have the right to three free medical consultations with the physician of their choice. The physician is reimbursed by the government. They also have a right to seven consultations with a midwife, six before and one after confinement. In addition, a half liter of milk a day is provided during the first six months of pregnancy to all mothers within the scope of the Sick Fund, about 80 per cent of the population. Every mother has also the right to free consultation with her physician three times in the first year, twice in the second year, and once a year until the child goes to school, when health control becomes the business of the school medical officer.

The Gynecological University Clinics of Copenhagen and Aarhus offer a free delivery service to both married and unmarried mothers. The City Maternity Home in Copenhagen admits members of the Health Service for less than twelve dollars, all doctors' fees for confinement and after-treatment being borne by the government. After discharge from the hospital, a home visiting nurse calls on the mother and, where requested (that is, in about 95 per cent of cases), returns once every ten days until the baby is six months old and, thereafter, once a month until the child is one year old. Nurses check weight and nourishment and are trained to give advice to the mother on all problems of baby care.

Every mother has access to the Mothers' Aid Centers, which offer economic and legal help and also medical and social advice. There are approximately 77,500 babies born each year in Denmark. The Mothers' Aid Centers are consulted by some 50,000 mothers annually. The centers also offer help, where necessary, to

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mothers seeking legal abortion and arrange for legal adoptions. About 40 per cent of the 1,600 annual adoptions in Denmark are handled in this way. The centers, often with the aid of the University Institute for Human Eugenics, make a thorough check of the hereditary backgrounds of both the child and the adopting parents.

Many social workers, lawyers, psychologists, and physicians give their services to the Mothers' Aid Centers and assist in giving family counsel. All statements made to the staff of the center are regarded by law to be confidential and staff members may not be compelled to divulge information received at interviews.

Needy mothers are provided with baby linen, and house help is provided where needed. In extreme cases, convalescence in suitable surroundings is provided. Unmarried mothers are advised on legal problems. Mothers who have to support themselves are given vocational guidance.

Each center has a discretionary fund for providing immediate help where required. There are also three Holiday Homes, where mothers and children can be accommodated in special circumstances.

Sex instruction must, by law, be given as part of the normal biology course and, in Copenhagen, this is done. In the provinces, however, the situation is not so satisfactory. In country districts especially there is still considerable reluctance to comply with the law.

Venereal diseases must be reported and sufferers are given free treatment. This has been law in Denmark since 1773. In 1947, however, an amendment required sufferers not merely to report the infection, but also to reveal any possible source.

Sociological Aspects

The population of Denmark is approximately 4,500,000. There are approximately 35,000 marriages a year and 6,500 divorces. It has been estimated that 27 per cent of marriages end in divorce, but that as divorced and separated persons together amount to only 5 per cent of married persons, most divorced persons must remarry. Of women, 67 per cent marry while still under 25; 72 per cent of men marry while still under 30.

Premarital Sexual Experience

A recent survey showed that, of 284 women questioned, 80 per cent saw nothing immoral in premarital experience. Only four of them (1.4 per cent) reported loss of virginity at marriage; of those with premarital sex experience, about half had been virgins at the time of engagement. Loss of virginity under alcoholic stimulus was reported by 12 per cent. Half the women questioned reported two premarital affairs, 20 per cent reported three or more. The 284 women had had a total of 850 premarital affairs, of which some 400 were accounted for by one group of 22 women. The average age for loss of virginity was 19.1 years; for those with only one affair 19.9, for those with more than one affair 18.3. The older the girl when embarking on her first affair, the more permanent appeared the relationship.

Extramarital Affairs

No scientific surveys have been published, but Henrik Hoffer, the principal physician of the Mothers' Aid Centers, has estimated that 80 per cent of men, and 30–45 per cent of women have at least one extramarital affair. Other observations seem to bear out these figures.

Abortions

With so many premarital and extramarital affairs and with continuing inadequacy of contraceptive knowledge, there is bound to be a great number of unwanted pregnancies, premarital pregnancies, and births out of wedlock. Surveys have shown that as many as one pregnancy in every two is unwanted, in the sense of being unplanned. Only 9 per cent of premarital pregnancies, 68 per cent of married pregnancies, and 42 per cent of third pregnancies were planned. It is therefore not surprising to find estimates of a figure as high as 50 per cent for pregnant brides. This is by no means a recent development. Figures drawn from records indicate that 46.9 per cent of the mothers of women examined had given birth to children early enough to indicate pregnancy at marriage. An inquiry held in country districts in 1890 indicated that two-thirds of all brides were pregnant.

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A breakdown of 40,000 self-supporting mothers in Copenhagen, published by the Mothers' Aid Centers, shows that 40 per cent were divorced, 23 per cent legally separated, 10 per cent widowed, and only 17 per cent unmarried. In country districts the proportions might be somewhat different.

Legal abortions totaled 5,031 in 1952; in 1955, 5,434; in 1957, 3,775. Estimates of the number of illegal abortions vary from 12,000 to 15,000 per year. Most legal abortions are performed on married women, most illegal abortions on single women.

A survey of 423 pregnancies with 354 resultant births, of which 8 were twin births, showed the following breakdown: 6 legal abortions, 4 (out of 49 attempts) successful self-induced abortions, 5 illegal abortions, and 40 spontaneous abortions. From this it would appear that a considerable proportion of the estimated illegal abortions may in fact be spontaneous.

Masturbation

Masturbation among boys and men has not been scientifically studied in Denmark. Of 307 women recently questioned, 74 reported masturbation. Of these, 29 were unmarried, 37 married, and 8 divorced. Only 69 of these 307 were available for further questioning. Of these, 13 started masturbation before the age of 11, 33 started at puberty, and 23 when over 18. The adult women reported that masturbation was practiced most commonly when a sexual relationship had ended in death or divorce, or between two relationships.

Sexual Offenses and Prostitution

Sexual offenses are obviously comparatively rare in a land where the legal attitude towards sexual behavior is permissive.

Prostitution exists mostly in the bigger towns and ports and is centered either on the streets or the restaurants. There are also a number of part-time prostitutes. However, the number arrested for vagrancy total only a few hundred annually. Social legislation has removed most of the economic necessity for prostitution, and a progressive attitude to sexual morality has lessened the demand. The clients of prostitutes are mostly sailors, men in enforced separation from their families, tourists, and members of the upper classes. Middle- and working-class men prefer affairs to relationships with prostitutes. In Copenhagen there are also a few male prostitutes. For the most part they are not active homosexuals but make use of the needs of homosexuals and are often blackmailers.

Homosexuality

Active homosexuals may be assessed at perhaps 3–6 per cent among males and slightly more among females. There are no reliable figures available. Adolescent homosexuality, especially in schools where the sexes are segregated, probably runs somewhat higher. A survey of 315 women showed results startlingly smaller than those published by Kinsey, but this may be due to strong taboos against premarital heterosexuality in the United States, which may drive more Americans to homosexual contacts. The social position of homosexuals is relatively better in Denmark than in many other lands. However, there is still considerable prejudice, especially among those without benefit of higher education.

Venereal Disease

Venereal disease is not a major problem. In 1956 there were only 129 cases of gonorrhea, 7 cases of soft sores, 119 cases of contracted syphilis, and 8 cases of congenital syphilis treated.

Sexual Education

The sexual education of adults has not yet reached even the barely satisfactory standards of required education for children. Although, as stated, some education is given in schools, children must also be able to learn from their parents, which is not at present the case. There is no organization devoted specifically to sexual education, nor any scientifically edited periodical, but many individuals have tried to improve this state of affairs.

Population Growth

The population has increased fourfold in the last 150 years and continues to increase at a rate of 1.25 per cent per year. The excess of women over men is slight and unimportant. There is a considerable flow of population from

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the country to the towns, indicating a development from an agricultural to an industrial society. There has been no official attempt to foster a population increase, but the tax structure and some recent social legislation tend to favor the larger family.

Organizations

There is in Denmark a branch of the International Planned Parenthood Federation, which supports a clinic for family planning. The Mothers' Aid Centers run two clinics for marriage and family counseling in Aarhus and Copenhagen. The Society for Mental Hygiene maintains four offices for family counseling and for mental hygiene. Their Copenhagen office was used last year by 120 women and 80 men. Three marriage schools, two under the auspices of the church, were opened in Copenhagen ten years ago. Their courses include instruction in sexual problems, legal and social problems, family economy, housekeeping, and child care. Since October, 1958, child-guidance clinics have become an integral part of the child-welfare committees.

The active homosexuals have sought to protect their interests by forming a society. This has several hundred members, arranges social evenings, dances, etc., and, in collaboration with similar organizations in Norway and Sweden, publishes a little magazine.

Morals

Sexual relationships before marriage are not generally regarded as immoral, possibly because sexual behavior has developed slowly over a period of centuries, without any of the religious fanaticism engendered in other European countries at the time of the Reformation. No nationwide survey, however, has investigated this problem and it is difficult to be specific about a general attitude. In one limited survey of active church members, one in every five stated that they did not consider sexual relations even before formal engagement as immoral.

Surveys and Investigations

When the Kinsey report was published in Europe, it was immediately clear that many of its findings referred to a local cultural climate, and many similar investigations were undertaken in Europe to establish parallel or contrary customs. In Denmark there has so far been no survey of male behavior, and only one excellent investigation of female behavior. This was undertaken by Dr. Kirsten Auken and its results have been referred to several times here. Her report was published in 1953. Professor Tage Kemp, a specialist in human genetics, made a study of 530 prostitutes in Copenhagen during the years 1931–1935. The girls ranged in age from 15 to 46 years and most had been employed as general servants. Only 29.4 per cent were mentally normal and of average intelligence. Most came from homes with too little money and too many children. Only a very few came from good homes.

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EWALD BOHM

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NORWAY

The Attitude of the Law

Civil Law

Men under 20 and women under 18 require royal permission to marry. The insane may not marry, nor may sufferers from active syphilis; but epileptics and sufferers from other venereal diseases may marry if the illness is revealed and both partners have seen a doctor for instruction.

Both partners pledge mutual support according to their means. Property is in joint ownership, unless otherwise stipulated by marriage contract. Responsibility for legitimate children is shared. A child of 12 or over must be consulted by the parents before certain decisions are made regarding his or her person. A child of 15 must be consulted in somewhat wider circumstances. Where the father is known the illegitimate child is in a similar position to the legitimate one.

Divorce follows one year of legal separation, or may be obtained by decree on the following grounds: 2 years' desertion, 3 years' disappearance, bigamy, adultery, threat to partner's health through venereal disease, cruelty to partner or children, 3 years' imprisonment or habitual imprisonment for vagrancy, drunkenness, or begging, certain moral offenses, or mental disease lasting at least 3 years without prospect of cure.

Criminal Law

The letter of Norwegian criminal law does not always reflect the spirit in which it is administered. For instance, homosexuality is a punishable offense, but is seldom prosecuted unless a minor is involved. Concubinage and the sale of contraceptives are other offenses that very seldom lead to prosecution.

Proceedings will normally be instituted by the authorities only when the public interest is involved, so that instances of homosexuality or bestiality that are unostentatiously practiced will not be brought into the light of day by court action. It is believed that the offense is less harmful to the public at large than the resulting notoriety.

In general, all sexual relations that are not mutually agreed to by both parties, or where one party is tricked into agreement, or where one party is a minor and not to be held responsible are illegal. Crimes such as homosexuality or incest are held to be contrary to the public interest. Because the minimum sentences for moral offenses are very high there is a tendency to avoid bringing cases into court, and it is even claimed that there have been some resultant unjustifiable acquittals. However, these high minimum sentences, which have been in effect since 1927, have greatly reduced the number of offenses handled.

Adultery is not a punishable offense; bigamy is, but not on moral grounds. Incest, which occurs more often in country districts than in the towns, is illegal. Pandering and pimping are both offenses, but prostitution as such is not, unless engaged in publicly.

Castration is not a punishable offense. It is also not used as a punishment, although is is often performed on convicted moral offenders, at their own request, to increase their chances of freedom.

Induced abortion, except on medical grounds, is illegal and carries heavy penalties. The law is unfortunately not at all clear in indicating what constitutes a legal abortion. Consequently, physicians are often faced with unnecessarily difficult decisions. However, new and more explicit regulations are pending.

Social Legislation

The social services are greatly concerned with the mother-child relationship and are well organized. The laws that more or less directly protect the mother and child include:

1. Health Law of 1860, which provides, among other things, for health stations for mothers and children.
2. Midwifery Law of 1898, which restricts the practice of midwifery to graduates of state schools or to persons practicing by royal license.
3. A law of 1912 ensuring that there will be physicians available in all districts.
4. The Children's Laws of 1915, which clarify the position of legitimate and illegitimate children and under which mothers' aid centers

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were opened to care for self-supporting mothers and their children to the age of 1 year.

5. Laws of 1930 covering the care of the sick, which also cover economic help for women giving birth. Having a child is totally without cost to the family. Even the taxi to the hospital is paid for by the state. Women living too far from a hospital are given suitable help by physician and midwife without cost, even where the journey involves a boat or reindeer sleigh ride. A cash allowance is also allowed each mother for subsidiary expenses connected with lying-in.

6. The Workman's Protection Law, 1936, which gives a pregnant woman six weeks' vacation without fear of dismissal, both before and after her time, and also other advantages.

7. The Child Care Law of 1946, which provides an allowance for all second and later children under 16, and also, in some cases, an allowance for the first child.

Among the many institutions directed toward the care of mother and child, the health stations for mother and child have helped most to give Norway its very satisfactory record in keeping down infant mortality. Mortality in the first year for children born alive is 2 per cent, and deaths attributable to pregnancy or lying-in are only 0.5 per cent. The number of health stations is constantly being increased, as they are popular and much utilized. Hygiene centers for mothers have also proved their worth. They perform a similar function to the health stations, but also offer instruction in sexual hygiene. Self-supporting mothers are liberally aided by the state. A woman with five children under 15, or under 20 if they attend school, receives an annual grant of 8,460 crowns compared to an average national income of 10,000-11,000 crowns.

Sterilization is permitted to avoid the transfer of congenital disease or deformity, both physical and mental. It is also permissible where the individual concerned is unlikely ever to be able to care for eventual children. The law does not define circumstances, and decisions are made either by the physician concerned or by the Ministry of Health. Consent of the individual must be obtained. The number of sterilizations has risen from 541 women and 112 men in the period 1934–1942 to 2,338 women and 231 men in 1945–1954. The increase was chiefly among normal women and the grounds were either bad health or inability to support further children. Families of these women averaged 4.1 children.

Sex education was almost nonexistent until 1932, when a group of physicians and medical students started a magazine that continued publication for three years, or until the group considered it had said all that needed to be said. This publication met with strong opposition, headed by the current President of the Health Ministry. However, it proved extremely popular, and the articles, slightly rewritten, were published in book form in 1951. It is now the standard work on the subject. Some fifty other works have been published since the last war, but half of them are from religious houses, which in Norway means that they are both romanticized and prejudiced.

In the schools, since 1939, sex education has been part of the normal curriculum, but this does not mean that it is always taught. Questionnaires sent to some school districts on the extent of current sex education still remain unanswered. It would seem, however, that in most schools some such education is given. The official textbooks contain factual information, together with moral warnings. The teaching lays definite stress on the relationship between sexuality and responsibility.

Sexual Sociology

Marriage and Divorce

For the last 25 years, marriages performed have remained constant at 8 per 1,000 inhabitants, an increase of 2 per 1,000 over the previous 25 years. In the last ten years the average age of men and women married has dropped by 1 year to approximately 28 for men and 25 for women.

Births average 18.5 per 1,000 inhabitants nationally, with about 20 per 1,000 in country districts and 15 in the towns. There are some 63,000 live births per year in a population of 3,500,000. Population increase averages 1 per cent per year. On the average, marriages lasting 2 years have one child; 3–7 years, two children; 8–13 years, three children; 14–18 years, four children. Marriages with more children are uncommon, but families as large as 16 children are reported.

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Divorces total some 2,000 annually, or 7.5 per cent. The figure for country districts is 4.5 per cent, for towns 11.5. Most divorces occur between the fifth and tenth year of marriage, with a minor peak at five years. Some 90 per cent of families that end in divorce have two children or less.

Illegitimacy

Illegitimate births are decreasing. Twenty years ago the published figure was 7 per cent compared with 3.5 per cent today, or 1 in 1,000. The three most northern provinces, due to special local conditions, have the high figure of 9 per cent illegitimate births per all births. Population in these provinces is sparse and distances great, and it is not unusual for a man and woman to have two or three children before marrying.

There are a few definite figures obtainable of children born in wedlock but conceived prior to marriage. These are drawn from certain specialized inquiries undertaken recently in Oslo. The over-all figure is approximately 35 per cent, but this varies with the age and social position of the mother. For mothers under 25, the figure is 60 per cent. For mothers of all ages in better social circumstances, the figure is 8.75 per cent; for those of low social status, 33.6 per cent.

Premarital and Extramarital Affairs

Premarital affairs have not been the subject of exact study, but the general attitude is known to have changed. It is no longer considered wrong for young people to stay together in mountain huts. The most common practice among the unmarried is to go to bed together after three or four dates. Most boys and girls have three or four affairs before marrying. The affairs may be of long or short duration. Students are, in general, less inclined to have affairs than working-class boys and girls, but this is largely due to the fact that their work is more time-consuming.

Extramarital affairs are difficult to estimate from the divorce figures or from any other statistics available. It may be assumed, however, that the average man and the average woman are both unfaithful once, or even twice, during a marriage that lasts more than three years.

Abortion

Both legal and illegal abortions are on the increase. In 1954, the last year for which figures are available, induced abortions undertaken or treated in hospitals totaled 16.5 per cent of births. Illegal abortions totaled 11.6 per cent of births. The estimated figures are: 5,000 for married mothers and 2,000 for unmarried. It is estimated that only 1 per cent of illegal abortions were followed by criminal proceedings.

Prostitution and Homosexuality

Prostitution is not a problem and exists only to serve sailors and tourists. Professional prostitutes are few and usually so demoralized or alcoholic that they must be regarded as unemployable. There is some part-time prostitution, where the favor granted is acknowledged by a gift of clothing, or perhaps simply an evening out.

There are a number of youths in Oslo, perhaps 20–30, who offer themselves to homosexuals. They are mostly from the criminal element and often attempt blackmail. Although homosexuality is a punishable offense, prosecutions average only two per year. It is estimated that homosexuals form 2–4 per cent of the population, but as the active homosexuals fear social rejection, it is difficult to obtain figures.

Population Growth

The population is well distributed among the various age groups, particularly from 5–50 years. Only 2 per cent of the population is over 80. Men over 65 account for 9 per cent of the total, women over 65, 11 per cent. This group increases yearly both in number and in proportion to the whole. The number of women in the child-bearing years has decreased of late.

Social legislation and the tax structure both favor families with children. Advice on birth control can be obtained from the mothers' aid centers, etc., and also, in the case of married women, from physicians. Some physicians still decline, on religious grounds, to give advice on birth control to single persons.

Organizations

Norway is not a member of the International Planned Parenthood Federation and there is no organization in the country specializing in sex

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education. A small group, mainly left-wing, existed between the two world wars, but was not revived after the occupation. Lately, a number of family and marriage counseling offices have been opened, mostly under church auspices. Christian ministers and doctors together run these offices. There are also some places where sound mental-hygiene advice is available and with it some advice on sexual matters.

Active homosexuals have their own society, which naturally operates under great difficulties and in the face of strong public opposition. The society has recently hired its own psychologist.

Morals

Only 3 per cent of Norwegians are regular churchgoers, but the church still seems to exercise considerable influence on the official attitude to sexual problems. During the recent prosecution of the writer Agnar Mykle on the charge that his novel *The Song of the Red Ruby* was indecent, considerable public debate occurred. Both the book and the trial received much publicity in newspapers and periodicals, and there were many eloquent arguments offered by the defense, which collected an imposing array of cultural leaders to speak on their behalf. The wealth of material provided by this affair leads to the belief that, although there is still a hard core of narrow-minded opposition, the majority opinion of the people today tends toward a mature and responsible attitude in sexual matters.

Sexuality seems to be accepted, especially by the young, as a normal and natural experience. There is still a tendency to prudery in country districts and there may be a tendency toward a too flippant attitude among young townspeople, but on the whole the position seems to be healthy. There is a movement to restore school texts of the classic authors—for example, Knut Hamsun—which were previously banned. Sex is no longer regarded as something sinful and dangerous, nor is there any evidence of a widespread movement to sweep away all moral rules. There seems, in fact, to be a general quiet determination to deepen our insight into the forces governing sexuality.

Research

Recent research has concentrated mainly on sexual biology, but there are also some excellent recent works on sexual sociological themes. A brief list of relevant works is given below.

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TRYGVE JOHNSTAD
Translated by Albert Abarbanel

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SWEDEN

The Legal Position

Civil Law

The marriage laws of 1924 provide that men may marry at 21, girls at 18. Exceptions require permission from the Provincial Government. The mentally ill, epileptics, and sufferers from contagious venereal diseases must obtain a special license from the Ministry of Health.

The law provides for a modified form of separate ownership of property. Each partner's property remains in his or her control, as does any property acquired during the marriage. However, each partner becomes entitled to a share of the property of the other—the so-called *giftoratt*—when the marriage ends through death or divorce. Certain provisions are made to protect this *giftoratt*. Neither partner may dispose of land without consent of the other. Other property arrangements may be made by marriage contract.

Parents have joint responsibility for, and control of, legitimate children till the children are 18. Either or both parents can be declared by the courts to be unfit, on grounds of gross neglect, alcoholism, improper behavior, or sickness, and be deprived of control.

Mothers have responsibility for, and control of, illegitimate children. Illegitimate children have no inheritance rights from the father, unless conceived during the engagement, or by declaration of the father that he wishes the child to inherit. There is no provision for collective responsibility for all of several possible fathers in Swedish law.

Divorce is governed by a law of 1920. An immediate divorce can be obtained on certain grounds. When this is not granted, the first stage of the divorce must be a separation recognized by a court of law. The separation can be granted on mutual request or when the court finds evidence of incompatibility. In all cases an attempt at mediation must first be made.

Grounds for an immediate divorce are three years' interruption of the marriage without legal separation, two years' deliberate desertion, three years' disappearance, bigamy, adultery, danger of contagion of venereal disease, threat to life, a long prison sentence, alcoholism, and a mental sickness that has lasted three years without prospect of cure.

Criminal Law

Adultery with seduction is regarded in Sweden as breach of contract. Bigamy, incest, rape, and violation are considered crimes.

Seduction of girls under 12 years old is punishable with four to eight years in prison; seduction of girls 12 to 15 years old with from six months to four years.

Pandering and dealing in women and children are punishable offenses.

Since 1944, homosexual activities are only punishable when children under 15 are involved, when they occur among institution internees, or when they are of such a nature as to cause public offense.

The publishing of pornographic literature is punishable with fine or prison sentence.

Contraceptives may be freely bought and sold and druggists are required to stock them.

Prostitution as such is not illegal, but vagrancy may be punished by forced labor.

Voluntary sterilization is permitted only by permission of the Ministry of Health, on eugenic grounds, or when the life or health of the woman is endangered.

Castration is permitted to men over 23, by agreement of the Ministry of Health, when there is a danger of criminal sexual activities.

Abortion is legal when sickness or physical weakness threatens the life or health of the mother, the pregnancy originated in a criminal act, there is danger of congenital idiocy, and the birth of the child would cause the mother serious psychological harm. A pregnancy may not normally be interrupted after the twentieth week, but in special cases this may be extended to include the twenty-fourth week.

Social Legislation

Pregnant women and mothers are well provided for in Sweden. Every woman, regardless of financial standing, has the right to free medical examination and treatment at the child welfare stations. Almost 70 per cent of mothers make use of this facility. The cost of the actual

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delivery is borne by the Health Fund, which also makes a cash provision for the mother and pays an allowance for the first three months of the child's life (in total 600–800 kronen). Women who have been on a job for one year may not be dismissed on account of pregnancy. They are entitled to six months' leave of absence. Payment for this leave is a matter of contract or collective bargaining.

Every child has a right to free care till he or she is 7 years old. This is provided by the prophylactic child welfare organization, which employs doctors and visiting nurses, who are, however, available only for advice, not for the treatment of diseases. Almost 90 per cent of parents take advantage of this service, with the result that Sweden's infant mortality rate—2 per cent—is the lowest in the world.

Every child is entitled to a hot free lunch at school. Some 60 per cent of all children use this facility. Children whose parents are not in the highest 25 per cent income level have the right to a free vacation journey on the railroads. The mother also receives a free pass. During their absence, the household is cared for by municipal home assistants.

Sex Instruction in Schools

Since 1955, sex education has been compulsory in all schools. The quality of the instruction is, however, not uniform. The official handbook suggests that it would be preferable if parents gave their children the necessary instruction, but that, since this is often not done, the school must take over the responsibility. The instruction is given by the classroom teachers, who receive instruction in methods. The 7- and 8-year-olds are given a brief and cursory explanation of sexual differences, insemination, development, and birth. The 11- to 13-year-olds are taught about menstruation, anatomy of the sexual organs, masturbation, development, and birth. The 14- to 16-year-olds go into these subjects more deeply and also learn about abortion, illegitimate births, unmarried mothers, venereal diseases, and perversion. Contraceptives are mentioned and ethical and social problems touched on. For the 17- to 19-year-olds all these subjects are dealt with more thoroughly. At this stage contraception is explained more concretely and heredity is discussed.

Sexual Sociology

Marriage and Divorce

In 1955 there were 52,250 marriages and 8,785 divorces. Of the adult total population in 1956 (7,290,112), 3,336,869 were bachelors, 3,422,973 were married, 402,310 were widowed, and 127,960 divorced. The divorced represent therefore about 3.7 per cent of the married. It must be remembered that most divorced persons remarry.

Of 52,250 brides in 1955, 7,126 were under 20; 22,430 were 20–24; 11,346 were 25–29; 4,980 were 30–34. The rest were older. Of the same number of bridegrooms, 1,161 were under 20; 16,119 were 20–24; 16,874 were 24–29; 8,431 were 30–34; the rest older. Of women, 57 per cent marry when under 25; 65 per cent of men under 30. The average age for marrying in Sweden is very high. For 100 years it was around 29 for men and 26 for women, though it may have fallen slightly in the last two decades.

Premarital Affairs

Premarital affairs are considered perfectly normal in Sweden, which is not surprising in view of the late age for marrying. In a recent survey, 95 per cent of the men aged 40 reported premarital affairs and 80 per cent of 20-year-old unmarried men reported sexual relations. Among male students the percentage was only 40 per cent, a figure related less to the social background than to the education and family conditions of members of this group.

Among men the average age for first intercourse lies between 17 and 19 years. Younger men are more likely to report having begun at 17, older men at 19. This reflects an observation made in other surveys, that in the last few years puberty has begun somewhat earlier. Town or country background seems to have little influence on the age of first intercourse, but whereas the older men report first intercourse mainly as a result of a chance encounter, the younger men more often report it as planned, though slightly more than 50 per cent still report chance. It is interesting to note that first intercourse is now more often reported with women of equal age, whereas earlier it was more likely to occur with older women.

In general it would appear that, in spite of

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frequent outcries against the degenerating morals of youth, younger men seem to be increasingly inclined toward more stable sexual relationships following first sexual intercourse.

In the same survey, 80 per cent of married women reported sexual intercourse prior to marriage. In most cases first intercourse occurred between the ages of 18 and 21. There was no appreciable difference between women of town and of country backgrounds: but women of the upper classes appear to make their sexual debut somewhat later than those of the lower classes. Though no figures are available, it appears from various inquiries that the age of women at first sexual intercourse is somewhat lower than previously, which corresponds with a reportedly lower age for the start of menstruation.

For 95 per cent of the women, first intercourse was followed by a stable sexual relationship, but in only 14 per cent of the cases did this lead to marriage, and in a further 28 per cent to official engagement. The discrepancy between the male and female reports on the stability of the relationship following first intercourse would lead one to assume that either the women dressed up their answers or that a greater number of men had their first intercourse with a smaller number of promiscuous women. The masculine partner was in 65 per cent of cases older than the woman, and in 25 per cent of the same age. A special survey among those attending lectures on sex showed that two-thirds of the unmarried women and half of the married women had not experienced orgasm.

Unplanned Pregnancies, Premarital Pregnancies, and Illegitimate Births

In 1944, 30 per cent of first-born children were born within the first eight months of marriage. This figure has sunk somewhat since. In 1955, 10 per cent of all live births were illegitimate.

This indicates that the number of unplanned and undesired pregnancies in Sweden is very high indeed, especially when the 5,000 annual legal and 10,000 annual illegal abortions are taken into account. A survey in 1954 of contraceptive methods showed: 30.9 per cent coitus interruptus, 18.8 per cent condom, 13 per cent diaphragm, 0.83 per cent chemical products, and 15.95 per cent no means. Figures varied slightly between town and country districts, but coitus interruptus seems everywhere the most widely favored method.

Abortion

Legal abortions rose from 439 in 1939 to 6,328 in 1951 and fell to 3,869 in 1956. Illegal abortions are estimated at between 10,000 and 20,000. It is estimated that 46 per cent of pregnancies among unmarried women are terminated by legal or illegal abortion, but only 5 per cent of pregnancies among married women are similarly ended. Of the balance of 54 per cent of unmarried women becoming pregnant, about half marry, while the other half bear an illegitimate child.

Sex Offenses

In 1955 there were 234,539 offenses recorded by the police, of which only 2,825 were offenses against morals, a mere 0.5 per cent.

Prostitution

The improved standard of living in Sweden appears to have reduced prostitution to a negligible few hundred teen-age prostitutes, most of whom later find other trades. The general permissiveness of sexual mores has also helped reduce prostitution.

Since World War II, however, male prostitution has become a problem, especially in the two major cities.

Homosexuality

Since the easing of regulations concerning homosexuality in 1944, there are no figures available. There is a society for the furtherance of the needs of homosexuals, which has aims similar to its brother-societies of Norway and Denmark.

Venereal Disease

In 1955 there were 177 cases of syphilis, 13,852 cases of gonorrhea, and 16 cases of soft chancres. While the number of cases of syphilis is falling, the figures for gonorrhea are fairly constant.

Population Trends and Policies

The total population of Sweden has risen from 6,842,046 in 1948 to 7,341,122 in 1957. The

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present density is approximately 18 to the square kilometer and the yearly increase over the last ten years is only 0.73 per cent. The sexes are almost equally divided, with 1,005 women for every 1,000 men.

Sweden has no problem of overpopulation. From 1880 to 1934 the birth rate had been steadily sinking and, even when the distinguished social scientists Gunnar and Ivar Myrdal drew attention to what they called the Repopulation Crisis, a government committee came up with surprising findings. In spite of the falling birth rate, they considered that birth control was sound, for unmarried as well as for married couples. Abstinence was decried as entailing risks for those with emotional instability. The committee recommended compulsory sex education for doctors, district nurses, and midwives, and opened the first birth-control clinic in Sweden for the fitting of diaphragms, but it closed on account of insufficient public interest.

However, to encourage earlier marriage, a system of marriage loans was introduced. Loans up to 3,000 kronen are available for founding a family. The loans are repayable, with interest, over eight years. Approximately 20 per cent of the newly married take advantage of these loans. There is also provision for a housing allowance for the lower-income groups, which starts at 500 kronen and increases by 150 kronen for each additional child.

In addition, each child is granted a yearly allowance by the state, which can be drawn by the mother each quarter. This allowance is also available to children of unmarried mothers and to children with foster parents. The allowance, of 400 kronen, is deemed sufficient to buy clothing and shoes for a school child.

Education

The struggle for sex education for adults and in the schools dates well back into the nineteenth century, but it was only in 1944 that sex instruction became compulsory in the schools.

Organizations

The National League for Sex Education was founded in 1933 by Elise Ottesen-Jensen, currently President of the International Planned Parenthood Federation, who brought very great talents to her chosen work. With the aid of the trades unions and the adult-education movement, she increased the membership of her organization to a quarter of a million in 1958.

The aims of the League include:

1. Sex education in all schools, teachers' colleges, and universities.
2. Consultation centers to give guidance and information on all questions relating to sex.
3. Repeal of anticontraceptive laws.
4. Legalization of abortion on eugenic, medical, and social grounds.
5. Revision of all legislation in this field in accordance with scientific opinion.
6. A thorough change of social and economic conditions in order to utilize research in the field of sex science.

So successful was the League in influencing the government toward a liberalizing of attitude that a whole new range of aims was undertaken along the same lines. The League has consultation centers in a dozen major cities, over 100 associated physicians, and a number of allied staff members. The consultation center in Stockholm was consulted by 838 persons in 1936. In 1956, more than 24,000 persons consulted the various centers.

In 1957 in Stockholm advice was given to 17,211 persons. Of these, 13,596 requested information about birth control. The others asked about pregnancy, menstruation difficulties, orgastic problems, frigidity, interruptions of potency, sterility, and masturbation conflicts.

The League also answers questions by mail—some 2,000 in 1956—and has produced several films. It arranges lectures and courses for adults and especially for school teachers. There are also courses for medical students.

The League has its own laboratory and manufactures diaphragms and chemical contraceptives. Condoms, which are imported from America, are tested by a machine specially designed for this purpose. The League has 25 distribution centers for its domestic and imported contraceptives.

In 1941, the League opened its own mother's home with beds for 27 mothers. Two workers are assigned to handling and investigating requests for legal abortion. Adoptions are also arranged. The League also publishes its own

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brochures, which have proved very popular, and a periodical.

It would not be an exaggeration to say that most of the forward steps in sex and family hygiene taken in Sweden in the past few years have been aided either by the League or the Population Committee. It also appears that their efforts have given an impetus to both local and national councils in the area of mother and child welfare.

The Mothers' Aid Centers, in 1956, received 17,558 visits and paid out assistance of 5,635,000 kronen. Since 1945, Child Welfare Stations, which give free advice to parents, have been established in all areas. There are 63 such stations in Stockholm alone, including the famous Children's village at Ska. There is also a family counseling office in Stockholm, supported by the city, and in several other cities similar offices are supported by the Society for Mental Health.

Morals

Today Sweden is highly industrialized, but it grew out of a peasant society. The division of labor between the sexes gave the men the fieldwork, the women the care of the stock. The young girls had their sleeping quarters outside the family rooms and close to the stalls. On Saturdays, it was usual to gather to spin wool, which afforded the young men a chance to visit. In some localities these visits were extended and occasionally, when the weather was inclement or the distance too large, they lasted through the night. On special occasions, as after dances, birthday parties, weddings, etc., collective sleeping quarters were arranged for the young people. But the fact that the men and girls slept in close quarters through the night did not result in inevitable sexual activity or promiscuity.

The consequence of such "social evenings" was the custom of "night courtship," which flourished in the dairy districts. Young men got together in the village and jointly called on one girl in her dairy-maid's hut. Strict rules of behavior, based on custom and tradition, governed these visits. While the girl had little choice as far as the callers were concerned, she had the right to send them away at will after she had selected one favorite to spend the night with her. During the first few night courtships with favored lads—and sometimes even for long periods—sexual restraint was obligatory and only on rare occasions was this traditional code of behavior broken.

Then, after a suitable number of nights spent by the girl with one preferred lad, a more or less durable sexual relationship was formed; and when the prescribed amenities had been followed, it was sanctioned as moral by the social group. But only after this social approval of an enduring affair was the male permitted to call on his girl alone on any night. At this point there would be an exchange of gifts.

In general then, ancient tradition gave social sanction to premarital sexual relationships. The legal responsibilities of marriage, however, began with the promise to marry. Such forms of "trial marriage" have persisted in some rural regions of Sweden from the ancient past. As the church authorities later opposed them, a cleavage developed between the moral principles of the church in regard to marriage and those which sprang from traditional Swedish folk custom. While the church emphasized the "consensus-principle" of marriage and thus based its sanctity on individual agreement, traditional concepts regarded the formation of a family as a function of the social group. (The custom of "night courting" is not peculiar to Sweden. It has flourished since ancient times also in some regions of Finland, the Baltic sea provinces, and other parts of the European continent, especially Austria and Bavaria. Immigrants have brought this traditional folk custom to America as "bundling.")

The gradual change of Sweden's economic structure, hastened by a growing industrialization of the country, affected not only the collective life of farm communities but also the traditional folk customs. The enduring premarital relationships of predominately rural society, however, survived in the more progressive industrial society, and their present acceptance has been aided by various tendencies toward sexual emancipation, including the popularity of birth control, more liberal attitudes about premarital relations and free love, and a greater interest in psychoanalysis. The relatively unrestrained sexual behavior now existing in Sweden has these origins.

Disregarding a small puritanical minority

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among the middle classes, there is little sexual repression among the Swedish people today. On the other hand, aggressive tendencies have been repressed in Sweden, while they have been subject to growth in more puritanical countries.

In North American society for instance, competitiveness invites considerable expression of aggressiveness, but in Sweden this expression is more repressed because of social conventions, over-politeness, widespread bureaucracy, etc.

A brief analysis of a peculiar difference in the way of life of Danes and Swedes may be in order. We are concerned here with two forms of alcoholism. While the consumption of wine and beer is large in Denmark, it is overshadowed by that of hard liquor in Sweden. The figures per head of population in Sweden in 1954 are: 5 liters hard liquor, 1.9 liters wine, 27.6 liters beer. The corresponding figures for Denmark are 1.1 liters hard liquor, 2.8 liters wine, 66.6 liters beer. The average Swede, therefore, consumes five times as much hard liquor and only half as much beer and wine as the Dane. Hard liquor is the quickest means of releasing aggressive tendencies, and for that reason it has been found necessary in Sweden to post a policeman in every saloon from Friday evening to Monday morning. This is not necessary in Denmark where the lighter form of alcoholism—even in its chronic form—leads to less aggression and more feelings of well-being. In Sweden, relatively weak sexual repression and strong repression of aggression can be discerned in contrast to Denmark where weak sexual repressions go hand in hand with weak repression of aggression. In the United States, however, strong sexual repressions exist with relatively weak repressions of aggression.

Special Surveys

The most important sexual-sociological survey which has been made in Sweden in recent times is Dr. Gustav Jonsson's *Sexual Behavior of Swedish Youth*, issued by the Ministry of Justice in 1951. Dr. Jonsson's subjects were 500 draftees in their twenties, 500 men aged around 40, 314 women aged from 15-45, and 1,000 women who answered a questionnaire circulated by the League. In 1943, Dr. Gunnar Nycander published his *Personality and Morals*, in which he, as a psychoanalyst, polemicized against morals that were based on religious opinions.

There have been a number of inquiries following the pattern of the Kinsey report, though on a smaller scale. Brattgard, of the Sahlgren Hospital in Gothenburg, investigated the relationship of personal attitudes to sexual behavior, a subject not covered by the Kinsey report. Lindberg, also from the Sahlgren Hospital in Gothenburg, made two separate investigations of homosexuality, using 100 men for each study. Both investigations gave similar findings. The first showed 5 per cent occasional homosexual behavior and 0.5 per cent genuine homosexuality. The second showed 4 per cent and 1 per cent respectively. The subjects were, in both investigations, suffering from mild neuroses and were all in the terminal stages of treatment.

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EWALD BOHM

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Separation

Definition

SEPARATION as a legal term refers to a marital status in which husband and wife are no longer living with one another although neither has the right to remarry. In popular usage it usually refers to a status that serves as a substitute for, or precursor to, divorce. Psychologically, it is the converse of proximity, with effects that may be traumatic or salutary according to the circumstances. Sociologically, it affects family interaction by truncating role relationships; often it is the disturbance of role patterns or "habits" that constitutes the major trauma of separation. In order to include the legal, popular, psychological, and sociological conceptions, separation may be defined as any marital status that limits or cuts off the effects of proximity and reduces the intensity of intimacy.

Separation should be distinguished from alienation. Separation is to some extent, however minor, physical as well as psychological. It need not, however, be accompanied by alienation; letters or telephone messages may keep the relationship intact. Alienation is a growing-apart of the spouses, whether accompanied by separation or not. The spouses become estranged; that is, they become strangers to one another. They no longer share common interests, have common goals. The feeling of intimacy, of knowing one another, disappears. In the concept "alienation of affection" there is a third party involved; but alienation may occur without such personal intervention; it may be brought on by any conflicting interest.

Benefits of Separation in the Marriage Relationship

The conception of marriage in our culture is that the marital partners are united; marriage is a union. And in the first flush of ecstatic love, the partners may feel that they want never to be separated; they want to be together always, forever, to share every moment. Every hour they are not together seems an hour lost. They want to be one.

There is some question about how much of this intense intimacy human beings can stand. Almost inevitably the time comes when at least a brief letup in this "togetherness" is welcomed. Some respite in the form of a temporary separation is desired.

Every successful marriage probably develops its own "tension." An orbit of activities emerges that alternates union and separation in the most congenial rhythm. Most wives do not want their husbands home all the time. They welcome the daily separation that takes the husband out of the home. Among the many traumas of unemployment, and in many instances of retirement, is that of having the husband around all day. Wives sometimes speak with relief of the absence of their husbands even for several days. It gives them a vacation from certain responsibilities with respect to cooking, marketing, and the like. Folk humor refers to the husband who similarly anticipates with pleasure the absence of his wife for a short time. The pros and cons of separate vacations are discussed from time to time in the press.

The fact that brief, voluntary separations are

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welcomed by so many and even advocated by some is suggestive with respect to the nature of the marital bond. Separation may be as intrinsically necessary a part of marriage as intimacy, although the degree varies from couple to couple. At one extreme there is the couple who brag that they have never been separated for even one night in all the years of their marriage; at the other, the couple who brag that they look forward to vacations from marriage every so often. Is one any more "normal" than the other? Is extreme dependence "better" than moderate independence?

Separation is, in effect, a test of a relationship. Absence may make the heart grow fonder, but it may also have the opposite effect. If it heightens awareness of a relationship grown routine and even stale, it may strengthen the relationship. The partners come to value one another more because of the temporary deprivation. If it offers an opportunity to regain perspective it is salutary. This is the kind of separation Anne Morrow Lindbergh advocated in her best-selling book *Gift from the Sea*. If, however, the separation points up the frictions of daily accommodations, separation may give the partners a sense of release that they welcome and may make them reluctant to resume daily contacts.

Classification of Separation

Separations may be classified on the basis of several kinds of criteria, namely: (1) degree, (2) duration, (3) voluntary-involuntary nature, and (4) intent.

Degree

Physical separation may be relatively minor or it may be complete. It may take the form of simply moving over to the edge of the bed. A further step is getting out of the common bed into a separate bed. Separate bedrooms constitute a further step. Some people advocate such separations as therapeutic; others deprecate them as nullifying the effects of proximity. It is harder to go to sleep in anger when sleeping together than in separate beds or in separate rooms. Contrariwise, it is argued that it is easier to live with others when it is possible to retreat into the privacy of one's own room to regain composure and protection from too much stimulation.

Separation may take the form of moving out of the house entirely, or to a different part of town or, indeed, to a different city entirely. The significance of these degrees of physical separation lies in the effect they have on propinquity. There is much truth in the folk adage "Out of sight out of mind."

Separation may also be thought of as segmental or integral in degree. The wife may feel that she is separated or "shut out" from her husband's work life; or a husband may feel "walled off" from his wife by her exclusive preoccupation with the house or child care.

Duration

Separation may be very brief, as when the husband must be gone on an overnight trip; or it may last for many years. It may be a routine daily separation of several hours, as when the husband is at work. It may be recurrent but brief, as when one or the other partner goes on a visit or vacation or business trip.

Voluntary-Involuntary Nature

With respect to this criterion, separations may be (a) involuntary for both, (b) quasi-voluntary, (c) voluntary for one but involuntary for the other, or (d) voluntary for both.

Involuntary separations result from incarceration in prisons, commitment to mental hospitals, or military obligations. A study of separated persons as of 1940 showed that about 300,000 resulted from imprisonment or hospitalization for mental illness. At that time only a negligible number of separations were attributable to military service.

In some countries, notably in Latin America, wives are permitted to visit their husbands in prison. This practice is not permitted in the United States; but some people argue that since a prisoner's marriage is his most important tie with the outside world, every effort should be made to prevent the separation from ending in divorce. Similar arguments are made in the case of mental patients.

Separations may be said to be quasi-voluntary when they result from occupational neces-

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sity. Seamen, fishermen, and traveling salesmen fall in this category. They are called quasi-voluntary because if the persons involved valued marriage and family life more highly than their work they would not pursue occupations that rendered so much separation inevitable. Also quasi-voluntary are separations such as those resulting from the necessity to take care of relatives or to perform other duties. Those associated with work tend to be of fairly long duration and are recurrent. They are built into the relationship and need not be inimical to the marriage. The chief hazard lies in the danger of succumbing to the temptation of extramarital sex relations during separation.

In many cases only one of the spouses wants the separation. Whether it is the husband or the wife who is more likely to want the separation is not known. It is probably easier for a husband to stay away from home than it is for a wife to pick herself up and leave. But it may be easier for a wife to make a long "visit" to her parents' home. The data on divorce do not help much here. We know that more wives than husbands sue for divorce; but there is some evidence that men are more likely to initiate the process that ends in divorce. We do not have even this much information about the separations that do not lead to divorce.

Desertion is a special category of voluntary-involuntary separation. It occurs primarily in the lower socioeconomic classes; and it is overwhelmingly a male pattern of behavior. It tends to be chronic and repetitive and is usually identical with nonsupport. Children are more likely to be involved in desertions than in divorce; in fact, because of the class and family composition of the deserting population, it has been stated that desertion is a far greater cause of human suffering than divorce. The desertion rate may be even higher than the divorce rate. Social agencies have developed a cooperative system for locating deserting husbands and returning them or holding them responsible for the support of their families. Casework is usually tried before resorting to legal coercion.

Even if the separation is wanted by only one of the partners, it is usually possible for that partner to make the other one so miserable that ultimately both accept it.

Voluntary separation varies all the way from the salutary vacation from marital responsibilities referred to above to legal separation, which is like formal divorce. By far the largest number of couples who reported themselves to be in the separated status in 1940 (1,200,000 at that time) were separated for the same kinds of reasons as divorced persons; indeed, most of these separations were probably preludes to divorce, annulment, or permanent legal separation.

Separation is a well-defined phase of the divorcing process; in fact, divorce is usually the legitimization and official recognition of the *fait accompli* of separation. The separation may occur at almost any phase of the alienation process. In one study it was found that the separation had occurred one or more years before the decree in 40 per cent of the cases; contrariwise, in 6 per cent of the cases the separation did not occur until after the decree. By and large, persons in higher socioeconomic classes tend to separate later in the alienation process than do those in the lower; and separations are likely to occur earlier when it is the husband who first suggests divorce than when it is the wife. Traumas reach a maximum at the time of separation when such separation leads to divorce.

Five main types of separation as related to divorce have been distinguished by Goode (1956): (1) separation as a divorce preliminary, in which separation comes after a decision to divorce and is a step toward implementing that decision; (2) separation of short or long duration as a substitute for divorce and sometimes ending in desertion; (3) one-sided separation, in which one mate leaves without even serious joint consideration of divorce; (4) drifting separation, in which the mates have built separate and individual lives for themselves, have never actually given much thought to divorce, and may never divorce unless some new factor precipitates such a decision; and (5) the delayed separation that does not occur until after the divorce decree.

Intent

The problem of intent is important only in separations that are voluntary on the part of at least one partner. In some cases the intent may be a temporary relief from an intolerable

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conflict situation. In extreme cases it might even be a matter of self-preservation. It might be a tactic of revenge: "I'll show him (her)." It might be a rest from the tensions of propinquity, an escape from the rigors of prolonged intimacy. It might be a method of renewing zest in a relationship. It might be a bargaining tactic: "I'll come back if you will promise me this or that." The results may sometimes be surprising. A separation that began as a bargaining tactic on the part of one spouse might prove so congenial to the other that it becomes a liability rather than an asset. Or a separation that began as a temporary escape may become so pleasant that resumption of the relationship is no longer appealing. Or a separation that began as a tactic of revenge may reveal to both partners the depth of their relationship and the impossibility of breaking it.

Sexual and Social Adjustment

Whatever the nature of the separation, some kind of sexual adjustment must be made. In the case of women, this is less likely to be serious since they appear to be able to tolerate long periods of deprivation with relative ease. In the case of men, Kinsey found that separated men fell between single and married men in their patterns of sexual behavior. In the years before 30, the amount of sexual outlet in men in a postmarital status (widowed, divorced, separated) was roughly 90 per cent of that of men in a married status; thereafter the amount fell to about two-thirds. Most (about 80 per cent) of this outlet is in the form of heterosexual experience.

Aside from problems of sexual adjustment, there are social adjustments to make. If the partners are not ready to admit to the world that they are having marital difficulties, the problems may be compounded by the necessity of putting up a conventional façade or of finding good reasons to cover up the real reasons for the separation. If the world knows the nature of the separation, there is likely to be a good deal of pressure from family and/or friends in the direction of either reconciliation or definitive divorce. The partners are themselves likely to be in a state of emotional disturbance if for no other reason than the disorganization of regular and habitual patterns of living.

Statistical Data on Separation

Precise statistical data on separated persons are difficult to secure. There is no way of knowing the incidence or, except for a particular day on which a census study is made, the prevalence of the several types of separation. In the United States, in April 1955, there were 746,000 men and 1,400,000 women reported as separated, including those with legal separations, those living apart with intentions of obtaining a divorce, and other permanently or temporarily estranged persons. There were 414,000 women whose husbands were in the armed forces. In addition, there were 809,000 men and 943,000 women with spouses whose place of residence was different from theirs. These included immigrants whose spouses remained in another location as well as spouses of inmates of institutions.

The average age at which women had become separated was 28.9 years; the average duration of their marriages was 4.1 years. The separation rates for women were found to be inversely related to education, being about three times greater among white women with elementary education than among those with four or more years of college education. Separation rates were much higher for nonwhite than for white women. Separated women were least likely to have any income, and among those who did have incomes, the amount was likely to be smallest, as compared with women in other marital statuses. In one study, about half of all persons reported as separated had obtained legal separations.

In general, separated persons resemble divorced persons with respect to employment status of wives, presence or absence of children, nativity, urban-rural residence, and occupation; but in practically every respect they are on a lower rung.

Statistical records, valuable as they are, tell us nothing about the unknown number of persons who separate and return to one another in any one year. One estimate for Chicago gave the number of separated but nondivorced persons as twice the number of divorced persons.

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Because of the absence of accurate records there is little on which to base a study of trends. In the past, casual separation was extremely difficult. Where was the separating spouse to go? In a rural area there was no place except back to parents, or to friends. In cities there were no living quarters except in boarding houses or hotels, and here separated persons, especially women, would be looked upon with suspicion. Such factors kept people living together despite alienation. The sheer mechanics of separation today are simple. The woman who wants a vacation from marriage can move freely. She can vacation by herself, travel by herself, get a job, run an apartment. The simple logistics of separation have been transformed by technology, whether the motivations have changed or not.

No unequivocal advice can be given with respect to separation. If it is planned as a brief therapeutic "breather" or vacation from marriage it may be salutary and preserve a sound relationship. If it is planned as a prolonged escape from marriage or if it is a substitute or precursor for divorce, it may destroy a salvageable relationship. In such cases it would be well to consult a counselor before extending the separation.

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JESSIE BERNARD

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Sex Differences

THE literature on sex differences is enormous and has been ably covered by such authorities as H. Ellis (1929), Scheinfeld (1943), and Zimmerman and Cervantes (1956). It includes experimental findings relating to differences between the male and female sexes on numerous anatomical, physiological, mental, and emotional traits. The present article, because of space limitations, will largely be concerned with differences in the sexual behavior of men and women and will make no attempt to survey the many other kinds of sex differences which have been and still are being theorized about and experimentally tested.

In the discussion that follows there will be an attempt to show male-female differences in sexual behavior that, according to empirical investigations, presently exist. It is possible, as Kinsey and his associates (1948, 1953) imply, that many of these differences exist because they are biologically determined, and that they therefore tend to hold for men and women in almost any place or period. It is also possible, however, that existing differences in sexual behavior are strongly influenced by the social-cultural environment of the communities in which they are observed, and that under other social-cultural circumstances, these observed differences would not occur or would be minimal.

The facts about male-female differences in sexual behavior that are presented in this article are to be viewed as "true," in the sense that they presently seem to exist; but they are not necessarily to be seen as immutable or necessary. Although it may *now* be true that females tend to have considerably less sex drive than males when they are in their teens, and that they do not tend to catch up with males in this respect until they are in their late twenties (Kinsey, 1953), it is possible, as A. Ellis (1954) points out, that as our attitudes toward female sex participation become more liberalized, teenage girls may move closer to male norms of sex drive. In any event, social-cultural influences on sex differences must be constantly kept in mind (Seward, 1946), and existing differences, however solidly they may be established by empirical observation, must not be taken as being of purely biological origin.

Male or female—the sex of the human being is determined at the instant of conception. The genes that decide the sex of the embryo are also the architects of its future, for male and female differ in every cell of their bodies from the moment life begins, and these differences influence every sphere of their lives. They range from the microscopic (the special mass of sex chromatin found in the nuclei of normal females but not males) to the macroscopic (the genitalia and other anatomical features). Some, such as the grosser muscular structure of the male, are obvious to even the least perceptive observer. Others, such as the subtle nuances in emotional attitudes, are not so easily discernible and may become apparent only during psychological testing. Some are rooted in their different reproductive roles; still others arise from the pressures and demands of the society into which they are born. Generally, however, masculine and feminine character traits result from the combined interaction of both biological and cultural factors.

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Biological Differences

Biologically, man is the weaker sex. Approximately 120 males are conceived for every 100 females, but only 105 of them live to be born. Not only is the prenatal miscarriage rate higher for males; during the first year of life their death rate exceeds that for females by about 25 per cent. The average life expectancy of white females today is 73 years; that for males, 67 years. This has been attributed to the pressures modern life puts upon men as contrasted to the greater leisure women enjoy. But a study of American Catholic religious brothers and sisters, whose lives are subject to similar pressures, revealed that the nuns had an average life expectancy that was 10 per cent longer than that of their male counterparts—about what it is for American women generally. This greater longevity of the female is also true of most animal species studied. Apparently, the explanation lies in sex-linked hereditary factors.

Biologically the weaker, the male is, in every known society, bigger and stronger than the female. On the average, he is 6 per cent taller and 20 per cent heavier than she, his bones are larger and heavier, his muscles larger, thicker, and stronger. He has a higher metabolism rate: he produces more physical energy than she, and requires more food. His heart pumps more forcibly than hers—a sexual characteristic that is common among all mammals, so far as we know. His blood contains some 300,000 more red corpuscles per cubic millimeter than does hers, giving him a more favorable oxygen supply for the physical exertion for which his body is obviously designed. The woman's body, equipped with an insulating layer of fat under the skin and a greater adaptability to respond with reduced metabolism when exposed to heat and with increased metabolism when exposed to cold, is better able to adjust to extreme changes in temperature and to withstand the radical physical changes—menstruation, pregnancy, menopause—that her reproductive role imposes.

Given superior muscular strength and energy, the male is more active and assertive than the female. According to authorities such as Gesell (1946), very early in childhood girls show less physical strength (but finer muscular coordination) than boys, have a greater preference for indoor and more sedentary activities, and, even in infancy, sleep more.

By the age of 2, boys are more aggressive, pugnacious, and unruly than girls, who tend to be more timid, inhibited, and eager to please and conform. To some extent, this may be because girls are suppressed more; on the other hand, girls are more amenable to restrictions than their brothers. This is true in the animal kingdom too, where it is the male who rebels most when restrained.

The greater aggressiveness of the male is reflected in suicide and crime statistics. Approximately five times more men than women commit suicide, which is an act of aggression directed toward the self. More men than women commit crimes of violence, and there is some evidence to indicate a relationship between the commission of such crimes by women and their menstrual periods, when there may be hormonal upsets and metabolic disturbances.

Sexual Behavior

The physiological and psychological differences between men and women are revealed most clearly in their sexual behavior. Here each seeks the same goal—sexual gratification; they differ in the means by which they attain it. In both sexes, sexual arousal is accompanied by tumescence—the stiffening of the penis in the male and of the clitoris and vulva in the female, caused by an influx of blood into the erectile tissues. This tumescence of the male is necessary to the sexual act; unless his organ is in a state of erection he cannot penetrate the vagina of the female. Although tumescence in the woman is necessary to her sexual satisfaction, it is not necessary at all to her sexual function. She can receive the male even though she is not physically prepared for coitus, and even when she does not desire it.

Both men and women achieve sexual gratification through orgasm, the explosive discharge of nerve-muscle tensions at the peak of arousal, followed by relaxation. But only in the man is this release of sexual tension accompanied by ejaculation. What is sometimes mistaken for ejaculation in the female is merely the secretion

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of those glands that lubricate the vagina and facilitate entry of the penis, and in no way is comparable to the emission of semen by the male. In both sexes, orgasm involves the whole body, but in the woman it is not located in the genitals to the degree that it is in man, but is a more diffuse sensation. Many women can attain some pleasure from intercourse in which they do not reach orgasm, which would be unusual for men.

Once she is stimulated, the woman is capable of experiencing more orgasms in a single intercourse than the man. Orgasm in the male is limited by the amount of seminal fluid, and once a climax has been reached it is impossible for most men to maintain erection. Younger males are capable of multiple orgasms, but this is characteristic of only a small number. The capacity to have repeated orgasms in a limited period of time decreases with age; by the time they have reached their fortieth birthday, most men have lost this ability.

In her capacity to experience frequent orgasms, the human female is unique among mammals. But, like tumescence, this response is necessary only to her gratification, not to her biological function. For the man, charged with delivery of the sperm, each ejaculation is a reproductive act. The woman's reproductive role, which requires her to make radical physical and emotional adjustments, begins when she receives the sperm. Whether she has experienced orgasm or not is not significant.

Thus the sexual act, dependent upon the male's willingness and capacity to perform, demands that he play the more aggressive, and the female, the more passive, role. Rooted in their different biological functions, the male and female sexual characters develop: Dr. Helene Deutsch (1944) has described that of man, the impregnator, as centrifugal in nature —directed outwards, away from himself; that of woman, centripedal—directed inwards, toward herself.

Sex Drive

Because the behavior of human beings is governed to a large extent by their previous experiences in living, there are great variations in the sexual impulse between persons of the same sex, and the sexual drive in any one individual fluctuates markedly throughout a lifetime, influenced by many factors such as age, health, and environment. We have no means of accurately measuring and comparing sexual drive, but it is not usually as strong in the woman as it is in the man. During childhood, boys show more awareness of sex, as indicated in interest in animal intercourse and erotic stories, than girls do, and the male shows a need for overt sexual experiences much earlier than the female. The Kinsey reports indicate that by the age of 17 almost all males have had orgasms, but only 35 per cent of the females have experienced climax by this age. There are some women who never have an orgasm in their entire lives; it is doubtful if there exists a normal man who has not had orgasm.

The sex play of the preadolescent years is more often initiated by the boy than by the girl. Girls between the ages of 5 and 7 are most inclined to engage in such activity, but few girls participate in heterosexual sex play at the time they reach adolescence. The number of boys who engage in such activities, on the contrary, increases steadily throughout the years preceding adolescence, and the Kinsey researchers estimate that near puberty there are about seven boys involved in such activity for every girl. Whereas approximately the same number of girls who engage in sex play with boys also have at least one experience with a member of their own sex, a far greater number of boys participate in childhood homosexual activities, and in preadolescent years more boys have sex play with other boys than with girls. This may be attributable to the segregated play of the sexes, which makes companions of his own sex more easily available to the boy.

The male usually becomes aware of his sex much earlier than does the girl. As every parent knows, erections occur spontaneously in infant boys, and in many young boys they occur daily. This spontaneous reaction, which may be provoked by completely nonsexual physical or emotional situations, presents the boy with dramatic evidence of the relationship between erotic sensation and genital response. By the time he reaches adolescence he cannot ignore it; there is a sudden upsurge of sexual excitability, there are erections brought on by speci-

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fically sexual situations, there are automatic emissions of seminal fluid during sleep accompanied by sexual dreams—the "wet dreams."

Sexual dreams usually begin about a year after puberty and are a common experience for nearly all men. The Kinsey researchers found that 75 per cent of women ultimately may have such dreams—some to the point of orgasm—but women do not have these dreams as frequently as men. For the male, the greatest number occurs during the mid-adolescent years, and by the time they are 30 most men have few, if any, such dreams. Among women, this pattern is reversed. Fewer younger women have sex dreams, and the greatest number of women have such dreams between the ages of 40 and 50. There is a slight increase in the sexual response of girls at adolescence, but it is not so marked as that of boys. With less exposed genitals, the girl may remain unaware for a long time that any relationship exists between her sex organs and the sensations coursing through her body.

The sexual activity of women is more sporadic than that of men. Once he has become sexually active in his early teens, the man usually maintains a fairly regular pattern. There are some women who participate in sexual activity only a few times during their lives, and many women have great gaps of time between their experiences. The married woman who is separated from her husband through distance, divorce, or death reduces her sexual activity considerably, whereas the man in similar circumstances usually succeeds in continuing his sexual activity without reducing its frequency.

Masturbation

Masturbation, the self-stimulation of the genitals to induce sexual response, exists in the animal kingdom and in every known human society. Without any knowledge of its sexual implications, very young children of both sexes masturbate, with girls usually being more successful in achieving physical pleasure than the boys, perhaps because the boys do not yet have the muscular coordination necessary for the proper manipulation. Among human beings, as among the other mammals, masturbation with specific sexual intent occurs more frequently among males than among females. Most American boys experience their first ejaculation through manual stimulation of their own genitals, and during adolescence it is their major sexual outlet. Well over 90 per cent of men masturbate to orgasm at some time in their lives, the largest number of them with the greatest frequency during the mid-teens, after which the number of men who do begins to decrease steadily. Few men masturbate after marriage, although a man may do so when circumstances make regular intercourse unobtainable—such as separation from his wife, her illness, pregnancy, or unwillingness to permit intercourse.

The pattern of female masturbation is strikingly different. Fewer women ever engage in such activity—58 per cent of those interviewed for the Kinsey report having masturbated to orgasm at some time in their lives—and unlike the male, whose masturbation begins just before or just after puberty, more older women than younger ones masturbate. From the age of 13 (the average age of the first menstruation) until the age of 40, the number of women who masturbate continues to rise. Kinsey attributes this to an actual increase in the erotic responsiveness of the older women, the fewer sociosexual outlets available to them, a reduction in inhibitions, and greater sexual experience.

Again unlike the male, the female does not stop masturbating when she marries; numbers of married women continue to obtain sexual gratification in this way although they are having coitus regularly. There are women who have been married for many years and borne several children who have never experienced orgasm in coitus. But in 95 per cent of her masturbatory experiences the female reaches climax. This apparently is a question of technique. The masturbatory activity of most women consists of some stimulation of the clitoris (the small homologue of the male penis located near the outer surface at the upper end of her genitalia) or of the labia minora (the inner lips of the genitalia). Both are well supplied with nerve endings, which the inner walls of the vagina almost completely lack, and are the portions of the genitals first discovered by the young girl when she begins to explore her body. Because it is not so accessible, the vagina plays

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an unimportant part in the early sexual activity of most girls, many of whom reach adolescence ignorant of their true sex organ. Many women take five times as long to reach orgasm in intercourse as they do in masturbation; stimulation of the clitoris by the male partner would probably induce a quicker response. There is some question as to whether clitoral manipulation would be as necessary as it is to so many women had they not been conditioned to it. The sexually healthy woman derives greatest pleasure from intercourse in which there is deep penetration by the male, but this may be due in part to the psychological satisfaction such penetration gives her.

Psychosexual Stimuli

The male responds more readily, and to a greater variety of psychosexual stimuli, than does the female, who is most responsive to physical stimulation. Since the effect of such stimuli depends upon the associations they evoke, the male's previous experiences condition his sexual behavior more than hers do the female. In the foreplay which precedes coitus, and which is identical in many respects with "petting" behavior, the man stimulates the woman's body to a greater degree than she stimulates his. The male is most sensitive to pressure applied to the glans of the penis, and tactile stimulation of his organ usually brings direct, immediate response. Most women, however, prefer stimulation of other parts of their bodies before desiring genital contact, and often fail to understand the man's concentration on genital manipulation. It is a common situation in the marriage counselor's office to hear wives protest that their husbands employ only genital techniques or employ them too soon, while the husbands complain that their wives do not manipulate the male organ sufficiently.

The oral and manual stimulation of the female breast by the man is commonly employed, and may be more stimulating to the man than to the woman because of his greater capacity for psychological arousal. Also dependent upon the man's capacity for psychological response may be the oral stimulation of the female genitalia by the man. Oral stimulation of the male genitalia by the woman occurs less often, and many times only because the man requests it, although some women also are aroused by it.

Some women may have sexual phantasies while masturbating, but almost all men do. On the other hand, some women can have phantasies that lead to orgasm without masturbation, yet it is the rare man who can reach a climax by phantasy unaccompanied by physical stimulation. Reik (1957) has found that women are more apt to phantasy while having intercourse than men are, usually imagining that they are being made love to by their "ideal" man, or that they are the most beautiful and desirable of women. This probably reflects the woman's greater tendency to romanticize sex.

The huge business transacted in pornography, almost all of which is produced for men, is further evidence of the male's capacity to be stimulated by material that has sexual associations for him. Many men are aroused by seeing portrayals of the nude or near-nude female form; very few women are aroused by pictures of the nude male figure. The female body—especially the genitalia and to a lesser degree the breasts, legs, and buttocks—similarly arouses most men. Most women are not aroused by the sight of the male genitalia. Interestingly enough, the same situation pertains to the infra-human species of mammals in which the male, grooming the female, will become interested in her genitals, whereas a female busy grooming the male will completely ignore his genitalia.

A great many males are aroused by seeing their own genitalia, whereas very few women receive any stimulation from the sight of their own genitals. Since he receives stimulation from observing his genitals, the male finds it difficult to understand that the woman does not, and may be keenly disappointed when she is not aroused by the sight of his organ. This difference is perhaps best illustrated by the homosexual activities of men and of women. Most male homosexual relationships begin with genital exposure, and the relationship itself is most likely to consist of genital stimulation. Female homosexuals, on the other hand, may engage in the stimulation of all parts of the body for a long time before attempting genital stimula-

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tion, and there are cases of women who have had homosexual relationships for a decade or more before beginning genital activity. Exhibitionism, an aberration in which sexual gratification is attained through the public exposure of one's genitals, is an exclusively male phenomenon. The only females who customarily expose their genitals publicly are those employed in certain types of entertainment that cater to male audiences. The performing woman receives no stimulation from her actions.

Given the opportunity to observe others in sexual activity, most men are aroused; most females are not. Portrayals of such activity in moving pictures and photographs are erotically stimulating to the majority of men. The man's capacity for greater arousal by what he sees is also reflected in the fact that many more men than women prefer intercourse in the light, which furnishes opportunity for him to view his own and the woman's body, and something of his sexual action as well. Like the exhibitionist, the voyeur ("Peeping Tom") is exclusively male. Obscene stories, too, are more stimulating to the men than to the women who hear them.

Men are aroused by thinking of women, of past sexual relationships, of the relationships they will have in the future. Women are less often stimulated by thoughts of sexual activity, although some females are more "erotically minded" than is the average male. The male usually enters into intercourse already sexually excited, whereas the female may require a great deal of physical stimulation to bring her to the level from which he started. Once aroused, the male is less easily distracted than the female. Any discontinuance of physical stimulation interrupts her response. The crying of a baby, the creaking of the bed, the thought of ironing to be done—such things as these divert women from the sexual act. This is true of other mammals, too; food placed before a copulating pair will distract the female, but not the male.

Women are more inclined to spiritualize their sexual reactions. Unlike the male, whose erect penis provides evidence of his genital involvement in sexual sensations, the female does not discover the connection between her genitals and emotions so easily. It is more difficult for her to localize her sexual tensions, and at the same time easier for her to repress any excitation she feels in the genital area. With her weaker sex drive and more passive biological role, she is better able than he to idealize her sexual feelings and to sublimate them into emotional values. This may help explain the fact that the only psychological stimuli that arouse women equally as much as men are moving pictures and love stories with strong romantic elements.

Needs of Sexual Relationship

The male's greater need for a variety of sexual partners is accepted in all human societies, which accordingly permit him more sexual freedom than the female is allowed. In American society twice as many husbands are unfaithful as wives. Women are more tolerant of the extramarital affairs of their mates; infidelity is given as the prime reason for divorce by men much more often than it is by women. The woman's capacity for fidelity may be based upon her feebler sexual impulse—she is not so often aroused, nor with such ease, nor by so many different things, as the male; her greater dependence upon the continuance of the marriage; and the risks of pregnancy and severe social censure.

However, much more than the man, the woman seeks emotional involvement in her sex life. For many men, ejaculation becomes the actual goal of the sexual relationship; for women, the goal is more likely to be the tender relationship with the man. This may be seen in their very different attitudes when intercourse is completed. The man, sexual tension relieved, wants to withdraw, to sleep. The sexually satisfied woman is reluctant to release him; she wants the penis to remain inside her, to keep him with her a longer time. Reik suggests that this is because the woman identifies the penis with the child the man can give her, the portion of himself that will live within her.

The existence of the world's oldest profession, prostitution, is in recognition of the greater sexual needs of the male. The prostitute is usually a woman who has sexual relations with men for pay, but there are male prostitutes, too. However, they usually serve the desires of homosexual men, not of women. Whereas

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the female prostitute in most cases does not respond sexually to her customer and does not experience orgasm, the male prostitute usually does. In fact, his capacity to achieve ejaculation is often part of the arrangement. Very infrequently do male prostitutes have professional contact with women seeking heterosexual intercourse.

Age and Sexual Capacity

There is an enormous difference between the sexes in the effect age has upon their biologic capacity. The man is at his peak of sexual activity in the mid-teens, the woman not at hers until the late twenties. But from the time he reaches his peak, the capacity of the man begins a steady decline, whereas once she has attained her maximum level the woman remains there until she is 60 years of age. Thus the man's sexual interest is greatest at the time the woman's is not; she becomes most responsive at the time his sexual capacity is beginning its decline. A recognizable proportion of the male population becomes impotent with age—about 5 per cent by the age of 60, and 30 per cent by the age of 70—and most men probably would if they lived long enough. However, the male retains his fertility. Many older men could father children but for the fact that they can no longer deliver the sperm. The female, on the other hand, loses her fertility with age, but not her potency. Many older men, whose sexual activity has diminished, do become more active when they find new sex partners, adopt new techniques, or participate in some other form of sexual activity. This may be further evidence of the male's reliance upon psychological stimuli.

The sex life of the man is not subject to the reproductive cycle, as is that of women. Most female mammals will copulate with the male only when they are in estrus and conception is most likely to occur. The human female will receive the male at any time, but in most women sexual desire does follow a regular cycle, dependent upon the secretion of ovarian hormone. Unlike the lower mammals, however, women experience greatest desire immediately before and immediately after the menstrual period, when they are least likely to conceive. The males of some rodents and fur-bearing mammals produce sperm and hormonal secretions only during the mating season, but the sex glands of most other mammals and of human males secrete hormones at a fairly steady rate.

Nor is there anything in the male to compare with the menopause in women. The menopause, which marks the end of ovarian function and reproductive capacity, occurs in all women sometime after the age of 40. It may come on quite abruptly, or it may be a gradual process. Although it marks the end of her child-bearing years, it is not accompanied by any decrease in her sexual desire. On the contrary, many women, freed from the fear of an unwanted pregnancy, experience an increase in sexual desire. There are some who believe that the man undergoes a "change of life" in his middle years. With age, the secretion of testicular hormone does decrease, but this is in no way comparable to the female menopause. It is, however, accompanied by the diminution of sexual capacity, whereas the menopause in women is not.

Homosexuality

Among the primates and the vast majority of human societies in which it is known to occur, homosexuality is far more common among males than females. In American society, twice as many men as women become involved in homosexual relationships, and most men probably have at least one such experience sometime during their lives. Such activity among women is sporadic, which is typical of female sexual activity generally, except for marital intercourse, which is usually regulated by the desire of the husband.

Women are less promiscuous in such relationships than men. Often two women will live together in a homosexual relationship for many years; similar long-term liaisons are practically unknown among men. To some extent this reflects the male's desire for variety in his sex life and the psychological stimulation he derives in anticipating the activity with a new partner, but it also reflects society's greater condemnation of such affairs among men. Women are permitted, even expected, to display their affection and admiration for each other, and unmarried

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women may share a household without raising any eyebrows. Men who behaved in like fashion would be suspect. The Lesbian's ability to find repeated gratification with a single partner probably also reflects the woman's need for an emotional attachment to the partner with whom she finds sexual satisfaction.

Sexual Aberrations

Sexual contact with animals is rare in the population as a whole, but it occurs more frequently among men than women. Boys are more aroused by observing animals in intercourse than girls are, and Kinsey estimates that 17 per cent of those raised on farms experience orgasm as a result of animal contacts. Only 8 per cent of males ever have experience with animals, usually during adolescence, and approximately 3 per cent of women are similarly involved.

Fetishism, an aberration in which the individual can become sexually aroused and satisfied only in the presence of certain objects, is an almost exclusively male phenomenon; if it exists among women at all it is very rare. Some fetishists require the object in addition to the sexual partner; in the most complete form of the perversion the object alone is sufficient. Since the articles fetishists value bear some connection to their early sexual experiences, its prevalence among men probably depends upon their ability to become conditioned by sexual experiences.

The Kinsey researchers found that more men than women responded sexually to sadomasochistic stories, and conjectured that this was due to the male's capacity for phantasy. However, as many women as men found erotic stimulation in being bitten. Masochism, the securing of sexual satisfaction through pain inflicted on one's self, has been regarded as essentially feminine in character, whereas sadism, the securing of sexual satisfaction through inflicting pain on others, has been considered essentially masculine. It has been suggested that the greater natural passivity of women makes it easier for them to adopt masochistic perversions, and sadism in men is an extension of the normally male aggressive qualities. Some psychiatrists have held that the woman's willingness to be penetrated by the male and to suffer in bearing and protecting her children is masochistic in nature. Helene Deutsch asserts that a certain amount of masochism as a psychological preparation for adjustment to the sexual functions is necessary in woman, and cautions that the danger of pathological distortion arises from this situation.

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EDWARD DENGROVE

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Sex Drive

THE literature on human sexual behavior contains many references to "sex drive." Sex drive is used as an explanation for the occurrence of various kinds of sexual behavior, or as a description of the nature of sex itself. Yet when we attempt to find precisely what is being discussed, or what elements are included in sex drive we are baffled. The term is very loosely used by most speakers and writers. They proceed upon the assumption that the phrase "sex drive" will convey an equivalent meaning to all.

The Nature of Sex Drive

Actually, there are widely contrasting views concerning the real nature of the sex drive and whether its strength is determined mainly by physiological or by psychological components, or by both. Our knowledge of the characteristics and nature of the human sex drive is in the process of clarification, and this process is unlikely to be completed for some time to come. One reason our knowledge is so uncertain is that it is difficult to know how and where to begin with the needed research. The kinds of data needed to confirm or disprove hypotheses are by nature most difficult to obtain from human subjects.

Conditions being what they are, however, theories and decisions concerning the nature of the sex drive have not awaited elaborate research. The pressures of life have made some assumptions immediately necessary.

Physiological Explanations

A very common assumption has been that the sex drive is "physiological" or "biological" in nature. Individual differences in sexual strivings have been explained on the basis of differences in biological endowments. This assumption has seemed reasonable, for certainly at puberty there is an increased interest in sex and sexual experiences in both male and female. Reproductive capacities mature at this time and maturation is accompanied by obvious physiological developments. Glandular activity and the secretion of certain hormones accompany the pubertal processes, and they are certainly associated in some way with an increasing interest in and concern with sex.

Numerous writers have given very explicit expression to the assumption that the strength of the sex drive is physiologically generated, and that it is directly determined by chemical and hormonal secretions. The quotation that follows clearly exemplifies this point of view. Theodor Reik (1945) writes:

> . . . the crude sex-drive is a biological need which represents the instinct and is conditioned by chemical changes within the organism. The urge is dependent on inner secretions, and its aim is the relieving of a physical tension. . . .
>
> The crude sex-urge is easily satisfied and is entirely incapable of being sublimated. If it is strongly excited, it needs, in its urgency, an immediate release. It cannot be deflected from its one aim to different aims, or at most can be as little diverted as the need to urinate or as hunger and thirst. It insists on gratification in its original realm. The satisfaction of this particular urge cannot be fulfilled by the substitution of another goal.

Other writers who present very similar points of view include Brown and Kempton (1950), Kardiner (1954), Reich (1945), and Walker (1954).

Knowledge regarding the hormones—their

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chemical composition, the nature of their interactions, and their effect upon various bodily functions, including sexual functions—has come slowly. It has advanced much more rapidly in recent years, but even yet is incomplete.

Most ancient and primitive peoples linked the male testes with the processes of reproduction and physical maturation. This association commonly included both human males and males in subhuman species. The capacity for, and the interest in, sexual activities by the males of various species was recognized as being dependent upon the possession of testes. Although the specific explanations for the observable effects of the loss of the testes were unscientific, it was clear that their early loss affected physical development and made reproduction impossible.

Several hormones, or chemical substances, which, created within the body, have significant effects upon various bodily functions were isolated during the nineteenth century. Important among these are the hormones secreted by the testes in the male and the ovaries in the female, commonly referred to as the gonadal, or sex, hormones. These hormones, in combination with others, have important effects upon various sexual and reproductive processes. They are associated with the processes that result in reproductive maturity, with the appearance of secondary sexual characteristics, and with psychic changes. It has also been believed that these hormones determine the degree of intensity of the sex drive.

Much doubt is now being cast upon the validity of the presumed relationship between castration and the intensity of the sex drive. In Chapter 18, "Hormonal Factors in Sexual Response," of *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female,* Kinsey and his associates bring together research data relating to the effect of hormones on the sexual behavior of both men and women. The primary purpose was to relate the effects of the injection of hormones, or of castration, and the consequent alteration of the hormonal balance in the body to possible alterations in sex behavior and, by inference, to changes in intensity of the sex drive.

Evidence indicates that the administration of male hormones (androgens) to either humans or animals may increase the general level of sexual response. Reports concerning the effects of the administration of the female hormones (estrogens) on sexual behavior and responsiveness are confused and contradictory. Some reports indicate that the level of sexual responsiveness is raised; others indicate no such consequence.

Neither does any clear picture emerge when the effects of castration on humans are studied. In some instances the amount of sexual activity is somewhat or markedly decreased, in others it is apparently either little changed or not affected at all. The picture is further confused by other factors, including (1) the inability to isolate the effect on sexual performance of such factors as aging, or the psychic effects of castration; (2) uncertainty concerning the physiological compensations the body may make to the loss of certain hormones through castration, or the effect that other hormones may have on the sexual processes; (3) uncertainty concerning the accuracy of the reports from castrated persons as to the effect of castration on their sexual performance; and (4) inadequate or poorly controlled comparisons between the sexual performance of castrates and noncastrates.

Beach (1948), after surveying studies of male castration, concludes:

> Despite the frequency and possibly the accuracy of generalization regarding the depressing consequences of human castration, the literature is replete with references of complete retention of sexual function in individuals who have been castrated for many years.

After marshaling the evidence that is surveyed in Chapter 18, Kinsey and his associates conclude:

> While hormonal levels may affect the levels of sexual response—the intensity of response, the frequency of response, the frequency of overt sexual activity—there is no demonstrated relationship between any of the hormones and an individual's response to particular sorts of psychologic stimuli, an individual's interest in partners of a particular sex, or an individual's utilization of particular techniques in his or her sexual activity. Within limits, the levels of sexual response may be modified by reducing or increasing the amount of available

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hormone, but there seems to be no reason for believing that the patterns of sexual behavior may be modified by hormonal therapy.

Need for Elimination

One of the earlier explanations of the adolescent sex drive was a strictly physiological one. The idea was that prolonged sexual abstinence resulted in the accumulation of secretions that were stored in certain glands of the reproductive system. These glands became engorged and this condition gave rise to nerve impulses, which in turn resulted in sex urges. Eventually, if no other outlet was provided, these secretions were discharged as nocturnal seminal emissions. This view resulted in the advice proffered the adolescent boy that he set up "controls" and endure his discomfort, i.e., avoid masturbation. In time he would be provided a natural release. Although current evidence indicates this explanation to be in error, it is still found in some writings.

Thus, Dr. Ernest Harms (1957) ties the sex urge very specifically to physiological functioning and eliminative needs. He comments, with his own emphases:

> Throughout our social world there is a basic sex urge which is *not,* as we have pointed out before, identical with an urge to create offspring, or, as commonly expressed, "to raise a family." *The sex urge is caused rather by a physiological need for elimination.*

Dr. Harms, however, evidently sees the possibility of psychological or cultural forces influencing the sex urge, for immediately before writing the sentences just quoted he said, "Male and female in our society live under the influence of constant sexual stimulation with naturally induced hormonic and spermatic activity."

Drive Related to Age and Vigor

Kinsey's work, whether or not he intended it to have that effect, has done a great deal to fix the idea that the sex drive is very markedly a function of age and physical vigor. This relationship is regarded as applying particularly to males. The data that have contributed to this view are those concerned with total sexual outlet, and with age and sexual outlet. These data are found in Chapters 6 and 7 of *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male.* In these chapters Dr. Kinsey is concerned with the frequency of "sexual outlets." He finds that, quantitatively speaking, the highest frequency of experiencing orgasm is between the ages of 16 and 20. These data have been interpreted by many persons to mean that the male sex drive is strongest during the teen years. Thus, Kardiner (1954), in speaking of Kinsey's data, writes, "We learn that the peak of the sexual power of the male is in adolescence and from that time on gradually declines."

Sex and Hunger as Analogues

The belief that the sex drive is dependent upon and conditioned by physiological factors has led some writers to draw an analogy between the desire for sexual expression and the need for satisfying pangs of hunger and thirst. Blood (1955), for example, makes this comparison:

> As another biological drive, sex is similar to hunger in many respects. Under the influence of hormonal secretions, sexual tension is felt. This tension sometimes assumes a compelling force, preoccupying the mind, making the individual restless and tense. Aroused by the sexual drive, the individual may engage in what he would normally consider reckless behavior. . . . The biological nature of the sex drive is reflected in the changes that occur as people grow older. Just as growing children at certain ages have ravenous appetites for food, so the sex drive is stronger at some ages than others.

Beach (1956), who is a physiological psychologist of note and a student of animal sexual behavior, questions the validity of this analogy. He points to certain differences, which to him mean possibly that "the two categories of drives have different evolutionary histories and will be found to obey different kinds of laws."

Beach notes that, whereas the lack of food and drink may cause death, the lack of sex has never killed anyone. He points out that when the organism is deprived of food and water a serious state of tissue need arises, and that if these needs are not met death eventually results. As food and water are supplied, the deprived organism moves toward a condition of

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tissue satisfaction and a state of satiation and well-being ensues.

The sexual appetite operates in reverse fashion. No serious tissue or biological need results from prolonged sexual abstinence. Indulgence in unlimited sexual activity results in a depletion of energy and, if continued long enough, the organism reaches a state of exhaustion. This condition is relieved by refraining from further sex activity for a period of time.

There are two other differences between sex and hunger as physiological states, according to Beach. The first is that the satisfaction of hunger is essential for the preservation of individual life, whereas sexual satisfaction is essential for the preservation of the species rather than the individual. The second is that sexual desires are aroused by external stimuli to "a much greater extent than is true of hunger or thirst."

With the latter observation Beach allies himself with those who give much weight to the belief that psychological factors are strongly influential in determining the degree of sex urgency or drive. Thus, Beach comments:

> The adolescent boy's periodic preoccupation with sexual matters is traceable to psychological stimuli, external or phantasied, and is not dependent upon his recently matured reproductive glands. His erotic urges stem more from socio-cultural factors than from those of a strictly physiological nature.

Psychological Explanations

No one seems disposed to deny a physiological basis for sexuality, or to argue that sex drive has no relationship to physiology. An increasing number of persons, however, are coming to regard psychological components as very important, and probably of considerably more significance than the physiological component, in determining the urgency of the sex drive in the normal person.

In the following quotation Dr. Robert L. Dickinson (1940) went beyond those references which imply that the sex drive is a unitary physical force. He spoke of "endowment, capacity, and drive," and he tied the three very closely to physiological conditions. In his last sentence, however, Dr. Dickinson indicated his awareness that other than physical factors may have a bearing on the intensity of the sex drive.

> The strain upon emotional balance (of the unmarried) probably is primarily in proportion to the functional vigor of the particular pair of glands, male or female, and its resistance to suppression. . . . The new knowledge of our internal chemistry and of the hormones or "excitants" makes it quite clear why there may be enormous differences in sex endowment, capacity and drive in different people. This reveals a status that is based upon physical factors instead of representing, as we had supposed, a matter of morals in resisting or in yielding to temptation. Here again a new orientation is in order.
>
> Only an ample series of case histories and physical examinations will enable us to determine what part of a sex urge or excessive stress is the result of regular or seasonal cycles of hormone production, and what part is activated by mental preoccupations with stimulative ideas or by exposure to influences calculated to render alert and active the function of the sex organs.

Some anthropological studies have reported that the urgency of sexual needs in some societies seems to be no match for the urgency in most of our modern civilizations. The anthropologists refer in particular to societies that have allowed and accepted a free-and-easy access of the sexes to each other from puberty on.

Papers by psychologists and psychiatrists, reflecting both psychiatric research and clinical experience, emphasize that compulsive or obsessive use of sex (which by many would be regarded as evidence of a strong sex drive) is the result of emotional instability and immaturity in personality.

Between 1943 and 1947 the Psychiatric Service of the San Francisco (California) City Clinic made a study of 287 promiscuous and 78 potentially promsicuous girls and 255 promiscuous men. The writers who reported these studies drew conclusions supporting the view that the urge which led to a promiscuous use of sex arose from psychological causes. In reporting the results of a two-year study on promiscuous women, Lion and his co-authors (1945) wrote:

> Some personality characteristics were common to the patients as a group. Noteworthy among these was the uneven development in the areas of physi-

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cal, intellectual, emotional, and social maturity for individual patients. . . . Before they left home, group experiences through recreational, club, and extracurricular school activities, which are helpful to the individual in learning his place in an adult society, had been at a minimum. As a result, ability to accept organized group experiences was lacking or limited. Usually their associates were men and women, who like themselves, had not reached maturity although they attempted to fulfill the adult role. . . . Immaturity in characterological development was prevalent and was expressed especially in the patients' inability and unwillingness to assume responsibility for their behavior. Allocation of blame upon parents, husbands, and others to account for their own shortcomings was common. . . .

Contrary to popular belief, no evidence was revealed to indicate that this problem is produced by above average sex drive. In fact, *the majority of habitually promiscuous patients used promiscuity in an attempt to meet other problems rather than in an attempt to secure direct sexual satisfaction.* . . . (Italics in the original.)

Safier and co-authors (1949), reporting the results of an investigation at the same clinic for promiscuous men, said:

Promiscuity . . . was revealed to be a problem in interpersonal relationships. The degree of (sexual) satisfaction experienced by the promiscuous men was greater than that experienced by the promiscuous women; however, it appeared that in many cases, as with the women, promiscuity was engaged in an attempt to solve other problems. In nearly all cases this behavior appeared to be the result of conflicts, inadequacies, or disorganization within the personality. Incapacity for sustained love relationships or impairment of that capacity was revealed by almost every patient. Active hostility toward women was present in varying degrees among some of the men. . . .

. . . no evidence could be secured that promiscuity was the result of greater than average sex drive. With the exception of two patients the men did not themselves offer this explanation, and in those two cases it appeared that this explanation was a rationalization offered to cover up difficulties in relationship to women and sexual conflicts. Neither clinical data nor Rorschach studies revealed greater than average sensuality.

Although the authors quoted above did not discuss their assumptions concerning the origin or nature of sex drive, they were apparently assuming a "biologically" or "physiologically" induced drive.

Maslow (1954), who has made extensive studies of self-actualizing (exceptionally mature) people, discussed the place of sexual needs in the lives of these people. He wrote that for these people an orgasm

. . . is often a profound and almost mystical experience, and yet the absence of sexuality is more easily tolerated by these people. This is not a paradox or a contradiction. It follows from dynamic motivation theory. Loving at a higher need level makes the lower needs and their frustrations and satisfactions less important, less central, more easily neglected. But it also makes them more wholeheartedly enjoyed when gratified.

The excerpts just quoted, then, support the view that the use made of sex, and inferentially the strength of the sex drive, is markedly conditioned by the personal adjustment and emotional stability of the individual. The strength of the sex drive is determined much more by psychological needs than by physiological factors.

Sexual offenders are sometimes regarded as persons who have an intense physical sex drive. In the past decade several states of the United States, notably Oregon, California, Michigan, and New Jersey, have established commissions to investigate the cause and treatment of sexual offenses. The opinion that always emerges from these investigations is, to quote a report from an Oregon legislative committee (1956),

. . . [the fact] that sexual deviation is so regularly associated with inadequate families leads to the assumption that disorganization within the family may be the primary cause.

. . . although disorganization within the family is probably the primary cause, scientists generally are in agreement that the sex deviate is produced by a combination of all early childhood experiences, relationships and environment over a considerable period of time.

When discussing sexual deviates the influence of the sex drive is not always considered directly. When it is, it seems usually to be regarded as physiologically determined, and conclusions such as the one made by Avery (1953) result:

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. . . it is difficult to evaluate the intensity of sex drives and the degree of preoccupation with sex for any group of persons, but, insofar as studies have been possible, they indicate that deviated sex offenders are *undersexed* rather than oversexed. (Emphasis by Avery.)

The nature of the sex drive, then, has not been fully established, but the importance of psychological factors seems to be increasingly emphasized. More and more, individual differences in sexual strivings and in the strength of the sexual urge are being explained in terms of personal and social experiences.

The Components of Sexual Responsiveness

This writer has suggested in another article (1958) still another approach to an understanding of sex drive—that of subdividing it into three components, sexual performance, sexual capacity, and sexual drive. A clear distinction between what one can do (capacity), what one does do (performance), and how strongly one desires or strives to do (drive) would be extremely helpful.

Sexual capacity is determined by the ability of the nervous and muscular systems to respond to sexual stimuli by orgasm and to recuperate from that experience to the point where orgasm can again be experienced. This capacity varies from person to person and probably represents the actual physical sex difference between individuals.

Performance, although limited at its upper extreme by capacity, will ordinarily vary according to physical and psychological factors. Performance is not an accurate measure of capacity because few, if any, persons perform to full capacity.

Drive is the strength or the intensity with which the individual wishes to perform. Drive seems to be very largely a psychologically conditioned component and may vary considerably from individual to individual and from time to time in the same individual.

A breakdown of this sort was seemingly in Dr. Dickinson's mind when he used the terms "endowment, capacity and drive" in the paragraph previously quoted.

Dr. Kinsey (1948) also seemed to recognize that certain distinctions were needed. Thus, in *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*, he differentiated between sexual capacity and sexual performance:

. . . It is probable that in a population which married at an earlier age, the highest frequency on the curve would come in the earlier adolescent group; but, in our society as it is, the high point of sexual performance is, in actuality, somewhere around 16 or 17 years of age. It is not later. The data which have already been given on the sexual capacity of the pre-adolescent boy (Chapter 5) indicate that the peak of *capacity* occurs in the fast-growing years prior to adolescence; but the peak of *actual performance* is in the middle or late teens. (Emphases by Kinsey.)

Only two pages further on, however, Kinsey seemed to confuse capacity and performance:

The identification of the sexually most active period as late adolescence will come as a surprise to most persons. General opinion would probably have placed it in the middle twenties or later. Certainly the average college student and the town boy of corresponding age will be startled to learn that their younger brothers who are still in high school surpass them in capacity and ofttimes in performance.

It is reasonable to expect that sexual performance in males will reach a peak in adolescence, for this is the period at which sexual curiosity is at its peak. According to Dr. Kinsey's data, on the average the peak of male performance comes only a year or so after sexual maturity. Curiosity and the novelty of having developed a new, exciting, and exhilarating capacity results in a high frequency of masturbation. At this age sexual functioning often has the same meaning as a new toy. It is something to try out, to experiment with, and to enjoy. Also, boys experience an immediate and highly localized pleasure as a result of handling their genital organs.

Adolescence is the period at which in certain respects the nervous system is very responsive to hormonal secretions. It is this responsiveness that determines sexual capacity. And, because the adolescent boy's neural mechanism responds readily to many kinds of stimulation, he experiences many erections. This may be the result of an incapacity of the newly activated neural mechanism to assort stimuli and channel

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them to the appropriate affectors—an ability that is developed later. The result is that the boy has erections at times when he is not excited by specifically sexual stimuli, probably because the tensions produced by various worries, fears, or frustrations are communicated to the nervous system, which in turn produces erections—and a desire for release. Thus, a boy may have an erection while sitting tensely in class at school or during the excitement of fast auto driving. Adolescent boys very frequently find themselves with erections upon awakening, and at other times during the day when they have not been excited by the usual sexual stimuli.

These circumstances easily explain sexual experimentation and the spontaneous discovery of masturbation. Erections and sexual tensions direct the boy's attention toward his genitals. He engages in genital play, discovers masturbation, and accepts it as a quick, pleasurable way of releasing tensions.

Another factor conditioning the level of performance at any age is opportunity. Opportunity will affect any kind of sexual behavior. Certainly no one can have heterosexual intercourse or a homosexual experience if no partner is available.

One of the reasons for the higher rate of orgasm frequency of adolescent boys as compared with that of adolescent girls is probably the physical formation and availability of the genital organs of the two sexes. A boy's attention is drawn to his genitals more easily than is a girl's. The penis is often erect and tense. It is easy to manipulate, and pleasure from manipulation comes quickly and easily. It seems natural that boys should masturbate more than girls.

Sexually "high-performers," assuming that they have a very responsive nervous system, may receive more pleasure from sexual activity and may therefore strive for more orgasms than "low-performers." Even so, they may still fall short of performing up to their full sexual capacity.

Several case histories will illustrate how the components of drive, capacity, and performance are related. Data involving two young men, *A* and *B*, will be compared. *A* was 20 years, 7 months of age, and *B* was 20 years, 6 months of age at the time the writer knew them.

A was very active sexually. He had masturbated during adolescence from 7 to 10 times a week. He had had intercourse with twenty partners, several of them with high frequencies and over a fairly long period of time. He still masturbated, sometimes daily, although not as frequently as before. *A* talked considerably about the strength of his sex drive, which he felt was much above the average.

B had used masturbation since he was about 13, but with a frequency of no more than 3 or 4 times a week. His capacity for multiple orgasms, however, increased the total number of outlets. He had had intercourse with four persons, but with three on a single occasion only. The fourth one was his partner on three occasions, all within a two-week period. At the time of interviewing masturbatory activity had dropped to a frequency of about twice a month. His comment was that his sex drive was not particularly strong, and his sex pattern bore this out.

B, however, had a marked capacity for sexual response. During his twentieth year he said he was able to reach 10 orgasms in 30 minutes, and he had a verified performance of 13 orgasms in one hour during that same year. These were attained by masturbation rather than by intercourse.

A, apprised of *B*'s performance, commented, "I couldn't begin to touch it." This has been the reaction of several other high-performers.

Here, then, we have a situation in which *B*, who probably has a much higher sexual capacity than *A*, definitely seems to have a lower sex drive than *A*.

Still another boy, aged 22, rated his sex drive as not pressing and easily manageable. He reported that he had achieved 10 orgasms in 1 hour by masturbation, but his performance record was considerably below that of many other boys who considered that their sex drive was much stronger than he considered his.

Another boy, aged 22, reported 9 orgasms with one erection over a period of 45 minutes, this in masturbation. The report was unverified but apparently reliable. In this instance capacity was accompanied by a relatively strong sex drive.

Beach (1956) has been interested in the

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processes involved in the operation of the sex drive. His studies on the sexual behavior of male rats have led him to postulate two partially independent physiological and neural mechanisms which function in sexual arousal and release. One is a sexual arousal mechanism (SAM), which operates to increase the male's sexual excitement to the point that copulation is possible (the copulatory threshold). The second is the intromission-ejaculation mechanism (IEM), which makes intromission possible and provides a source of sensory impulses. These sensory impulses increase in intensity until eventually the male arrives at the ejaculatory threshold. The chief difference between man and the lower animals is the greater tendency in man for the sexual arousal mechanism to be influenced by symbolic factors.

Male and Female Contrasted

Most of the literature on the human sex drive relates to the male. There has, however, been speculation about the relative strength of the sex drive in men and women. In the Western culture it is common to regard the male sex drive as stronger and more imperious than that of the female. This has not always been so. At other times and in other cultures the sex drive of the female has been regarded as the stronger. This view concerning the feminine sex drive was expressed by many European writers from 1500 to 1800.

Havelock Ellis believed that women seldom showed a complete absence of sexual emotion. He regarded sexual coldness and unresponsiveness in women as the result of faulty education and the inculcation of social inhibitions. He felt that there was no biological incapacity for sexual response.

The data collected by investigators such as G. V. Hamilton (1929), R. L. Dickinson and Laura Beam (1934), and Katherine B. Davis (1929) seemed to point to the same conclusion: they found that the achievement of orgasm through masturbation was common among the women participating in their studies. Dr. Kinsey (1953), after surveying the data previously collected and analyzing his own, concluded that in 95 per cent or more of all her masturbatory experiences the female reaches an orgasm.

As scientific investigations are extended, more and more similarities between males and females are identified. Sexual feelings, reactions, and responses arise from physical structures that are practically identical in the two sexes. Orgasmic response is very similar in male and female, and little or no difference is found in their capacity to respond quickly to sexual stimuli. The two sexes do respond to different sexual stimuli, however. The male responds to a wider range of visual and psychological stimuli than does the female. Since in heterosexual association the stimuli that produce excitation in the male ordinarily come into consciousness first, this gives rise to the impression that men are more quickly excited than women.

After extensive comparisons of male and female sexual manifestations, Dr. Kinsey and his colleagues (1953) conclude:

> In spite of the widespread and oft-repeated emphasis on the supposed differences between female and male sexuality, we fail to find any anatomic or physiologic basis for such differences. Although we . . . find differences in the psychologic and hormonal factors which affect the responses of the two sexes . . . males would be better prepared to understand females, and females to understand males, if they realized that they are alike in their basic anatomy and physiology.

Dr. Kinsey (1953) also attempts to dispose of certain erroneous or misconceived explanations for observed differences between the sexual responses of females and males. He writes that it "has been suggested that there are differences in the levels of 'sex drive' or 'libido' or innate moral capacities of the two sexes." The context of his discussion makes it clear that he does not support this point of view.

He does feel that "hormonal levels may affect levels of sexual response." The paragraph expressing this viewpoint has already been quoted.

Comparison of the data on sexual performance of males and of females has introduced a concept of differential response which is important. These data, Dr. Kinsey concludes, indicate the

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. . . early development of sexual responsiveness in the human male and its later development in the female, the location of the period of maximum responsiveness for the male in the late teens and early twenties and for the female in the late twenties, the subsequent decline of the male's sexual capacities from that peak into old age, and the maintenance of female responsiveness on something of a level throughout most of her life.

Throughout the above quotation Dr. Kinsey used "response" and "responsiveness" frequently. He has not used the expression "drive" or "power." But if Dr. Kinsey avoided the use of these words others have not, and these performance data have been interpreted as showing that "the female sex drive reaches its peak several years after the male drive has begun to decline, and that this disparity in drive may lead to difficulties in marital sex adjustment." Here is another situation in which a distinction between performance, capacity, and drive might bring us nearer the truth.

The study made in England by Dr. Eustace Chesser (1956) contains data corroborating the idea that differences in male-female drive may well be due to environmental factors. He found that nine-tenths of married women who never achieved orgasm in their marital intercourse felt that men had stronger sexual desires than women. Of those who always or frequently attained an orgasm in marital intercourse, only three-fifths felt that the sexual needs of men were greater than those of women. Dr. Chesser thought that these differences might be construed, for the unresponsive group, as an expression of marital and sexual discord, and for the responsive group as a reflection of their own satisfactory sex lives. In other words, the more women were able to find satisfaction and pleasure in their sexual relationships, the more nearly they regarded their sexual needs and desires as equal to the males.

Conclusion

The data that are available would seem to warrant certain conclusions.

1. In their essential features the sex drives of men and women are very much alike. Such points of difference as do exist are due to environmental and psychological factors rather than to innate, biological characteristics.

2. The trend has been toward breaking the concept of sex drive into components. There is not yet agreement on what these components are, or just how they are interrelated.

3. More and more, variations in sex drive are being attributed to psychological rather than physical or biological factors.

If and as these points of view are substantiated, they will influence thinking about sex education and sexual conduct. Some of the unrealistic distinctions between the sexes may disappear. The validity of the double standard of sexual conduct will be further challenged. Sex behavior will be recognized as subject to modification, and will therefore be increasingly the object of attention among educators. In counseling, sexual problems will be clearly recognized as a part of the total behavior pattern.

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LESTER A. KIRKENDALL

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Sex Offenders, The Psychology of

Definition

A SEX offense is any sex act which, in a given jurisdiction, is legally prohibited and penalized. A sex offender is an individual who commits a legally banned and punishable sex act. Most sex offenders (like most nonsex offenders) are never arrested or convicted for the acts they commit; consequently, the term "sex offender" is commonly used only in connection with convicted offenders—that is, those who have actually been apprehended and convicted of committing a legally banned sex act.

Classification of Sex Offenses

Many statutes listing sex offenses are vaguely worded and include such terms as "carnal abuse," "open lewdness," "sodomy," and "unnatural practices." These terms might—and often do—mean almost anything and vary widely in meaning from one legislative jurisdiction to another (Ellis and Brancale, 1956). If we look behind this semantic confusion we find that the actual sex acts that are commonly prohibited and penalized are as follows:

Forcible sexual assault—forcing a female to submit to sexual advances but stopping short of coitus. Mild sexual assault includes such acts as intent to kiss, embrace, or look under a woman's skirt; serious assault includes intent to rape, to force oral-genital contacts, etc.

Forcible rape—coitus with a female engaged in as a result of actual force or duress. Rape is often held to have been committed if the man's penis touched the woman's vulva, even though complete penetration did not take place.

Statutory rape—coitus with a female under the legal age of consent (which is usually 16 to 18 years) even though it is engaged in voluntarily, without the use of force or duress.

Incest—coitus with a close relative, such as copulation between a father and daughter, mother and stepson, brother and sister, etc.

Noncoital sex relations with a minor—noncoital contacts with an individual under the legal age of consent; or verbal sex acts with an individual under the legal age of consent (for example, talking about sex to children, impairing the morals of a minor, etc.).

Exhibitory sex acts—exhibiting the genitals to another individual in an active, aggressive manner; masturbating in public; urinating or defecating in public; appearing without sufficient clothing in public.

Obscenity—making indecent or offensive proposals to a member of the other sex; using improper language in public; disseminating "obscene" material.

Homosexuality—having sex relations with a member of the same sex.

Transvestism—dressing in the clothing of a member of the other sex and appearing in public so dressed (except for purposes of public entertainment).

Voyeurism—spying on nude people or on the sex activities of others.

Sex murder—finding sex arousal or satisfaction in the course of killing another.

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Bestiality—having sex relations with animals.

Sodomy—having any kind of "unnatural" sex act, which, according to many statutes, includes homosexuality, bestiality, or oral-genital relations between consenting men and women.

Adultery—coitus between individuals at least one of whom is married to another person.

Fornication—coitus, or at least habitual coitus, between two unmarried individuals.

Prostitution—engaging in coitus or other sex relations for monetary gains.

Pimping or pandering—soliciting males to patronize a prostitute; soliciting girls to work as prostitutes.

Brothel-keeping—managing a house of prostitution.

Psychological Classification of Sex Offenders

Sex offenders need not necessarily be sex deviates or perverts and they may or may not be psychologically disturbed. Statutory rape, for example, or intercourse between underage individuals, is an exceptionally common occurrence in most parts of the world and is usually psychologically normal. However, if an adult male *mainly* or *only* has coitus with underage females and if he continues to do so in spite of the real danger of his being detected and legally penalized, he is to be strongly suspected of being an emotionally disturbed individual.

It is useful to differentiate between *sexually* and *psychologically* (or *psychiatrically*) deviated offenders. A sexually deviated offender is one who commits an offense because he is fearfully or obsessively-compulsively driven to a kind of sex behavior (such as homosexuality) that happens to be legally banned in his community. The fear or hostility that drives him to his offense is specifically *sexual* or linked to *sex* behavior (he may be afraid of failing in heterosexual affairs or may be hostile toward women and therefore may become exclusively homosexual).

A *psychologically* deviated offender is an individual who commits *any* offense, sexual or nonsexual, because he is driven fearfully or rebelliously to defying some public ordinance. Thus, a psychologically deviated offender may be afraid that he is weak and "unmanly" or may be generally hostile to people and he may therefore resort to stealing or arson—or to some sex offense, such as rape.

A given offender, therefore, may be either sexually or psychologically deviated; or he may be both. Virtually all consistent delinquents or criminals are either mentally deficient or seriously emotionally disturbed—otherwise they would not keep committing offenses that usually place themselves in serious jeopardy. Many sex criminals are disturbed in exactly the same manner as are nonsex criminals, except that their crime happens to be a sex offense. Many of them, in fact, commit a considerable number of nonsexual in addition to sexual offenses.

Sex offenders may be divided, then, into four main categories: (1) Normal sex offenders who are not sex deviates or psychologically disturbed (e.g., many fornicators or adulterers); (2) Sexually but not psychologically deviated offenders (e.g., voyeurs who may be sexually overshy but who may not be *generally* disturbed); (3) Sexually as well as psychologically deviated offenders (e.g., compulsive exhibitionists who have a specific sex problem and who also are generally hostile and reckless and keep getting themselves into trouble); and (4) Psychologically but not sexually deviated offenders (e.g., psychotic individuals who masturbate in public or walk naked in the streets not because they have a specific sexual deviation but because they are generally emotionally ill).

Incidence of Sex Offenses

No highly reliable reports of the incidence of sex offenses have ever been published because of the inherent difficulties of gathering statistics in this field. Most actual offenders, as pointed out previously, are never arrested; many of those who are arrested are not convicted in spite of the fact that they clearly committed a statutory offense; many of those who are convicted are allowed to plead guilty to lesser charges (such as loitering, assault and battery, or disorderly conduct). Consequently, individuals who are finally convicted of a specific sex offense (and on whom we do have some statistics) represent only a relatively small percentage of actual offenders. Technically, as Kinsey and his associates (1948)

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validly point out, so many sex acts are legally banned in our society that some 95 per cent of the male population and a high percentage of the female at some time or other commit a sex crime.

Perhaps the best and most detailed study of sex offenses made to date is that by Radzinowicz and his associates (1957), who made a thoroughgoing investigation of offenses known to the police in England and Wales and estimated that in 1954 about 16,000 such offenses occurred. Of the known sexual offenses, the distribution of indictable offenses was found to be as follows: Indecent assault on females, 50 per cent; attempts to commit unnatural offenses and indecent assaults on males, 21 per cent; indecency with males, 13 per cent; defilement of girls between 13 and 16, 9 per cent; unnatural offenses, 7 per cent; rape, etc., 2 per cent; incest, 2 per cent; and defilement of girls under 12, 1 per cent.

In the United States there are about 40,000 arrests a year for major sex offenses and doubtlessly many more for minor offenses. The New Jersey State Police add about 800 to 1,000 individuals a year to their file of known sex offenders. They classify these offenders and their offenses as follows: Exhibitionism, 18 per cent; rape (including statutory rape), 45 per cent; perversion, 14 per cent; commercial sex, 7 per cent; unclassified, 16 per cent (Tappan, 1950).

Characteristics of Sex Offenders

As virtually all modern authorities on sex offenders have stressed, many myths exist about the overimpulsivity, aggressiveness, and recidivism of convicted offenders (Abrahamsen, 1950; Ellis and Brancale, 1956; Karpman, 1956; Radzinowicz, 1957; Tappan, 1950). Some of the truths in this connection are as follows:

1. The majority of convicted offenders are found to be rather harmless, "minor" deviates rather than dangerous "sex fiends."

2. Only a relatively small number (about 20 per cent) use force or duress upon their victims.

3. When they are not psychologically treated, convicted offenders are found to be frequent repeaters of both sexual and nonsexual offenses, even though their rates of recidivism may be lower than those of nonsex offenders.

4. Very few offenders may be designated as true "sexual psychopaths" since most of them, when intensively examined with modern psychological and psychiatric techniques of investigation, are found to be severely neurotic, borderline psychotic, or psychotic, or to have organic brain impairment. Studies at Sing Sing Prison in New York and at the New Jersey State Diagnostic Center show that the majority of convicted offenders suffer from some type of mental or emotional disorder, although it is not usually so pronounced as to meet the legal definition of mental illness.

5. Aside from those convicted of statutory rape and incestuous relations, most offenders tend to be sexually inhibited and constricted rather than overimpulsive and oversexed. The great majority of them are distinctly immature emotionally.

6. Convicted offenders tend to show subnormal intelligence in a higher percentage of the cases and bright normal or superior intelligence in a smaller percentage of the cases than does the general population. Subnormal intelligence is more likely to be found among offenders convicted of statutory rape, incestuous relations, and bestiality and less frequently found among those convicted of forcible rape, exhibitory acts, and disseminating "obscene" material.

7. The majority of offenders are quite young, being in their teens and early twenties. From 50 to 60 per cent of the convicted offenders are unmarried. Most of the offenders come from relatively poor educational and socioeconomic backgrounds.

Sexual Offenders and Sexual Deviates

There is considerable confusion in the public mind, and sometimes in the professional literature as well, between sexual offenders and sex deviates or perverts. Often the terms "offender" and "deviate" are used as if they were synonymous. As pointed out previously in this article, this is erroneous usage: since an individual may be a grave sex offender (for example, a brutal rapist) and yet be completely unperverted; or he may be extremely deviated (for example, may be a masochist who comes only to orgasm when his partner whips him) and may never commit a statutory sex offense.

Sexual deviation or perversion is an exceptionally difficult term to define accurately and

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does not (as is often erroneously stated) consist of behavior which is statistically rare, or unconventional or unethical in a given region, or "unnatural" or "unbiological" in the sense that it does not lead to human procreation. Psychologically, as I have pointed out in detail in *The American Sexual Tragedy* (1954) and *The Art and Science of Love* (1960), an individual may be considered sexually perverted if he can *only*, under *all* circumstances, enjoy one special form of sexual activity; or if he is obsessively-compulsively fixated on a given mode of sex behavior; or if he is fearfully and rigidly bound to one or two forms of sexual participation; or if he persists, in a disorganized and self-defeating manner, in engaging in sex acts which destroy his own well-being.

A sex pervert, then, either inappropriately overinhibits himself and fearfully confines his activities to unusually limited modes of expression; or else he self-destructively underinhibits himself and (often with considerable hostility) engages in behavior which literally carries with it serious legal or personal penalties. Most sexual perverts are unusually fetishistic or anti-fetishistic—that is to say, they are attracted only to a very narrow range of sex objects (as sadists are only attracted to those who will submit to them or pedophiles are drawn only to young boys); or they are repulsed by a certain type of sex participation (as fixed homosexuals are revolted by the thought of having sex relations with females). A minority of perverts are not fetishists or anti-fetishists but impulsively and/or compulsively engage in several kinds of sex acts (such as exhibitionism, peeping, and sex relations with minors) which are socially banned and self-destructive.

It is most important that we distinguish between sexual deviation and so-called "unnatural" sex practices, by which is often meant noncoital heterosexual relations between consenting adults. Although it is true that any person who *only* or *exclusively* enjoys fellation, cunnilinctus, or heterosexual mutual masturbation and virtually never desires penile-vaginal copulation even when it is freely available is fetishistically fixated on such a noncoital act and is therefore perverted, it is by no means true that anyone who enjoys oral-genital, anal-genital, and other extracoital acts as well as regular intercourse is similarly perverted. In fact, from a psychological standpoint, it may justifiably be said that some individuals who *only* engage in penile-vaginal intercourse and under no circumstances even try noncoital methods of heterosexual relations are extremely fetishistic and fearful and hence tend, in a minor sort of way, to be deviated.

It is also most important that we distinguish accurately between subclinical *tendencies* toward deviated behavior, which actually fall well within the normal range, and clear-cut overt manifestations of perversions. Thus, almost all normal human beings have some masochistic and sadistic tendencies; and many of these perfectly healthy men and women have some difficulty in coming to orgasm unless they are reasonably aggressive on certain occasions or unless they, in phantasy or fact, experience some degree of painful stimulation on other occasions. Particularly in the case of many individuals who at times have difficulty achieving climax, sadistic or masochistic tendencies are well within the range of normal sex behavior.

At the same time, when an individual can only reach his or her acme of sex satisfaction by resorting to extremely sadistic or masochistic acts—for example, by beating or being beaten by his or her sex partner up to and including the point where blood flows or physical injury results—there is little doubt that normal sex tendencies are then being taken to excessive extremes; and the result may justifiably be labeled "sex deviation." Similarly, although most human beings normally have some degree of attraction to members of their own sex, and may even occasionally engage in homosexual acts with members of this same sex, when such attraction continually, exclusively, and compulsively leads to overt homosexuality sex perversion may accurately be deemed to exist.

Tendencies toward plurisexual participations (including heterosexuality, homosexuality, masturbation, nocturnal and diurnal emissions without specific sex contact, and sex relations with animals) are the normal biological inheritance of virtually all human beings. It is only when these tendencies become overchannelized into specialized outlets or when they give way to disorganized and self-defeating pansexuality that we can correctly speak of

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the existence of sexual deviation or perversion.

Although most convicted sex offenders are distinctly perverted, in the sense just defined, many of them, such as those convicted of statutory rape, are not deviates; and of these nondeviated offenders, as noted above, some are psychologically normal, though perhaps at times more than a little rash in their activities, and others are psychiatrically deviated in general or nonsexual ways. In any event, although sex offenses and sexual deviation significantly overlap, they are by no means the same thing and should not be cavalierly lumped together.

Treatment of Sex Offenders

Convicted sex offenders are usually severely disturbed persons who cannot or will not confine their activities to legally accepted practices or who (perhaps more importantly) refuse to be sufficiently discreet and private about their legally proscribed activities. The mere fact that they are caught, and often frequently caught, in their acts puts them in a distinctly different category from other technical offenders, such as adulterers and fornicators, who are very rarely apprehended and convicted of any offense. In addition, many offenders (such as confirmed homosexuals) are, quite apart from the illegal nature of their offense, psychologically deviated because of their own groundless fears and hostilities, and would require psychological treatment even if their acts were not legally banned.

The psychological treatment of sex offenders is consequently quite difficult in most instances. It requires a tackling and an undermining of the offender's general and sexual disturbances; and it involves, in the final analysis if not in the beginning of psychotherapeutic treatment, a strong willingness on the part of the offender to work at his own improvement. However, sex deviates and sex offenders are notoriously uncooperative in this respect, and often receive so many neurotic gains or satisfactions from their aberrations that they have little or no incentive to work for basic changes in themselves.

Nonetheless, a defeatist attitude toward the treatment of sex offenders is not scientifically warranted. Several investigators, including the present writer, have found that sex deviates and offenders can be successfully treated both in institutions and in private practice. Unusually good results can often be obtained if the therapist employs a highly directive, rational psychotherapeutic approach that shows the offender his basic fear- and hostility-creating philosophies of living, how they originated, how he is continually sustaining them in the present, and how he can examine, question, and challenge them so that they significantly change (Ellis, 1956, 1958, 1959).

On a social level, the prevention and treatment of sex offenses would be distinctly abetted if the people of any community and its duly appointed and elected police, judicial, and legislative officials would take an objective and scientific rather than a traditional biased and punitive attitude toward sex offenders. Individuals commit offenses not because they are blackguards or degenerates but because (1) they are ignorant, mentally subnormal, or emotionally disturbed, or because (2) they are often following entirely normal psychophysical urges or drives that are wrongly and cruelly limited and banned in many jurisdictions. If society would see to it that all or most of its citizens were raised so that they were minimally ignorant and disturbed and maximally permitted to engage in harmless sex acts, there would be a sharp decrease in the existing high number of sex offenders.

More specifically, for the best kind of prevention of and treatment for sex offenses, the following general program is suggested:

1. Only those sex acts should be legally proscribed that involve (a) the use of force or duress; (b) an adult's taking sexual advantage of a minor; or (c) public acts that are distasteful to the majority of those in whose presence they are committed. Sex acts other than these, engaged in privately between two competent adults, should not be subject to legal processes or penalties.

2. All sex laws should be rewritten so that offenses are specifically and scientifically designated and defined in meaningful, consistent, nonoverlapping terms.

3. When individuals commit any sex offense that would still exist under the two preceding rules they should be given a complete psycho-

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logical examination, after conviction but before being sentenced, to determine whether they are sexually and/or psychologically deviated.

4. All sex offenders, and particularly those who are diagnosed as being sexually or psychologically deviated, should be enabled to receive psychological treatment either (a) in their own community, while they are placed on probation, or (b) in a mental hospital or other institution that affords specialized psychotherapeutic care for sex offenders. If institutionalization is required, the convicted offender should remain in protective custody as long as he is so psychiatrically deviated as to be considered a menace to the rights and safety of his fellow citizens.

5. Under no circumstances should sex offenders (or, for that matter, nonsex offenders) be viewed as horrible, villainous criminals to be harshly punished to atone for their sins. Rather, they should be viewed either as relatively normal individuals who are rash enough to get into occasional difficulty or as seriously disturbed persons who are sufficiently disordered to keep getting into legal difficulties because of their sexual behavior. In either case, education and treatment, rather than excoriation and punishment, should be the lot of these already sufficiently unfortunate individuals.

6. It is most necessary, for the prevention and treatment of sex offenders, that every community favor the increase and improvement of general sex education. In this way children at an early age would be provided with scientific, objectively stated sex information, and a more liberal, socially sanctioned heterosexual participation on the part of young people would be encouraged.

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ALBERT ELLIS

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Sex Reform Movement

THE demand for sexual reform arose in large measure out of modern pioneer work on the physiology and psychology of the sexual functions. Theories advocating different "unconventional" patterns of sexual behavior were, of course, not new. However, these were mainly literary or philosophical theories advanced by isolated thinkers and not scientific theories grounded on factual information or research. The modern demand for sexual reform is a new attitude born, for the most part, out of the new science of sexology.

The first task to be accomplished before sexual reform could become a practical possibility was to destroy what has been called "the conspiracy of silence." The right to study and to discuss the sexual functions in all their aspects, and to publish freely the outcome of such studies, had to be established. Even within the memory of those still living, the whole question was surrounded by a degree of secrecy that now seems to us almost incredible. A leading nineteenth-century physician expressed the considered opinion that even the ascription of sexual feelings to woman was "a vile aspersion," and many anatomical charts of that time omitted the sexual system completely. Both in Europe and in America there was a negative mythology of sex that provided the foundation of a repressive and antibiological morality. The sanction of this code was a system of taboos, and to undermine the authority of this morality was the first step in sexual education. The socialized control of the sexual functions, guided by scientific knowledge and based upon the needs of the individual and the community, must replace the old system which tried to handle the sexual problem by means of restrictions of an incredibly primitive, infantile, and superstitious nature. Havelock Ellis' monumental *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* presented an appalling picture of the sexual conflict, misery, and waste that occurred under the old dispensation.

The resistance to the new approach was both bitter and sustained. Some works that touched on the sexual function were, of course, tolerated. Early works on masturbation, with their horrifying phantasies in which the unfortunate victims were likened to "withered roses and walking corpses," were approved because they gave support to the dominant mythology of sex. When dispassionate scientific investigation began, however, powerful resistance was immediately mobilized against it.

In spite of intense hostility, and, in some cases, of actual persecution, the new science made headway steadily. The work of such men as Krafft-Ebing, August Forel, Albert Moll, Iwan Bloch, Sigmund Freud, Havelock Ellis, and Magnus Hirschfeld, to name only a few, could not be ignored indefinitely. The first volume of Havelock Ellis' great work might be prosecuted in England, but it was successfully published in America. Freud and Hirschfeld might be condemned to die in exile from their own countries, their books might be prosecuted in democratic lands and burnt in totalitarian ones, but history has proved how ineffective these methods are in dealing with new knowledge and ideas.

This alarming new science was aided by profound changes that were taking place in society. Evolutionary biology had taken a firm grip on men's minds, and science was generally becoming more important. Revolt against patri-

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archal and puritanical systems was gathering force. In literature the works of Ibsen and Wedekind, of Flaubert and Zola, among others, exerted considerable influence, and in addition to this the power of organized religious bodies was on the wane. A new climate of opinion, much more sympathetic to sexological investigation, was in process of formation.

Scientific research into the phenomena of sex and proposals for sexual reform were closely associated, together with early projects connected with sex education. The sexual reformers were interested in the whole range of sexual phenomena, healthy and pathological, individual and collective. Among the topics that arose for study were eugenics, prostitution, venereal disease, homosexuality, birth control, marriage, divorce, and sex education.

Homosexuality

At a relatively early date the important but heavily repressed question of homosexuality occupied considerable attention on the part of the Reformers, especially in Germany. This was greatly influenced by the publication of Albert Moll's *Conträre Sexual-Empfindung* (*Contrary Sexual Feeling*), which appeared in 1891, with a preface by Krafft-Ebing. In 1897 Magnus Hirschfeld founded the *Wissenschaftlich-Humanitäres Komittee* (Scientific Humanitarian Committee) for the promotion of the scientific study of homosexuality. The organization was to use the knowledge so gained for the education of public opinion on this subject, with a view to effecting ultimately the repeal of Paragraph 175 of the German Penal Code, which made homosexuality a criminal offense. In 1900 Hirschfeld founded the *Jahrbuch Für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen* (*Yearbook for Intermediate Types*). The scientific study of homosexuality had begun in earnest.

Consultation Centers

An important item in the field of sex reform was the establishment of consultation centers that dealt with sexual and marital problems. These centers were originally inspired by biological research, and were founded with the intention of forwarding a eugenic program for the betterment of the race. In 1908 a plea was addressed to the German Reichstag suggesting that no couple should be permitted to marry unless they could produce health certificates. Breitfeld, the author of this appeal, was supported, according to Max Hodann, by a scientific organization called the *Monistenbund* (Monistic Alliance). Although the request was ignored, the episode led to the foundation in 1911 of the first Eugenic Marriage Bureau at Dresden. In actual fact it was found quite impracticable to limit the activities of the Bureau to purely eugenic questions. The alarming incidence of unsuccessful marriages indicated that the offering of scientific help in this connection was a matter of great social urgency.

Prostitution and Venereal Disease

The problems associated with prostitution and venereal disease had also been occupying the attention of thoughtful people for some time past. These problems were made far more urgent by World War I. During and after the war a great increase occurred both in syphilitic infection and in gonorrhea. By that time much work had been done on these diseases. The gonococcus had been discovered in 1879 by Neisser, and Schaudinn and Hoffmann had conducted research on syphilis. Wassermann's work had been carried out in 1906, and Ehrlich and Hata had discovered Salvarsan in 1910. The main difficulties in dealing with these problems lay in making this new knowledge effective and in sufficiently overcoming the sharp divisions of opinion to allow for efficient collective action. The traditionalists believed that prostitution should be rigidly suppressed and the prostitute driven out and persecuted. Venereal disease, they maintained, was a just punishment for wrongdoing. This had been the view adopted by Florence Nightingale.

Those who took a more rational view of the problems believed that, whether we like it or not, prostitution in some form or another was probably as permanent a feature of life in the modern world as it was in ancient civilizations, and that at least some of its evils were created or intensified by the traditional attitude adopted toward it.

Some members of the reformist group advo-

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cated the registration and medical inspection of prostitutes; others claimed that such methods were unsuccessful in checking the spread of venereal disease. Still others, basing their objections on moral or feminist grounds, felt that such a solution was unacceptable to the modern conscience. Special bodies came into existence to deal with these specific problems, amongst which the American Hygiene Association and the British Social Hygiene Council are, perhaps, the most important.

Unfortunately, even today there is strong opposition to the dissemination of prophylactic information, especially to younger members of the community. In England, for example, no chemist can sell any device or chemical substance for the specific purpose of preventing the contraction of syphilis or gonorrhea, in spite of the fact that a government committee recommended such a procedure many years ago. The British Society for the Prevention of Venereal Disease issued a simply worded pamphlet that had a considerable circulation some years ago.

It was, however, the enormous casualties suffered during wartime that led to some modification of the older attitude. Much work has also been done on these problems by various committees of the League of Nations and the United Nations, although the value of much of this work has been impaired by the predominance of a moralistic rather than of a scientific attitude. The insistence on associating the problem of venereal disease too exclusively with prostitution, the attempts to close brothels and suppress the prostitute, and the failure to advocate the teaching of prophylactic methods as a normal part of sex education have come in for much criticism. The need for extramarital sexual outlets in "monogamous" societies has never been realistically faced, and, as the late Dr. Kinsey has pointed out, the prostitute has been assigned a special place among sex offenders "because she is forced to exist, either as a part of the criminal underworld, or as a protegée and partner of officialdom."

Birth Control

A question that has touched intimately the lives of millions of people has been that of birth control. The control of conception is, of course, no new thing. Malthus had written his famous essay on population in 1789. He himself refused to recognize the mechanical or chemical control of conception, but with his followers after his death the history of birth control began anew.

Here again bitter opposition was encountered. In 1867 the famous indictment of Charles Bradlaugh and Annie Besant occurred as a result of the publication of a pamphlet entitled *The Fruits of Philosophy*, which contained practical advice on birth control. Powerful champions of the cause of family limitation, however, soon arose. In New York, Robert Dale Owen supported it. Dr. George Drysdale wrote in its favor, and in 1877 the Malthusian League was formed.

Opposition to the employment of anticonception techniques came from many of the religious bodies but, with the exception of the Roman Catholic Church, this opposition has very largely ceased and religious approval is generally given to family planning within marriage. Some countries, however, have enacted laws against the dissemination of contraceptive information and appliances. Margaret Sanger, the originator of the expression "Birth Control," was imprisoned in 1917, and the United States, France, Italy, and Germany were amongst the countries to write laws on their statute books against birth control. In spite of these measures, the use of contraception, or family planning, has continued to increase until, in the words of Havelock Ellis, it has become an essential part of the morality of civilized man. There seems little doubt that a sound knowledge of contraception is necessary both to deal with the urgent problem of world population and to reduce the high abortion rate.

Divorce

Another problem connected with making the sexual life of man happier and more rational has been that of divorce. Throughout history, marriage and divorce customs have shown a bewildering diversity, ranging from extremely simple and easy divorce arrangements to the complete denial of divorce under any circumstances. The religious bodies are divided on this question also, some accepting divorce in certain circumstances, and others, such as the

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Roman Catholic Church, refusing, at least in theory, to allow divorce for any reason at all. Most of those who desired reform in this field were also concerned with providing as adequate a preparation as possible for marriage, in addition to reasonable divorce facilities for those whose marriages had broken down.

The trend in most countries in recent years has been to extend divorce facilities, making men and women equal in this matter before the law and recognizing that other offenses are perhaps even more disruptive of marriage than the time-honored one of adultery. In England, for example, in addition to adultery, divorce is granted for desertion of 3 years or more, for cruelty, for incurable unsoundness of mind for at least 5 years, for rape, for sodomy, and for bestiality. These new grounds became law in 1937 and were the result of a bill sponsored by Mr. A. P. Herbert in Parliament. The reforms follow very largely those recommended by the Royal Commission appointed after World War I.

The report of the latest Royal Commission is extremely disappointing. Although representatives of a number of liberal societies gave evidence, including the Progressive League, the Ethical Union, the Divorce Reform Union, and the Marriage Law Reform Society, the recommendations of the Commission are singularly out of step with progressive opinion, and it would seem that for a long time to come little further can be expected in the field of divorce-law reform. Professor O. R. McGregor (1957) rightly remarks that "The Report contributes nothing to our knowledge, and fails even to define and clarify opposing viewpoints, or to facilitate public discussion."

Many reformers would like to see the concept of "Matrimonial Offense" replaced by one of "Matrimonial Breakdown," and would like to abolish the conception of "collusion" and allow, with certain safeguards, divorce by mutual consent. It is also widely held that divorce should be granted after a long separation.

Most reformers contend that in these situations the welfare of the children should be of paramount importance, and that the law should concern itself more with suitable provisions for their physical and psychological health after divorce decrees have been granted. Divorce reform must be accompanied by an emphasis on the need for a sound sexual education for children, more marriage counseling work, and the promotion of a better understanding of the nature of marriage. Such a program should have great social value by decreasing the number of couples resorting to the drastic surgery of divorce.

Revaluation of Human Sexuality—Freud

In addition to the work of the medical sexologists in changing public opinion and promoting sex reform, we must also include the profound effect produced by the work of Sigmund Freud and his followers in the revaluation of human sexuality. As Havelock Ellis has reminded us, Freud preserved the detachment of the conventional physician. He did not attack the traditional sexual code directly, although he was engaged in attempting to remedy some of the evils that flowed from it and was personally deeply conscious of its defects. He once caustically remarked that the traditional education of the young was as realistic as sending people on a polar expedition dressed in summer clothing and equipped with maps of the Italian lakes.

It was not, however, through his advocacy of any radical change in sexual conventions that he broke with the traditions of his time, but rather through his attitude to the sexual functions as a whole. What had been surmised Freud investigated, and what had been whispered Freud said openly. For the first time in medical literature sexual phenomena were described precisely, with a wealth of detail, without apology, and as a matter of course. His stress on the sexual nature of the child, his extension of the whole concept of sexuality, and his study of the ramifications of sex in human life, of the sexual complexes within the family, and of the overwhelming importance of sex in the etiology of neuroses made it impossible to continue the traditional attitude of denigration and silence.

Companionate Marriage

Among the proposals for the reform of the institution of marriage, none provoked more

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alarm and resentment than the quite reasonable and moderate proposals of Judge Ben Lindsey. Lindsey was at that time Judge at the Denver Juvenile Court and had a very extensive experience with the behavior and problems of modern youth. It was his considered opinion that drastic reforms were needed, and in 1925 he and Wainwright Evans published their book, *The Revolt of Modern Youth.*

The suggestion with which Lindsey's name is usually associated is the recommendation of "companionate marriage" for the young. This was intended to give social recognition to practices that were already widespread and to provide as satisfactory a framework as possible for youthful sexual experiences that now occurred in a furtive, unsatisfactory, and often socially dangerous way. Such companionate marriages were to be accompanied by birth control and the right for childless couples who found themselves incompatible to divorce by mutual consent.

A storm of bitter opposition and misrepresentation broke on Lindsey's head. His suggestions were called "encouragements to promiscuity," "advocacy of free-love." Lindsey expounded his views again in a later book, *Companionate Marriage.*

Among those who viewed Lindsey's proposals sympathetically were Bertrand and Dora Russell. The former expressed his own views on marriage and divorce in his book, *Marriage and Morals,* which appeared in 1940. Havelock Ellis also reacted to Lindsey's suggestions with sympathetic approval.

Law and Sex—René Guyon

Perhaps the most radical, systematic, and extensive proposals for the reform of laws and conventions relating to the sexual functions have been made by Dr. René Guyon, traveler, philosopher, jurist, and legislative advisor to the Ministry of Justice, Bangkok, Siam. Guyon's basic contention is that the sexual organs and functions are just as amoral as are any other physiological manifestation of living beings. Thus the exercise of these functions is an inalienable right of the individual so long as such exercise occurs without violence, fraud, or constraint. The Judeo-Christian system, with its prohibitions and sex-negations, is both artificial and eccentric. What is called "sexual morality" is in direct conflict with reason and healthy life.

Dr. Guyon has been naturally concerned with the legislative side of the sexual question, and has criticized the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" proclaimed by the Assembly of the United Nations in 1948, implying as it does the existence of one moral standard in the interests of which the freedom of the subject can be restricted. Guyon believes that, so long as the rights of others are not infringed, "Everyone has the right to sexual freedom and the free disposal of his or her body to that end; and no person shall be molested, persecuted, or condemned by the law for having voluntarily engaged in sexual acts or activities of any kind whatever."

The two concluding volumes of Dr. Guyon's massive work have not been published. The last volume is devoted to the organization of a pro-sexual society. Dr. Guyon's work, although commended in certain quarters, has not received the attention it deserves.

Magnus Hirschfeld and the World League for Sexual Reform

It became abundantly clear as time went on that the sexual reform movement must be organized and focused if it was to exert its maximum influence on public opinion and existing institutions. With this in view Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld of Berlin founded, in 1921, the International Congress for Sexual Reform. The purpose of this organization was to promote reforms in the sexual institutions under which men and women lived. At the second meeting in Copenhagen in 1928, what came to be known as the World League for Sexual Reform was founded. Further meetings were held in London in 1929, Vienna in 1930, and at Brno in 1932. Many distinguished men and women from all walks of life became members of the League or supported its work. Havelock Ellis, August Forel, and Magnus Hirschfeld were its first presidents. Later, Dr. Norman Haire and Dr. J. H. Leunbach occupied this position. Among the members of the League were Sigmund Freud, Bertrand and Dora Russell, Professor J. C. Flügel, Dr. William J. Robinson, Dr.

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Harry Benjamin, Dr. Abraham Stone, Dr. G. V. Hamilton, Judge Ben Lindsey, and many other distinguished men and women, including Professor Pasche-Oserki, representative of the then sexually progressive Soviet Union. As Wilhelm Reich observed, the League "comprised the most progressive sexologists and sex reformers in the world."

As has already been pointed out, the League was not a purely academic body engaged in promoting sexual research. It was primarily a reformist organization interested in sponsoring a definite program and in working out what Hirschfeld called "a sexual sociology." Under this concept are subsumed sexual ethics, sexual criminal law, and sexual statesmanship. This last, in Hirschfeld's words, "involves the provision of a sexual code dealing not only with marriage and divorce but all sexual relations including those of unmarried persons, the difficult problem of prostitution, and above all the scientific regulation of birth" (Presidential Address at the Third Congress). It was the intention of the League to promote reform by appeals to the legislatures, the press, and the peoples of all countries and to help to create a new legal and social attitude toward the sexual life of men and women, based on the knowledge that had been acquired by scientific research in sexual biology, psychology, and sociology. The approach was to be objective and scientific, acknowledging the truth of Forel's declaration, that "there must be no conflict between sexual hygiene and sexual ethics." The laws of man must be brought into harmony with the laws of nature.

The program of the League may be summarized as follows:

1. The political, economic, and sexual equality of men and women.

2. The liberation of marriage, and especially of divorce, from the tyranny of Church and State. Legislation in such matters was to be concerned primarily with the protection of children. Free sexual education centers were to be provided.

3. Control of conception so that procreation may be undertaken only deliberately and with a due sense of responsibility. The repeal of all laws against birth control, and the provision of contraceptive facilities by public health authorities. Sterilization to be effected in suitable cases.

4. Reform in the abortion laws to enable pregnancies to be terminated by qualified doctors on economic, social, and eugenic grounds in addition to the existing medical indications.

5. Systematic and scientific sexual education for both the young and adults.

6. Race betterment by the application of the knowledge of eugenics.

7. Protection of the unmarried mother and of the illegitimate child.

8. A rational attitude toward sexually abnormal persons and especially toward homosexuals, both male and female.

9. The prevention of prostitution and venereal disease. No persecution of the prostitute was to be recommended, and no attempts at forcible repression were to be made. Economic and other changes that would permit adults to find reasonable sexual satisfaction in more acceptable ways were to be encouraged.

10. Disturbances of the sexual impulses to be regarded as more or less pathological phenomena and not, as in the past, as crimes, vices, or sins.

11. Only those sexual acts to be regarded as criminal that infringe the sexual rights of another person. Sexual acts between responsible adults, undertaken by mutual consent in private, to be regarded as the private concern of the participants.

12. A more rational attitude toward venereal diseases. The encouragement of treatment, which should be freely provided, and the avoidance of penalties and coercion. Prophylactic information to be freely provided.

The League pledged itself to strive for these reforms by serving as a link between organizations and individuals in all countries who shared its point of view, by disseminating the scientific knowledge of sex, and by combatting all forces and prejudices that stood in the way of a rational attitude toward sex.

The chief methods to be used to further these objectives were as follows:

1. The publication or the encouraging of the publication of both technical and popular scientific works that aimed at sexual reform on a scientific basis.

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2. The production of an *International Journal of Sexual Reform.*
3. The holding of international congresses.
4. Propaganda by lectures.
5. Analysis of laws and collection of statistics relating to sex in all countries.
6. The drafting of sex statutes and general assistance in sexual legislation.
7. The provision of information to the legislatures of all countries.

When the League held its final meeting at Brno in 1932 the twilight of liberal thought was well advanced. In 1933 Hitler came into power, and for more than a decade Germany was in the grip of a totalitarian government implacably hostile to liberal and scientific thought.

One of the first victims in the scientific world of the new terror was Magnus Hirschfeld. In 1918 Hirschfeld had founded the Institute for Sexual Science in Berlin. This had been taken over by the Prussian government as an institution of great public importance, and Hirschfeld had presented his unrivaled collection of sexual material to the State. This Institute had become internationally famous. Public lectures of a popular and informative kind were given, questions were answered, and various types of advice and help were at the disposal of anyone who cared to apply. In addition, there were a sexological museum and a library of more than 20,000 volumes.

In May, 1933, the Institute was raided by Nazi students, and books, manuscripts, dossiers, and medical charts were removed and destroyed. Some of the property belonging to the League was also carried away. Hirschfeld was abroad at the time, and died at Nice two years later.

Sex Reform in England—Norman Haire

After the death of Hirschfeld, Dr. Norman Haire and Dr. Leunbach, the two surviving presidents of the World League for Sexual Reform, published a declaration which they sent to all members. They pointed out that existing political conditions made it impossible for the League to hold further international congresses or even to continue its work in many countries. "As far as we can establish the English section is the only one which continues to function actively." The continuation of the League as an international organization was no longer feasible. Haire and Leunbach, therefore, declared the League dissolved. The individual sections, of course, had the right to decide whether they would continue to function independently or not.

Dr. Haire and Dr. Leunbach were sharply at variance on the question of the relation of the League to current political movements. Haire believed that all revolutionary activity should be kept out of the League's program, whereas Leunbach was of the opinion that the League had failed because it had not joined the revolutionary workers' movement. It was a disappointing ending to an organization that might have achieved so much in the field of sexual reform. Haire claimed, however, that the League's discussions had resulted in important changes in public opinion and in actual institutions.

It was not until after World War II that the Sex Education Society began its work in England with Dr. Norman Haire as its founder and president. With Dr. Haire were associated Dr. Harold Avery, Professor J. C. Flügel, Miss Barbara Low, and others. A little later, in August, 1948, Dr. Haire began the publication of *The Journal of Sex Education.* This was a popular scientific journal intended for the sexual enlightenment of intelligent laymen. It contained original articles on topics connected with the sexual functions, news from various parts of the world, book reviews, and a section dealing with readers' questions. The Society held lectures in London, many of these being given by Dr. Haire himself.

In common with many other members of the defunct League, Dr. Haire believed in the gradual education of the public, and that sexual institutions could be remodeled if a sufficient number of people became dissatisfied with existing conditions. The best way of ensuring sound reforms was, therefore, the patient elimination of misapprehensions and misinformation. Education and reform were thus organically related to each other. The life of the new Society and its journal was, unfortunately, not a long one. Dr. Haire was already a very sick

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man when he began this last phase of his work, and on his return from America, where he had planned a lecture tour, he was obviously a dying man. His death occurred on September 11, 1952, just after he had passed his sixtieth birthday.

Modern Sex-Reform and Sex-Education Movements

In spite of severe losses and the existence of powerful reactionary forces, the cause of sex reform and sex education has made considerable progress in many countries. Topics can be discussed and books published with far greater freedom than would have been possible at the beginning of the century. The fight for birth control has virtually been won. Many religious bodies now accept the practice as a normal part of modern marriage, and the family planning movement, which publishes a liberal and well-informed journal of its own, is well on the way to becoming a respectable institution in England. In Japan a good deal of work on sex education has been done by the Japanese Sexological Society. Its director, Tetsu Takahashi, has published some useful reports on its work. Progress has also been made in India, where the late Dr. Pillay founded the Society for the Promotion and Study of Family Hygiene Including Sex Hygiene. Although sex-reform movements were active in the United States in the nineteenth century, there has recently been no large organized group in this area. More in keeping with the American interest in sexual research, the Society for the Scientific Study of Sex has been started and is nonpartisanly devoting itself to fostering scientific discussion and research. Its main officers have been Drs. Hugo Beigel, Albert Ellis, Henry Guze, and Hans Lehfeldt, and its Executive Secretary is Robert Veit Sherwin.

Small societies are at work in most countries, each concerned with promoting some particular type of reform. In England the Abortion Law Reform Association has been active for many years, and there is very much support for its campaign to widen the grounds for therapeutic termination of pregnancy. It is widely realized that existing laws tend to drive such practices underground and lead large numbers of unfortunate women to seek help from unscrupulous, rapacious, and unqualified abortionists.

A good deal of dissatisfaction has been felt in connection with the way in which the problems of homosexuality and prostitution have been handled in England. A number of cases of homosexuality involving well-known people have come before the English courts during the last few years. A reform of the cruel and antiquated laws relating to homosexual practices between males is long overdue.

In 1954 a Departmental Committee was set up under the chairmanship of Sir John Wolfenden. The purpose of this Committee was to investigate the existing laws and their application to homosexuality and prostitution. The Committee published its report in 1957. The first part dealt with the problems of homosexuality. (It must be remembered that it has only been since 1885 that all sexual acts carried out between males have been criminal offenses, irrespective of the ages of the participants and the circumstances under which the acts occurred.) The most important recommendation made by the Committee on this subject was that the law should concern itself only with the protection of minors and those suffering from mental defects, and also with the preservation of public order and decency. Sexual acts carried by consenting adult males in private should, however, cease to be regarded as criminal offenses. The age of consent for such acts should be fixed at 21. "Sodomy," or pedication, should, the Committee thought, be redefined as a "misdemeanour" and cease to be classed as a "felony," and thus not be regarded as an exceptionally depraved act deserving exceptionally severe punishment.

The second part of the report, that dealing with prostitution, is both confused and reactionary. The Committee recommends increasing the fines for prostitutes, with imprisonment for a third conviction, and also suggests that the police should have the power to arrest a prostitute for soliciting without having to establish "annoyance" caused to any person by her behavior. This seems a most regrettable recommendation. It is, however, realized that any attempt to make prostitution "illegal" is doomed

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to fail, and the latter part of the second section is concerned more with administrative problems than with reform.

It seems likely that some of the recommendations contained in the report will be adopted by the government in the near future, especially those contained in the section devoted to the problem of prostitution. The recommendations on homosexuality and the proposed changes in the law seemed destined to collect dust in another government pigeonhole. The fear that the opportunity for making an important and much overdue reform will be lost has led to the formation of the Homosexual Law Reform Society, which includes among its members a former prime minister, Anglican bishops, and many distinguished scientific and literary people. This Society will press the government for legislation to give effect to the proposed reform of the law in connection with homosexual acts performed by consenting adult males in private.

Another area in which reform is urgently needed is in connection with the banning of books and plays. Ever since the attack on Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* in France, and the prosecution of Havelock Ellis' study of sexual inversion at the close of the last century, it has been clear that important literary and scientific works might be dealt with as pornography by ignorant officials. This impression was strengthened by the banning of James Joyce's *Ulysses* and of many other serious novels and plays. Not long ago three serious plays dealing with the question of homosexuality were being performed at private theater clubs in London because of the Lord Chamberlain's ban. Reformers have long been trying to bring about a more liberal and discriminating attitude regarding this matter. The World League for Sexual Reform was opposed to censorship, and held that people should be educated to meet all kinds of knowledge and to decide for themselves what they will accept or reject. The first step, it believed, was to remove the whole matter from the jurisdiction of magistrates, and to establish the right to present medical, psychological, sociological, and artistic testimony together with the right to appeal to a higher court.

In 1954 a Select Committee on Obscene Publications was set up. This Committee issued its recommendations in 1955. The published report makes it clear how much the definition of obscenity has changed during the last decades. Only the representative of the Public Morality Council still considered *Ulysses* obscene. In spite of some progress, however, the position is still extremely unsatisfactory in England. As Mr. Alec Craig remarked some years ago, "the law of obscene libel not only impedes the work of sex educators and hinders nudist propaganda, but constitutes an arbitrary threat to the novelist, the scholar and the bibliophile." In many cases fraud is practiced on the unsuspecting reader. Deletions from the text of some American novels are made in the English editions, and translations from the French are bowdlerized, without in either case informing the reader that this procedure has been adopted.

Unfortunately, at this time the government introduced a bill of its own to deal with horror comics, and this has hopelessly confused the whole issue. A full, comprehensive bill was necessary to deal with the matter as a whole. The Committee, originally under the chairmanship of A. P. Herbert, proposed that the state of mind of the accused should be taken into account. In other words, that "intention" should be an essential element in the offense. No attempt was made to define "obscenity," but literary and artistic merit were to be taken into account. Authors, publishers, and printers were given a locus standi in the courts in order to enable them to give and call evidence. Destruction of allegedly obscene publications by Customs authorities could take place only after a destruction order had been issued by a magistrate. The administration of the law should be made uniform by subjecting all proceedings to the consent of the Attorney General. This report of the Herbert Committee received an excellent reception, both press and public opinion supporting its recommendations. Supporters of the bill embodying its recommendations still await an opportunity of introducing it into the House of Commons as a Private Member's Bill.

In both the United States and England the question of artificial insemination is being widely discussed. It has been estimated that in 1941 this technique was used in over 10,000

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cases in America. A recent symposium devoted to this subject has been published by the *New York University Law Review*. A good deal of artificial insemination is also being carried out in England. Existing laws are obviously not pertinent to the problems created by this practice. As far as public opinion can be ascertained, there seems to be widespread approval of the practice as long as the semen is obtained from the husband (A.I.H.). A great deal of opposition, however, exists when the semen is obtained from a donor (A.I.D.). The Archbishop of Canterbury has recently suggested that this latter practice should be made a criminal offense, and much sophistry has been employed to equate A.I.D. with adultery—to which, of course, it bears no resemblance. In England a committee has been appointed with the Earl of Feversham as chairman to inquire into the existing practice and legal implications of artificial insemination, and to consider whether any changes should be made in existing laws.

In reviewing the history of the sexual reform movement, it would seem that, although the impact of sexological research on legislation has not been spectacular in most countries, the impact of such research on public opinion has been very considerable. Sex morality is far less taboo-ridden than it was, for people know much more about the sexual functions. The Kinsey reports have been widely read and have made it abundantly clear that there exists an enormous range of sexual behavior, from the point of view of both extent and variety, among normal and healthy men and women. These reports also make clear the enormous gulf between current conventions and laws and actual sexual practice. It is good news to hear that these studies will go on despite Dr. Kinsey's death. They should have a most valuable effect on legislation. It will be remembered that the first of Dr. Kinsey's reports on sexual behavior in the human male (1948) revealed that 95 per cent of the males studied had engaged at some time or another in sexual activities which would, had they been detected, have involved detention in some penal institution. Nothing could exhibit more dramatically the utterly unrealistic nature of the sexual laws and conventions under which we still live. The recent English Chesser report on "The Sexual, Marital and Family Relationships of the English Woman" suggests that a considerable gulf exists between female profession and practice in that country.

Such studies are important in informing public opinion and in bringing home the need for making our laws and institutions more realistic and more in line with biological drives and psychological needs. The sex reformer must remember, however, that constant vigilance is needed to preserve educational reforms already won. It has been suggested, for instance, by a writer in the Los Angeles *Times* that the recent increase in venereal disease may be connected with the fact that lectures formerly given at the schools on sexual hygiene were quietly discontinued in 1953. In spite, however, of disappointments, setbacks, and the slowness of progress, the sex reformer should be encouraged by the thought that the laws and institutions in democratic societies cannot indefinitely resist the pressure of "ideas that have arrived."

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ROBERT WOOD

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Sex Research Institutes

IN THE entire history of mankind there have been only a few well-organized sex institutes devoted either to clinical problems or to sex research. The two outstanding institutes of this kind, the Hirschfeld Institute for Sexology and the Institute for Sex Research founded by Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey at Indiana University, will be discussed in this article.

THE HIRSCHFELD INSTITUTE FOR SEXOLOGY

Although Richard von Krafft-Ebing, Albert Moll, August Forel, Havelock Ellis, and others had published important books in the field of the science of sex, and thus laid the foundation for the study of sex deviations in spite of the open hostility of the medical profession and the general public, Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld represented the zenith of such studies in his day.

Born in 1868 at Kolberg on the Baltic Sea, the son of a popular physician, Magnus seemed predestined to follow his father's profession, having been taken as an assistant on sick calls and allowed to witness surgery. Yet he wanted to become a writer, and studied comparative philology and philosophy before eventually turning to medicine and receiving an M.D. in 1893. After military service and much traveling, he began practicing in Magdeburg but soon moved to Charlottenburg, where he worked as a general practitioner until 1910. After a prolonged sojourn in London and Paris, he hung out his shingle as a specialist "für seelische Sexualleiden" (for psychological sexual disorders). This clinical practice and Hirschfeld's scientific medical research strengthened his conviction that the social ostracism and legal persecution of the homosexual were inhuman, unjust, and without foundation. It was thus that he began his lifelong fight for the intelligent treatment of the sexually inverted.

The first battle included an attack on the German Criminal Code, Statute No. 175, which provided for a prison sentence of up to five years for the crime of sexual intercourse between men. In 1909, a draft for a new penal code included, in Statute No. 250, a serious increase in penalty for male prostitution, abuse of minors, and animal contacts. A petition to the Reichstag asked for the abolition or change of this statute. The document was signed by scientists, doctors, jurists, artists, and writers; in fact, the names of over 800 well-known Germans appeared on the list. That fight began in 1896 and is still going on.

The Scientific-Humanitarian Committee

In 1897, Hirschfeld founded and headed the Wissenschaftlich-Humanitäre Komitee (Scientific-Humanitarian Committee), out of which grew the Institute for Sexology, with headquarters in his home in Charlottenburg, Berliner Strasse 104. Here he practiced and, with one secretary, Georg Plock, did an incredible amount of correspondence, edited the *Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen* (*Journal for Intermediate Sex Stages*), and wrote the books that still rank as classics in the field of the problems of sex.

One branch of the work of the Committee, he explained, was devoted to science; the other was humanitarian, i.e., to help those who suffered from ostracism, persecution, extortion, and self-doubts leading to neuroses. The office

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in Charlottenburg became the Mecca of all who desired and needed his advice and help. Similar institutions were founded in Hamburg, Munich, Leipzig, Magdeburg, Hanover, and Amsterdam under the leadership of such men as Iwan Bloch, Ernst Burchart, and Carl Hoefft.

Jahrbuch für Sexuelle Zwischenstufen

The organ or mouthpiece of the Committee was the *Jahrbuch*, which had as its purpose the enlightenment of the public on the true nature of homosexuality and other sexual deviations. From 1899 until World War I it was published monthly; later, for lack of funds, it appeared only four times a year. This journal was edited with the cooperation of scientists, doctors, jurists, and literary scholars—408 individuals in all. Besides original articles, there were monthly reports of meetings, financial statements, bibliographies, and book reviews of all new works on the subject of sex, both scientific and fictional, most of them written by Hirschfeld himself. There were newspaper reports of blackmailing, sex crimes, and persecution of homosexuals, transvestites, and fetishists. The publication carried the complete story of the Oscar Wilde case (Vol. III, 1901). An appreciation of the personality and poetry of Walt Whitman by Edward Bertz appeared in Vol. VII, 1, 1905. There was, indeed, no lack in this journal of important works on sexology during the last years of the nineteenth century and far into the twentieth century. The journal is a treasure trove even for present-day researchers, for it contained writings by Havelock Ellis, August Forel, Max Hirsch, Hans Licht, Sigmund Freud, Paul Näcke, Iwan Bloch, Albert Moll, F. Krauss, and Numa Praetorius (Hirschfeld's pseudonym), to mention only the best known. Critical comments on Statute No. 175, and the proposed stiffening of the law through Statute No. 250, run through all the volumes of the *Jahrbuch.*

Inquiry of 1903

One of the outstanding pioneering activities of the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee was the famous Inquiry of 1903 on the incidence of homosexuality and bisexuality. Dr. A. von Römer in Amsterdam in 1901 had conducted an investigation on a sample of 595 university students with questions concerning homosexuality and masturbation. Hirschfeld, feeling the necessity of a larger sample, turned to the student body of the Charlottenburg Institute of Technology. A letter was sent to the 3,000 male students, appealing to them in the name of science and progress to answer this question: "Is your love (sex) instinct directed to women (W), men (M), or women and men (W & M)?" Enclosed in the letter was an open postal card, addressed to the Committee, showing W, M, W+M, and at the bottom the ages from 16 to 30. No name was to be signed; the proper letter and the figure showing the age were to be underlined. There were 1,756 answers; some letters could not be delivered, others could not be counted, and some individuals refused or neglected to answer. The net result of the inquiry showed: 94 per cent heterosexual, 1.5 per cent homosexual, 4.5 per cent bisexual. The reactionary press called it seduction of academic youth, molestation, and insult. Four students sued Hirschfeld, who was sentenced to a fine of 200 marks or ten days' imprisonment.

In 1904, the same kind of letter was sent to 5,721 Berlin metalworkers (addresses obtained from the German Union) with the additional request to underline twice the W or M in W+M, indicating which bisexual urge was the stronger. Ages were indicated from 18 to 60+. In all, 1,200 addressees were never reached; of the remaining, 41.6 per cent answered. No complaints were made. The result:

94.25 per cent heterosexual
1.15 per cent homosexual
0.73 per cent W + M
1.88 per cent $\underline{\underline{W}}$ + M
0.58 per cent W + $\underline{\underline{M}}$
1.41 per cent questionable

(The averages in the three investigations correspond; the von Römer average was 1.9 per cent homosexual).

The Institute for Sexology

Because of the literally thousands of patients who came to Hirschfeld's Institute for help and advice, in addition to the doctors and other men of science who wanted to conduct research with

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Dr. Hirschfeld, it became necessary to move to larger quarters. Soon after 1900 Hirschfeld bought with his private means one of Berlin's most handsome buildings, the palace of Prince Hermann von Hatzfeld, German diplomat, and originally the home of the famous violinist, Joseph Joachim. This institution became known as the Institut für Sexualwissenschaft (Institute for Sexology). On July 6, 1919, Hirschfeld formally presented it to the German people, along with its collections, library, and laboratories. After one year it became evident that additional room was needed for the Institute, which included a Department of Eugenics, a good-sized lecture hall, a surgery, laboratories, library, and exhibits. There was also lack of space to accommodate medical men and research workers coming to the Institute temporarily, as well as for cases brought in for observation and treatment. In 1921, the building next door was bought and remodeled. A restaurant became a lecture hall; stables in the back became exhibition and library rooms. In 1923, the Institute was recognized by the Prussian government as an institution beneficial to the public, and was named the Magnus Hirschfeld Stiftung (Foundation). The following departments were created: (1) Department for mental or emotional disorders, (2) Department for physical ailments and disorders of potency, (3) Department for sexual-legal matters, (4) Department for gynecology and marriage counseling, (5) Archives and ethnology, (6) Department of sexual reform, (7) Library, and (8) Ernest Haeckel Lecture Hall.

The "Hirschfeld Scrapbook"

One of Hirschfeld's devoted disciples and coworkers, Carl Th. Hoefft, Ph.D., chairman of the Hamburg branch of the Committee, compiled a huge scrapbook with the intention of eventually having it published. The scrapbook contains letters, invitations to conferences, pamphlets, handbills, posters, complete legal documents, minutes of meetings, questionnaires, announcements of lectures, tickets, book jackets—in short, everything indicative of the work of the Committee and the Institute, which were chiefly concerned with what Hirschfeld called Die homosexuelle Frage in ihrem Werdegang (the homosexual question and its development). Unfortunately, the "Hirschfeld Scrapbook" was never published, but it escaped destruction and is now at the Institute for Sex Research at Indiana University in Bloomington, Indiana.

Although the items are by no means arranged in chronological order, in leafing through the pages of the scrapbook one gets an idea of the wealth of activities carried on by the Institute. The clinical departments were accessible to anybody suffering from any kind of sex anomaly, real or imagined, with resulting nervous, social, or legal difficulties. Original letters from patients and some full case histories are included, as well as complete questionnaires, some with the patients' answers.

Consultation and treatment were free of charge for those unable to pay. The library, easily accessible to patients, scientists, and other visitors, contained a complete literature on sex pathology. On the occasion of the Fifth Congress for the Science of Heredity, September, 1927, a card of invitation to a reception for delegates and the press shows what the guests could expect to see: an exhibit of photographs; collections in the fields of anthropology, racial science, heredity, ethnology; the special library; and a presentation of selected cases. A number of original posters saved in the scrapbook announced lectures by doctors and scientists. Posters from as early as 1895 were preserved publicizing lectures on homosexuality. A pink handbill announced "the sensational lecture on the Dangers for Male Youth, for men above 18 only, in Altona," since no such lectures were permitted in Hamburg. Fifty years ago great care had to be taken to avoid difficulties with the police, offending people's sense of modesty, or misleading minors. The scrapbook contains a handbill for two lectures: "The Sex Life of the Male.—The Sex Life of the Female. For men in the main hall of a well-known Berlin brewery at 9:00 P.M. For women in a side hall at 8:00 P.M. Adults only. Nov. 1913." When Dr. Burchard was to give a series of lectures on homosexuality in Danzig in 1906, Hirschfeld thought it advisable to ask the chief of police for permission. In his letter of request he explained that such lectures had been given in five German cities, and that women and minors were, of course, excluded.

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Hirschfeld's Contribution

In the volume *Sex Anomalies and Perversions*, Hirschfeld condensed his life's work shortly before his death in 1935. His disciples published it in 1938, summarizing his contributions as follows:

1. Discovery that the quantity and distribution of sex hormones (andrin and gynecin) exert a decisive influence on the sexual personality.
2. Demonstration that all sexual anomalies are caused by irregularities of physical development.
3. Application of the findings of the psychoanalytic school to sex anomalies of physiological origin.

There is no doubt that Hirschfeld's contributions in the field of sex research have been important and have influenced the thinking of most of the workers who have followed him.

The work of the Scientific-Humanitarian Committee and of the Institute, located together in Berlin, continued until 1933. In that year the Institute was closed by the Hitler government, its material destroyed, its library publicly burned, and its workers driven into exile or sent to concentration camps. Hirschfeld fled first to Paris and later to Nice, where he died at the home of a friend on his sixty-eighth birthday.

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HEDWIG LESER

THE INSTITUTE FOR SEX RESEARCH

Beginnings

In July of 1938, Dr. Alfred C. Kinsey, then a zoology professor at Indiana University, began his epochal studies on human sexual behavior. For over twenty-five years prior to this time he had been doing intensive research in taxonomy and evolution, and had established himself as an authority in these highly specialized fields. For these studies Dr. Kinsey used the genus *Cynipid* (gall wasp). Through extensive field work in both the United States and Mexico he had collected several million of these insects, which he had examined microscopically, classified, and mounted. The statistical analyses that were necessary to comprehend the range and distribution of individual variation, as well as the similarities and differences between various local populations, required the collection of very large numbers of individual insects. As we shall see, it was undoubtedly this same spirit of breadth of investigation that led him in the direction of a statistical analysis of human sexual behavior.

In 1938 a lecture course on marriage for Junior and Senior students at Indiana University was instituted, and Dr. Kinsey was asked to give the lectures concerning the biological aspects of sex and marriage, as well as to be in general charge of the series. When he turned to the literature in the field of sex, he found to his amazement that, although much had been written, there were very few statistical studies of sexual behavior based on adequate samples. The best of the studies had only a few hundred subjects and these were highly selective.

At this time he began to consider the possibility of a statistical study of human sexual behavior on a nonselective, statistically adequate sample. Also, following his lectures in the marriage course, students, both married and single, were coming to him with questions about their own sexual adjustment. Again Dr. Kinsey was surprised to learn that the answers to these questions were rarely available in published sources.

Finally, after giving a talk one evening at one of the fraternities at Indiana University, he was bombarded with questions such as, "Is masturbation harmful?" "What effect does petting

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have on subsequent marital adjustment?" "Is homosexuality abnormal?" He turned to his audience and stated flatly, "Neither I nor anyone else knows the answers to many of these questions because of our lack of knowledge, but if you, and many like you, will be willing to contribute your own sexual histories, I will be able eventually to discover enough about human sexual behavior to answer at least some of these questions." The response was enthusiastic, and it can be assumed that for him this was the turning point from a study of insect taxonomy to the most extensive study of human sexual behavior that has ever been undertaken.

The Interview

In scientific investigation information is secured primarily by direct observation. However, in human sex research this avenue is blocked by our mores. Hence, a more indirect approach must be made.

The personal interview has been the tool utilized by the Institute for this purpose. The written questionnaire has been found wanting because of the dangers of faulty communication between the subject and the researcher, and because of the greater ease of falsification that it affords.

Over 300 separate points of information are covered in the sex histories. Subjects' experiences from earliest memories to the immediate past are recorded, with many cross-checks built into the history to be sure that cover-up, exaggeration, and misremembering are held to a minimum. External cross-checks are utilized, such as securing histories from spouses and reinterviewing the same subjects after at least a two-year lapse.

The recording of data is done at the time of the interview by using a complex coding system on a single sheet of paper. This serves several functions: (1) the interview may progress at normal speed without having to pause while the data are being recorded; (2) the confidentialness of the record is maintained; (3) the subject is reassured as to this confidentialness; (4) it allows for completeness—the interviewer can determine at a glance whether all questions have been asked; (5) the coded information from the history sheet may be transferred easily and systematically to IBM cards for statistical analysis.

The Sample

At the beginning of the research, the sampling was confined to Indiana University students and faculty. By the end of the first six months, 60 histories had been obtained, and at the end of the first year 300 were in the files. Early in the research it was discovered that there was a statistically significant difference in the sexual histories of college students and of persons who had never gone to college. Hence, by the end of the first year Dr. Kinsey had realized the necessity of widening his sample to noncollege people. In 1939 he began working at the Indiana State Farm, a state jail, and he also began taking histories of persons in surrounding small Indiana towns.

Random sampling was not considered possible for a sex investigation at this time. Instead, a one-hundred per cent sampling system was used. To avoid sampling bias caused by using only volunteers, *all* the persons in a group (such as a classroom, fraternity, factory, Sunday school, or rooming house) were interviewed. About 30 per cent of *all* histories in the Institute files have come from these one-hundred per cent groups, and most of the remaining cases have come from groups in which over 75 per cent were interviewed. By 1959 the Institute had 18,000 case histories taken by direct interview from persons in every part of the United States. About half are from males and half from females, with ages ranging from 3 to 90, and they represent a broad cross-section of the population of the country.

Financial Support

After about two years of work in the new field of human sexual behavior it became evident to Dr. Kinsey that this was a lifetime project. Although there was some opposition to the research by various individual faculty members at the University, the President and the Board of Trustees stood firm on the principle of the right of a competent faculty member to do *bona fide* research regardless of the unpopularity or controversial nature of the subject. Up to this time the work had been done without any outside financial support. Dr. Kinsey had already, from his own funds, hired Clyde E. Martin to help him with the gathering of data and

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statistical analysis; it was clear that this was just a beginning, that a bigger research staff would be needed, and that additional funds must be secured.

With this in mind, Dr. Kinsey in 1941 applied for funds to the Committee for Studies on Problems of Sex of the National Research Council to extend the scope of his work. By this time 1,600 histories had been secured, and he requested $1,600 for the following year. Dr. Robert M. Yerkes, chairman of this committee, Dr. George W. Corner, and Dr. Lowell J. Reed made a visit to the Indiana campus and approved the request for support of the research. The committee granted $1,600 for that year (1941–1942), raised it to $7,500 for the next, and to $23,000 for the third year. As the amounts were gradually increased, the staff expanded. By 1947–1948 the grants were totaling $40,000 per year, and remained at that figure until 1953–1954. All book royalties and all lecture fees paid to staff members have always been added to Institute funds; these have made up about a third of the entire cost of the research. Indiana University has supplied approximately another third of the necessary amount; the remaining funds have come from foundations. In 1957 the National Institute of Mental Health granted approximately $50,000 per year for three years to the Institute.

Later History

In April of 1947 the Institute for Sex Research was officially incorporated as a nonprofit corporation under the laws of the State of Indiana. This was done so that the Institute as a body could legally hold possession of its case histories, library, films, and other materials, and could officially receive royalties from its publications and other monies. The basic purposes of the Institute as set forth in its charter are:

(a) To conduct research on human sex behavior including its biological, psychological, medical, physiological, sociological, anthropological, and all other aspects by continuing and enlarging the research project on said subject heretofore carried on at Indiana University under the direction of Alfred C. Kinsey.

(b) To accept, hold, use, administer, and expend income, gifts, and grants of funds whether in the form of cash, securities, royalties, or any other form of property or income for use in connection with such research project.

(c) To acquire, hold, own, and administer research material, libraries, case histories, and other materials relating to the subject matter of said research project.

(d) To acquire, own, hold, rent, lease, sell, and convey such real estate and personal property as may be reasonably necessary to the carrying out of the Corporation's general purposes.

(e) To do all things reasonably incidental to the Corporation's general purpose which are permitted by law.

In the beginning the Institute was housed in the Biology building on the Indiana University campus, and occupied two rooms adjoining Dr. Kinsey's office. In 1950 it was moved to larger quarters on the ground floor of Wylie Hall. By 1955 the Institute was moved to permanent quarters in Jordan Hall, the new life science building which also contains the departments of Zoology, Botany, and Bacteriology. Fifteen rooms allow ample space for working quarters, library, files for records, collections, and rooms for visiting scholars. The present staff of twelve persons includes the six trustees of the Institute (with training in anthropology, psychology, sociology, and biology), a statistical calculator, two translators, a librarian, a photographer, and a secretary.

After ten years of research, the Institute in 1948 published its first major work, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male*. In it are detailed statistics concerning sexual behavior of a sample of more than 5,000 American males divided into different groups, e.g., educational, occupational, marital, age, and religious. Although very little advance publicity surrounded this publication, the American public purchased it so widely that the book remained at the top of the best-seller list for several weeks, and ultimately sold more than 250,000 copies. It was translated into a dozen languages.

The second volume, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, was published in another five years (1953). The Institute was unable to restrain the flood of prepublication publicity although the second volume was written as soberly and matter-of-factly as the first. This volume also sold about 250,000 copies and was translated as widely as the first.

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The third volume, *Pregnancy, Birth and Abortion,* was published in 1958. It analyzed the fertility records of the women whose case histories were on file.

On August 25, 1956, Dr. Kinsey died. Although his death was a tremendous loss to the Institute and to the world of science, he had established the Institute on such a sound and stable footing that the necessary reorganization and readjustment were accomplished easily. The trustees of the Institute (Paul H. Gebhard, Wardell B. Pomeroy, Clyde E. Martin, Cornelia V. Christenson, Alice W. Field, and Theodore W. Torrey) elected Dr. Gebhard as the Executive Director and Dr. Pomeroy as the Director of Field Research.

Resources

The case histories described earlier constitute the backbone of the research material at the Institute. However, they by no means comprise all the data available for study. In addition, a considerable amount of supplementary data has been gathered concerning many of the individuals represented in the case histories. For those persons who have spent time in an institution, such as a prison or mental hospital, the Institute has obtained much additional material to supplement the sex histories. This has been acquired through intake and progress reports, clinical evaluation, treatment reports, parole and probation reports, and psychological tests. Autobiographical accounts have frequently been sent in by subjects who wish to provide additional insight into their individual experiences. Very extensive, long-time diaries have been contributed by about sixty subjects. These consist of day-by-day running accounts of overt sexual behavior as well as attitudes and feelings concerning the behavior. These longitudinal studies have been invaluable in helping to understand the dynamics of sexual behavior, as well as in giving additional information on various aspects of sexual behavior of particular groups of individuals.

Nearly a thousand day-by-day sexual calendars, ranging from one to forty-five years in length, have been secured from both men and women. From these an analysis of sexual behavior by days of the week, months of the year, seasons of the year, and so forth, can be made. These individual calendars also permit a check on the accuracy of behavior reported in the case histories of the same individuals.

The Institute for Sex Research has become the primary repository for sexual artifacts from all over the world. Some 30,000 photographs of sexual action, as well as over 20,000 photographs of drawings and paintings, are in its archives. A collection of sexual objects from many different countries gives further insight into the sexual practices and interests of humans. All these collections are carefully catalogued as to source, subject matter, and period to facilitate subsequent analysis.

The phylogenetic aspects of human sexual behavior can be analyzed by the use of 120,000 feet of moving picture film showing sexual behavior in seventeen different species of mammals. From these films it appears that there is essentially no type of human sexual behavior for which a counterpart cannot be found in our mammalian heritage.

The library of the Institute consists of about 20,000 volumes, and is reputed to be second only to the Vatican Library in its scope in the field of sex. Its sections on biology, medicine, psychiatry, psychology, anthropology, sociology, religion, and the law include the scholarly contributions in these areas. Equally important, because they reflect public opinion on matters of sex and because they provide original data for study, are the sections on fiction, classical literature, Oriental literature, Islamic literature, poetry, erotic literature, sado-masochistic literature, marriage manuals, biography, art, and still other subjects.

The library of the Institute is open to trained research workers who have *bona fide* research projects under way, and to other specialists who have scholarly need for access to particular portions of the library. The Institute has neither the facilities nor the legal right to open the library to the general public.

In 1950 the United States Customs confiscated a shipment of erotic material that had been sent to the Institute from Europe. For the next seven years they continued to hold many (but not all) importations from abroad which they considered pornographic or obscene. In October 1957, the case was finally decided in a

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federal court in favor of the Institute. This means that the Institute now has the legal right to import, for purposes of scientific study, material that under ordinary circumstances would be considered pornographic, erotic, or obscene. However, the Institute holds this right only if it does not distribute these materials to others, and only if no one except the staff members of the Institute and other *bona fide* research scholars have access to them. The case histories and all other supplemental data gathered from persons who have been subjects for the Institute's research are maintained as confidential material and are not available to other workers in the field.

Contributions of the Institute

1. For the first time an over-all assessment of what people do sexually has been attempted. The sampling has been uneven, with the result that a much better understanding has been gained of the sexual behavior of the better-educated and younger sections of the population than of any other groups. To obtain sex histories from a sufficiently large number of persons in categories still to be adequately sampled will take many years. The present sample of cases has been subdivided by sex, age, marital status, completed education, occupational class of subject and parents, age at puberty, religion, degree of devotion to religion, rural-urban background, and decade of birth. These classifications make possible comparisons between these groups as to differences and similarities in sexual behavior.

2. New data on many aspects of sexual behavior have been published. An analysis has been made of incidence and frequency data, as well as of many other aspects, of masturbation, sex dreams, petting, premarital intercourse, marital intercourse, extramarital intercourse, prostitution, homosexuality, and sexual contacts with animals. The concept of total sexual outlet has been originated and developed. The relation of sexual response and orgasm to aging, social level, age at puberty, marital status, decade of birth, religion and degree of religious devotion, and rural-urban backgrounds has been presented in detail. The wide individual variation in sexual response has been documented and emphasized. The role that psychological factors play in sexual response has been explored. Specific data have been published on sublimation, clitoral versus vaginal orgasm, impotence, premature ejaculation, and frigidity. The relationship of prefrontal lobotomy to sexual response, concepts of normality and abnormality, and the use of induced abortion are included in a partial list of the subjects on which new light has been shed. On a few points the data from the Institute have tested some of the Freudian hypotheses, such as the sexuality of young children and the concept of levels of sexual development.

3. The Institute hopes that its work will encourage other scientists to initiate further research in the area of human sexual behavior. The availability of certain basic statistics on sexual behavior as described above makes it possible for other investigators to use these as controls against which to compare various experimental groups.

4. The Institute for Sex Research is at present the only existing repository in the world for all types of material relating to sex. It is being increasingly visited by scholars from many different disciplines who are using its facilities and data for their own studies. The study of human sexual behavior is of sufficient importance to warrant the existence of at least one organization such as the Institute for Sex Research.

Future Publications

Enough data have already been collected by the Institute to fill many books, monographs, and journal articles. As each piece of research is readied for publication, supplementary data will be gathered in that particular area.

The following is a list of some of the projected publications for which data have already been collected:

1. *Clinical problems in sexual behavior:* a summary of the scientific data on which clinical policies may be based;

2. *Development of sexual patterns among children:* data on how early attitudes and information are acquired and how they affect patterns of sexual behavior among adults;

3. *Drugs and sexual behavior:* the effect of the use of narcotics, marijuana, and alcohol on sexual behavior;

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4. *The erotic element in art:* the extent to which an artist's work depends upon his sexual background and behavior;

5. *Female and male prostitution:* a study of the overt activities of prostitutes, their personalities, the factors that account for their prostitution, and the social significance of their activities;

6. *The heterosexual-homosexual balance:* an analysis of factors that have contributed to the development of heterosexual, homosexual, or combined patterns of behavior;

7. *Institutional sexual adjustment:* a study of the sexual adjustment made by males and females in prisons, mental institutions, boarding schools, and the armed forces;

8. *Male genital anatomy:* extensive data from the male histories, supplemented with a series of observed data from some of the scientifically trained subjects;

9. *Sexual customs in ancient Peru:* an attempt to reconstruct the sexual life of the pre-Inca Indians of Peru, as reflected in their extensive art and pottery;

10. *Sexual factors in marital adjustment:* a manual for the use of clinicians and all married persons;

11. *Sex law:* a comparative study of statute laws concerning sex in the 50 states; an analysis of the historical development of the diverse state and federal laws; a study of the decisions of the review courts that have handled sex cases;

12. *Sex offenders:* an intensive study of persons who have been convicted of sex offenses as contrasted to persons who have been convicted of offenses other than sexual, and to persons who have never been convicted of any offense;

13. *Transvestism and transsexualism:* a study of persons who dress in the clothing of the opposite sex or who wish to change their sex.

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WARDELL B. POMEROY

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Smell and Sex, The Sense of

THE sense of smell as it relates to the sexual life of man has been given only scant treatment by researchers on sex or on olfaction. Probably the only serious sustained work of any length on the subject was that of Havelock Ellis, who devoted one section of his *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* to smell. Works of rather doubtful value have been written by Bloch (1934), Galopin (1896), Tardif (1899), and Fauconney (1903). There are occasional references to smell in Freud, and a psychoanalytic study of the sense of smell in neuroses and psychoses was made by Brill (1932). Most studies on sex (except those dealing with lower animals) have omitted smell, and philosophers of love (such as Stendhal) have devoted only a few sentences to this subject, although the poets, perhaps anxious to find imaginative figures of speech, have not failed to comment on the odors of their beloved. Researchers on olfaction are inclined to exaggerate the importance of odors in the sexual and amorous life of man, but offer little scientific evidence to validate their theories.

This scanty treatment of odor in relation to man's sex life is twofold in origin: first, the sense of smell plays a very minor, almost a negligible, role in the sex life of civilized man; and second, olfaction itself is a little-understood, little-studied phenomenon, the entire literature of which has failed to bring forth a single acceptable explanation of the nature of the olfactory stimulus and response. Systematic and scientifically valid studies on olfaction are rare. Inasmuch as sex also suffers from a lack of valid experimentation and from a myriad of ill-founded, unsubstantiated data, it is obvious that there would be a paucity of material that combines the two fields.

Man's sense of smell has diminished, although it has not disappeared. The infrahuman animal detects odors at far distances and discriminates between similar and seemingly similar odors. The dog is aroused by the smell of the bitch and uses his smelling apparatus exclusively, with no tactile contact, in presexual play. Ellis (1936) reports on a male dog who was aroused by another male dog after the latter has had intercourse with a bitch. The aroused male smelled the odor of the female in heat, and attempted sexual relations with the source of that smell.

Among a few animals in whom arousal by olfactory means is the major method of winning a mate, Darwin contended that the males in whom the scent glands were most highly developed were the most successful in winning mates. Hence, by the process of sexual selection, these scent glands became accentuated in the offspring. Thus, Darwin wrote:

> The development of these [scent] organs is intelligible through sexual selection, as the most odoriferous males are the most successful in winning the females, and in leaving offspring to inherit their greatly perfected glands and odors. . . . As the males of most animals search for the females, these odoriferous glands probably serve to excite or charm the female, rather than to guide her to the spot where the male may be found.

It is interesting that musk, highly valued as a perfume material and considered an "aphrodisiacal" odor (Zwaardemaker, 1895), should

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be so highly developed in those animals in whom the scent gland is the sexual attractant.

Whether the sense of smell in man declined as he became a biped (when the nose is closer to the ground, it can detect and trace odors the better—as witness the bloodhound, as well as snakes and lizards, whose sense of smell is highly developed), or whether this sense declined because it had largely lost its *raison d'être*, it has become a minor, almost vestigial, characteristic of civilized man. Supplemented, and supplanted, by more refined and exacting methods of perception and communication, the sense of smell is unable to serve to locate, identify, arouse, woo, or win the partner, and offers the partner little in the way of enhanced gratification.

Scholars traveling to lands still largely untouched by civilization have commented on the role played by smell in the sex life of primitive peoples. Some of these people are said to identify by means of smell; others, in contempt, speak of a person who does not have a smell. These passages in the works of naturalists and anthropologists seem to be few in number and narrow in scope, and the body of anthropological work adds up to a convincing picture of aboriginal man as being microosmatic (although perhaps slightly less so than Western man). If odor plays a larger role in the sex life of primitive than it does in civilized man, it nevertheless has an acutely minor role in his total sexuality.

In modern Western man, the use of odors to arouse members of the other sex is limited to the minor element of perfume, except for pathological cases of individuals who are aroused by odors of a fecal nature or by smells that would be considered repulsive by most people. Such instances of olfactory arousal may be linked with scatological arousal and may indicate a severe childish fixation or a manifestation of olfactory masochism.

In the latter case, the need of the individual to undergo punishment at the hands of the sex partner during the sex act takes on the form of being subject to "painful" olfactory stimuli. Inasmuch as the "pain" is inflicted by a partner who reflects the contempt of civilization for those enjoying repulsive and scatological odors, the olfactory masochist seems to be seeking humiliation and self-abnegation. This search for pain and punishment, rather than the search for gratification by odor arousal, may possibly offer a clue to analinctus. In fellatio and cunnilinctus the heightened odors that may arise from the sex partner are easily detectable; but the fellator or cunnilinguist is probably not seeking the odor and therefore finding the method of gratification; rather, he (or she) is enjoying the method of sexual activity and is aroused by all concomitant stimuli, of which smell is a minor one.

Although romantic literature (particularly poetry) has many references to fragrances, arousal because of a specific odor is rare in human beings. Actually, the ideal of civilized man is not the diminution but the disappearance of natural body odor, and its replacement, at least in the female and to a lesser degree in the male as well, by perfume.

Efforts to classify perfumes according to the degree of sexual arousal have been lacking in scientific validity; in fact, all efforts at odor classification have been challenged (Sagarin, 1950). However, perfumers generally regard odors of the musklike types as aphrodisiacal or ambrosiacal. These odors are not only found in the sex glands of several animals (musk deer, muskrat, and others), but are widely known in plant life and have been reproduced synthetically.

For most men and women, olfaction offers little sexual enticement and slight sexual excitement. Perfume advertising is almost entirely centered around the theme of sex, and although this may in part reflect the element of exaggeration characteristic of advertising generally, it is also a result of the difficulty of describing an odor except in imaginative evocation. Perfume is one attribute, albeit a minor one, in attracting and arousing a potential mate. In that respect, it is to be grouped with other cosmetics, general physical appearance, and the surrounding atmosphere conducive to a satisfactory sexual life.

If attraction and enticement by odor are rare, not so is repulsion. The advertisement of the lonely girl who has an unattractive odor emanating from her body is not entirely fanciful.

During precoital periods and during sexual intercourse, body odors are said to change, heighten, and intensify, possibly adding to total

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gratification; but this is on a secondary and not too conscious level and has been little explored to date, so far as published data are concerned.

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EDWARD SAGARIN

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Social Order, Sex and the*

Some Definitions

Sex

SINCE sex is basic to the social order—in fact, prerequisite to it—it may seem a bit like gilding the lily to define it. Yet the very fact of its ubiquity has led to such careless use of the term that a denotation of the meaning intended here is necessary for clear communication. As every layman knows, reproduction is one of the major organ systems, having the specific function of continuing the species. What every layman does not know is that the reproductive functions may be carried on in social contexts that place widely different values on them, thereby accounting for the divergent attitudes reported by anthropologists returning from the bush, and by the clinician working with members of different subcultures.

Complicating the picture still further is the fact that among various cultures the social roles of the two sexes bear variable relationships to the underlying reproductive functions, sometimes adhering closely to the biological *Anlage;* sometimes deviating to the point of reversal. In what follows we shall attempt to maintain a conceptual distinction between the biological and social roles of the sexes.

Social Order

Our introductory remarks have suggested that an adequate understanding of individual behavior may be attained only by reference to the social context in which it occurs. Far from representing an instinctive absolute, the dependence of sexual behavior on the surrounding social order is strikingly demonstrated by its relationship to position in the dominance hierarchy from fish to man. At the human level, social pressures are communicated to individual members by a system of symbols which constitute the culture. "Social order" is a term sufficiently broad to include animal organizations as well as human cultures. The principal focus of the present article, however, will be certain aspects of sexual behavior in contemporary American society.

Subhuman Societies

Birds and Lizards

Throughout the vertebrate array, basic reproductive patterns are influenced by the social orders in which they occur. In as low a species as the American chameleon, dominance status rather than the sex of the individual determines the kind of sexual behavior displayed on a given occasion. A male may express masculine behavior in the presence of a subordinate while acting like a female when confronted with a more dominant member of his own sex. Among birds, the pigeon—whose flock organization is very flexible—further demonstrates the dependency of mating on social status. It has been found that the bird with temporary dominance, whether male or female, usually displays characteristic components of the male mating pat-

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tern. Without multiplying examples, we may be safe in concluding from the evidence at hand that, although reproductive activities among species below the mammals seem to be primarily dependent upon internal mechanisms, they are subject to regulation and change by external factors.

Mice and Monkeys

When we reach the mammals, we find biological mechanisms less rigid in their operation and social influences correspondingly more numerous and complicated in their effects. Even as low a mammal as the rodent demonstrates dramatically the effects of social experience on the maternal behavior of male rats and mice after being caged with young.

Among primates, the over-all social structure defines the sex roles. Thus, in the macaque monkey and the baboon, dominance is closely correlated with the masculine, and subordination with the feminine roles. In the higher apes, greater variability appears. In gibbon society, the only sex differences are in the procreative act, social status resulting from personal qualities rather than brute force. For the chimpanzee, either sex may command priority although the male by virtue of his superior size and strength assumes the responsibility of guarding and defending the weaker females and juveniles. During the early weeks of a baby's life, the father remains close to his family, ready to lend the mother a helping hand.

It would appear from the evidence that, among primates, personality begins to play an important role in the community and that sexual as well as other specific forms of behavior must be viewed in relationship to the social order.

Preliterate Cultures

When we reach man, we find that social pressures transmitted through an intricate system of symbols shape individual conduct in every area of living. The value placed on procreation differs from culture to culture. Moreover, the range of behavior permitted men and women is redefined by each society. Whenever the struggle for existence is with "nature-in-the-raw," whether in the South Seas, the Old West, or the Chicago slums, there is little question of the muscularly stronger male's assuming the more strenuous role of coping with the physical environment while to the female falls the more sedentary lot of baby-tending and keeping the home fires burning. Certain basic regularities along these lines have been reported as underlying cultures with markedly different surface patterning of sex roles. In all, achievement appears as the chief preoccupation of the men; nurturing, of the women.

Sex as Growth

Margaret Mead, in her studies of New Guinea societies (1930), described two peoples with contrasting orientations for whom sex and sex roles have different meanings. Among the Arapesh, whose life centers around the concept of growth in its various aspects, sex is subordinated to child-rearing and seen as a form of nurturing. According to native belief, the child is the joint product of father and mother. Frequent intercourse between them is believed necessary to nourish the egg, but after it is safely launched, sexual abstinence is demanded. Immediately after birth, both parents share equally in caring for the infant. Erotic interest as such is not admitted. Rather than a highly charged affair, the sex act is apparently a comfortable mutual expression of affection.

Sex as Sin

Among the Manus of a generation ago, a very different picture of sex is revealed in terms of the over-all value system (Mead, 1930). This culture, like our own, was focused on the accumulation of wealth and property. Economic success was the goal of life, and the means to that end was trade.

Marriages represented one of the most important opportunities for investment because they provided for a variety of economic exchanges. Such investments were protected by a religion conceived of in terms of ancestral spirits, whose business it was to supervise their descendants' economic and sexual lives. Infractions of the strict sex code were analogous to our concept of "sin" with all its religious implications.

The sexual relationship between man and

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wife was reduced to crude biological function, stripped of warmth and strained by shame. There was no happy model of a close mother-tie to indicate what might be expected from the new relationship. On the contrary, the little Manus bride looked forward with dread to her first sexual experience. Frigidity and pain were her traditional lot, and every woman conveyed to her growing daughters her own aversion to the "humiliation" of coitus. Love as a rich, shared experience was not recognized. In Manus society at that time sex was not an end in itself but merely secondary to the predominant value of property ownership.

Revisiting Manus 25 years later, Mead (1956) reported a new attitude toward the feminine role. Whereas formerly women were expected to be docile and passive, now, following the American model, they are encouraged to become spontaneous and actively loving. The cultural discontinuity involved in the sudden change in this area is a source of conflict for those caught in it during the transitional period.

Sex as Art

In contrast to the bland interpretation of sex among the Arapesh and its devaluation among the Manus is the high saliency it possesses for the Marquesans. In this polyandrous society, sex may help to compensate for severe threats concerning the supplies of food and women. Erotic overvaluation helps to reduce the tensions associated with both these sources of anxiety. The sensual is woven tightly into the entire fabric of the society. Not only does it characterize adult relationships, but children are introduced to it in earliest infancy.

In the structuring of Marquesan personality, tenderness has been exchanged for sensuality at every stage of development. Masturbation is used by adults as a pacifier for infants. Sexual play is practiced in childhood and regular intercourse begun before puberty. Between puberty and marriage young people form a special group whose function it is to entertain at public ceremonies with singing, dancing, and sexual accommodation of male visitors.

Marriage is polyandrous, reflecting the disproportionate sex ratio. Her rarity lends glamour to the woman and enhances her value as a sex object. By the distribution of her sexual favors, she is able to control her husbands. It is she who takes the initiative in the sex act while the man plays up her erotic wishes by an elaborate ritual. In contrast to the Arapesh, the feeding function of the breasts is subordinated to their sensual uses. Since the woman's chief role is a sexual one, she is relieved of the burden of child care.

Although these few examples do not begin to cover the range of variation in sex evaluations among preliterate peoples, they all point to the necessity of viewing sexual behavior in the context of the culture as a whole.

American Core Culture

Middle-Class Sex Patterns

Within our culture, it would be a gross oversimplification to perceive sex in univalent terms. A glance at Ellis' *Folklore of Sex* (1951) is sufficient to dispel any illusion in that direction. Middle-class ideology is itself broad enough to permit conflicting evaluations of sex to exist side by side. Sex-as-sin, hardy survivor of a repressive age, can hardly fail to remind one of the old Manus society. The Puritan sex mores are gradually yielding to the new "fun compulsion," which tends to give sexual behavior a preciousness that would do credit to a Marquesan. At the same time, we should note the increasing emphasis on the importance of child development, with the new pressures on fathers to share in the nurturing of their offspring. This trend could lead to an understressing of the specifically erotic aspects of marital relationships that would do the Arapesh credit. While all these analogies are obviously overdrawn and oversimplified, the point is that in a culture representing a wide diversity of values, the mores as part of that culture are also bound to be characterized by a multiplicity of values.

The diversity of sex mores in the American core culture is revealed by an extensive study of letters and intimate conversations with a large sample of men and women from what Hirsch (1955) calls the "upper cultural" levels. It appears from this material that Victorian mores have actually if not officially given way to an era of greater sex freedom that permits wide variability in the interpretation of acceptable

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sexual behavior. Moreover, discrepancies between biological and social sex roles are the order of the day in a cultural segment where symbols may substitute for direct action in the struggle for existence. In many American families, sex typing still follows the European tradition, with the father serving as the more potent frustrater. In others, the parents share in both domestic and economic areas, while in still others, the domineering mother has taken the place of the authoritarian father as the pivot of the home.

Working-Class Variations

Further variations become apparent when we examine the subcultures that make up the American scene. Across the tracks certain value differences are reflected both in sexual behavior and in social sex roles. The more immediate impulse expression finds an outlet in direct heterosexual activity. Children's peer groups may discuss sexual relations freely before puberty, and status, as Davis (1944) has shown, is augmented by sexual experience. Masturbation, on the other hand, is more apt to be disapproved of as a perversion among working-class people, who narrowly channel their sexual expression in coitus, with comparatively little variation in technique and foreplay. In this connection, Kinsey *et al.* (1948) reported that manual and oral stimulation of the male and female genitals and of the woman's breasts occur more frequently in marriages in which at least the husband has attended college. These precoital practices occurred much less often among men who had not gone as far as high school.

As for social sex roles, in the slums as in the bush the more immediate contact with the environment demands a sharper division of labor between the sexes. Rabban's (1950) study of sex-role identification among young children showed that those from blue-collar backgrounds who were alerted earlier to the crude realities they would have to face made an earlier sex identification than did those from the suburbs. As a result of the greater parental stress on sex differences, these children became sensitized to sex-appropriate behavior in play, dress, and attitude as part of the sex-role pattern of their subculture and were able to internalize it earlier.

Color and Sex

In the South

Beyond the color barrier, social-class differences still hold. Among rural lower-class southern Negroes, vestiges of a folk culture have come down from pre-Civil War days when the "uterine family" was the nucleus of social life, with the mother as its recognized head. Remnants of this mother-cult may still be discernible in the easy sex mores, which put little emphasis on legal matrimony. Marriage more often follows than precedes maternity, motherhood serving to validate the woman's worthiness and maturity. In the cities of the South, the lower-class woman is still dominant over the man but Victorian sex mores have been adopted. As a consequence, illegitimacy has acquired an official stigma while natural motherhood has lost its folk meaning and dignity.

In the North

For the northern lower-class Negro, as for his white status peer, early heterosexual behavior is the rule, little boys often attempting intercourse as early as 7 or 8 years of age (Kardiner and Ovesey, 1951). Regular coitus with older women is the pattern followed by adolescents. In this group, masturbation is regarded as neither a necessary nor a desirable outlet. In the case of girls, first intercourse is earlier than for white girls of comparable background. Vestiges of the double standard, however, appear in the greater marital fidelity expected of wives than of their husbands. All trace of the naive value of motherhood as such has given way to a moralistic distinction between married and unmarried motherhood.

The Negro middle class parallels that of Caucasian society. Striving for upward mobility is indicated by a pattern of child-training practices according to which the value of respectability is thoroughly bred into the developing personalities through emphasis on impulse delay. The family, which has assumed the patriarchal monogamous form of the surrounding white culture, is the model for a good marriage.

Sexual behavior that is not congruent with such a goal is regarded as dangerous and infractions are severely punished. In sexual purity, the middle-class Negro has no peer. Continence and constancy are presented to the

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girl as the Cardinal Virtues, and although more latitude is allowed boys, there seems to be a pervasive reaction formation against sex, much as there is against dirt. In their zeal to ensure following the Caucasian ideal on the one hand, and to avoid confusion with Negroes of a lower class on the other, they have apparently overshot the mark and have paid a heavy price in impotence and frigidity.

Although officially the Negro family is no longer matriarchal, actually the mother has remained its mainstay. From the times when men were at an economic disadvantage in getting jobs, a tradition of the mother as protector and provider grew up that has lingered on in open conflict with the patriarchal ideology of the core culture. This partial sex-role reversal has had deleterious effects on the interaction between the sexes, lowering the woman's evaluation of the man and the man's evaluation of himself.

Sex Behavior in Acculturation

The myriad subcultures in contemporary United States provide a wide spectrum of values that color both biological and social sex roles. Here we find in purer form the various themes already noted in the core culture.

The Patriarchal "Latins"

To illustrate, the patriarchal structure of Italian- and Spanish-American groups predisposes them to a sharp dichotomy, associated with a double standard of sex behavior. Male dominance is highly valued as a power symbol. Aside from certain taboos regarding family and friends' families, a man is free to "play the field" and to regard all unprotected women as fair game. Women falling in the broad mother-sister category, however, are beyond the pale since the preservation of their virginity until marriage is implemented by the strictest sanctions in the culture.

The Matriarchal Irish

The Irish-American presents a very different picture. With the mother as the central controlling figure, the father takes on a more shadowy form. According to Irish tradition, sex is intricately bound up with a complicated familism and defection from the accepted mores is perceived as sin. Because of the cultural power of the Church, offenders are automatically declassed. Under this system, sex is generally de-emphasized and limited to procreation in wedlock. Mild, protracted courtships are usual; marital infidelity, rare; and celibacy, widespread.

These two examples of divergent subcultural evaluations of sex, although far from exhaustive, may at least remind us of the need to keep in mind the social context when attempting an appraisal of patterns of sexual behavior.

Some Implications

Role Discontinuity

Perhaps the most outstanding feature emerging from this brief survey is the variability in meaning given to sex by different social orders. Even in animals, sexual behavior is biosocial rather than purely biological. Among people, whether preliterate or members of our complex society, sex mores and the social roles of men and women are in continual flux.

The lack of specificity and constancy in sex typing is an undeniable source of confusion since there are no blueprints to guide the individual during the course of his socialization. Unlike many of the more homogeneous cultures, few precedents for the new generation are to be found in the previous ones. As we have noted, not even the simplest societies like the Manus of New Guinea are safe from the encroachments of "progress." In our own fluid culture, preparation of children for their future roles by the parent generation becomes worse than useless—it is definitely misleading, parents becoming negative models to be avoided rather than emulated. A girl of today, for example, brought up in the ways of her grandmother would lack the self-assertion needed to hold her own in the contemporary world. A boy in an analogous situation, on the other hand, might very well show too much self-assertion to make a good organization man.

Apart from the generation-long changes in sex-role patterning, there are the sudden discontinuities that arise from time to time while the individual is growing up. What is appropriate boy or girl behavior at one age may be altogether inappropriate a little later. For the boy, boisterousness gradually gives way to

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gentleness as an essential ingredient of the acceptable masculine pattern. For the girl, ideals of greater passivity or activity shift with bewildering swiftness at different stages. A feminine paradox that continues to plague the girl into adulthood is the repeated problem that arises in her relationships with men as to when to "play dumb" and when she can afford to "play it straight" in keeping with the intellectual and educational level she shares with them.

Sex-Identity Problems

The flexibility of social roles in a society that stresses the individual as the focus calls into question the Freudian assumptions concerning fixed role models. Although the very young child becomes aware that there are different social expectations for boys and girls and, as Brown (1958) has shown, early expresses his preferences for certain sex-typed objects and activities, unilateral identification with mother or father figures as preparation for a stereotyped sex role loses meaning in the varied domestic climate of the American home.

With authority between father and mother more evenly divided than in former times and far-off places, the respective sex roles may appear rather "fuzzy" from the child's perspective. Under the circumstances, however, a certain degree of ambiguity may be preferable to early fixity in order to make room for the modifications required to meet changing cultural demands. Where flexibility is the rule, the individual should not be forced into a specific pattern. He needs to be left free to choose and to integrate his various role experiences. If the home provides an atmosphere of harmony and acceptance, the child will internalize a positive attitude and be able to accept his sexual status along with other values. He will be able confidently to affirm his sex identity among his peers in whatever behavioral terms are currently appropriate to his age and circumstance. The parents' satisfaction in their own sex roles is the best recommendation for membership in whichever sex group the child belongs to. It is not necessary for him to imitate his parent's particular interpretation of the appropriate role. By the same logic, as Henry (1955) seems to imply, inversion may be assumed to result not so much from specific cross-sex identification as from the internalization of a negative self-image that includes the sexual as well as other areas of personality and is derived from an unhappy and insecure family situation.

Multiplicity of Role Choices

The variability that we have found to be characteristic of the development of social sex roles continues into adulthood, when a number of choices are open to members of both sexes. For women, the old-fashioned housewife and the newer-fashioned career girl stand at the extremes. The domestic woman, traditional in Western culture, is extolled by such classical psychoanalysts as Helene Deutsch (1945) and Therese Benedek (1952). At the feminist extreme, Simone de Beauvoir (1953) perceives women as a "second sex" forced to occupy what in her opinion amounts to a separate caste in society. The modern woman, however, is no longer faced with an either/or choice between these alternatives. Her problem is the much more difficult one of combining the female biological role with whatever social role would best express her particular needs and abilities. It is up to each individual to work out her special compromise between the two poles.

For men, there have also been role changes in line with the trend toward greater status equality between the sexes. Overlapping of social roles within the home as well as outside it has put "father" on a more intimate basis with his family. No longer is he cast as the distant ogre whose punitive image is invoked whenever the child disobeys the mother. Nor need he be downgraded as a mere "mother's helper." Fathers increasingly see themselves as active participants in the daily care, teaching, and play of their children. "Fatherliness," with all its connotations of gentleness and warmth, is gaining respect and acceptance in the culture. A study by Josselyn (1956) indicates that it is only those who have been overcontrolled by women, and consequently try to escape into a pseudomasculine world of drinking, swearing, and derogation of women, who see fatherliness as threatening to their masculinity.

New Role Integrations

Throughout our discussion we have stressed the need to keep separate the biological and

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social aspects of sexual behavior, which may be variously combined according to individual preference. In so far as individual preference follows natural cleavages, however, we should expect greater comfort to result.

The consistency with which certain sex differences have been reported strongly suggests that anatomy, if not destiny, at least plays an important part in setting the initial direction of male and female interests. Boys of all ages tend to be oriented toward motion, daring, and power; girls toward serving and conserving. We have previously referred to a similar sex difference in ethnological material. Underlying surface variations in code and custom among a variety of preliterate peoples, Mead (1949) found that males were found to be consistently preoccupied with achievement, and women with nurturing.

Approaching the problem clinically yet without adopting the masculine bias of the classical Freudians, Erich Fromm (1949) points out the fallacy of equating difference with efficiency. For him, differences in biological role have certain personality overtones. In the sex act, the male is put on his mettle to demonstrate his potency, while the female must wait for him to satisfy her. This fundamental difference in biological function underlies a tendency toward domination and achievement in men, and toward dependency in women. According to Fromm, it accounts for the "masculine" traits of initiative, activity, and courage, and for the "feminine" traits of patience, reliability, and charm. But since such characteristics, even though biologically derived, blend with those directly produced by culture, they may be played up or down in a given society and would not justify a universal casting of men and women in different social roles.

In any case, there is too much overlapping between the sexes in contemporary American society to risk a forced dichotomy in the ascription of social roles. As Komarovsky (1953) has pointed out in a discussion of women's education, woman's "nature" would be just as much violated by being forced into a feminized curriculum as by what is called the "imitation" of men. In other words, since the chief differences are between individuals rather than between the sex groups, sufficient flexibility must be permitted to foster the talents of individuals irrespective of their sex membership. In so far as there are strong biologically determined predilections, however, the modal activities of the two sexes may be expected to gravitate around them by choice. Although pressures toward narrow sex-typing would do violence to the individual, all lines of evidence suggest that close congruity between biological and social sex roles provides the richest emotional rewards.

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GEORGENE SEWARD

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Soviet Union, Sex in the

The Setting

THE Soviet Union is a multinational state, with the Great Russians and their Slavic cousins, the Ukrainians and Belorussians, constituting about 75 per cent of the population. This study shall confine itself to the Russians as the most articulate expression of the mores of that Slavic majority. Most Russians come from Greek Orthodox Christian families, although a large proportion of those born and educated since the 1917 revolution regard themselves as agnostics, "nonbelievers," or atheists. But the break with the church has not erased Orthodox Christianity's teachings and mystique with regard to right and wrong, good and evil, sin and confession.

Within the last thirty years, the Soviet Union has changed from a predominantly peasant land, with the specific sexual habits of the Russian village, dominated by the local priest (who in the Orthodox Church is permitted to marry and, among Russians, usually had children), to a country half village and half overcrowded city.

In the city, the largest external factor in sex life is the absence of privacy of bedroom, toilet, and bath. Until the post-Stalin regime launched a massive urban housing program, only "upper-crust" urban couples had enough private space to enjoy thoroughly, or become thoroughly satiated, with each other's sexual company. For the vast majority of urbanites, a private bedroom—occupied only by a male and female adult—is still the exception; a private room and bath for a couple is still the badge of the upper class. For most married couples and young people in Moscow, Leningrad, Kiev, Kharkov, Odessa, etc., conditions of domestic sexual privacy, as they prevail in the West, are still a dream. Millions of couples still share their bedchamber with children, parents, grandparents, in-laws, or boarders. In the age of Soviet nuclear advances, there are still millions of men and women whose nuptial bed is still separated by a mere curtain or a screen from the lonely crowd of blood relatives, in-laws, and subtenants. Because man is an adaptable animal, unwritten rules help to create the illusion of sexual privacy where there is none. We can assume also that would-be love-makers welcome those interludes when grandma is at the movies, daughter at a dance, or the other tenants off to the country. Perhaps these adverse conditions create their own compensations and sense of sexual adventure. On the other hand, modern Soviet society is strewn with marriages that have been destroyed on the domestic battlefields of communal bedrooms, kitchens, and toilets.

These conditions in the cities do not, however, represent a complete break with the sex climate of the primitive peasant hut of prerevolutionary Russia. When peasants flocked into the new factories in the early thirties, few were exchanging idyllic country cottages for city slums. Peasant huts often crowded parents, children, and grandparents into a single room and common beds. Sexual privacy could be found under the open sky, in the fields, but in the home itself, children were born, bedded, and raised on the very field of love on which they were conceived.

Only in very recent years, as technology and industry have begun to give millions of citified peasant sons the tastes of the Western middle

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classes, has the idea of domestic privacy become a major social goal, spurring the regime to more housing construction and the production of more and more domestic comforts formerly decried as petit bourgeois.

Woman

The basic element in the Soviet sex picture is the unique role of women in Russian society. To this day, millions of Russian women still earn their livelihood, or help support their families, by heavy physical labor. Women constitute a major work force on the farms and in industry; more so than before the revolution, because two great wars (1914–1918; 1941–1945), the civil war (1918–1921), collectivization (1929–1933), and mass purges (1937–1939) have decimated the male population. Women also play a greater role in certain arduous professions than they do in the West: for example, the great majority of doctors in the Soviet Union are women. Moreover, Soviet women played an active role in the last war, tending the wounded under fire, fighting as partisans, digging antitank trenches, manning factories under artillery and air attack. Even the daughters of the "upper crust" and the coeds in Soviet high schools and colleges are mainly of hard-working peasant or worker stock. Only in very recent years has a small minority begun to enjoy leisure, cultivate their appearance, and eat the balanced food that makes for slim health.

Whether a largely carbohydrate diet, hard physical labor, drab clothes, and poor housing conditions have robbed the majority of Soviet women of their essential femininity is another question. If the test is external appearance, fashion-plate sleekness, provocative dress—or undress—then, by Western standards, most Soviet women are not particularly feminine. But femininity is a matter of definition. Note the common complaint of American men, particularly those with wartime sexual experiences abroad, about the lack of femininity of the American female, despite the fact that she is probably the most pampered, best dressed, best fed, and best housed girl in the world.

In prerevolutionary Russia, the daughters of the nobility, land-owning aristocracy, and educated middle class were among the most elegant women in Europe. Many of them learned foreign languages from childhood, spent holidays abroad, followed the latest Paris fashions. Through generations of selective breeding, the female élite of Russian society, notably in the salons of St. Petersburg, had as much grace and beauty as the women of any cultured caste society from ancient Greece to modern India. The pages of Russian classical literature are filled with glittering images of Russian feminine beauty, elegance, and passion. It is enough to evoke the heroines of Russian literature from Lermontov and Pushkin through Tolstoi, Turgenev, and Dostoevski to Chekhov and Bunin in the recent past to prove the power of feminine beauty and spirit in Russian society of the prerevolutionary age. But even in the backward villages of old Russia, where neither Paris gowns nor literary salons could be found, young peasant girls very often possessed the unique grace and beauty of primitive rustic society. These girls, with their fresh good looks and strong bodies, bloomed at 16, worked and loved in the fields, bred large families, calmly accepted good fortune and tragedy, often gave birth—or died in childbirth—in the fields without a midwife, saw half their children carried off by hunger or epidemics long since conquered by medicine, and were old at 40 through too much toil, privation, and child-bearing.

The tragedy of the Russian peasant girl is perhaps best epitomized in Tolstoi's *Resurrection*, whose heroine, seduced by a young nobleman who had once been her childhood playmate, emerges through tragedy and degradation as a fortress of new strength and moral courage. To this day, through the trials of war, revolution, civil war, collectivization, and mass purges, through Nazi occupation and the austere years of postwar reconstruction, such peasant girls remain the heart and backbone of the Soviet land. They remain much the same today in their essential inner toughness, sincerity of emotion, and capacity to endure suffering and enjoy life. Today they are bearing fewer children, electricity is beginning to reach their homes, and literacy is much more widespread among them. In the coming generation, they too will be increasingly exposed to the Western domestic comforts that are already reaching the

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cities. But, whether daughters of the upper caste or peasants, natural grace, passion, and toughness of spirit remain striking characteristics of Russian women.

The Russian woman of today—both the middle-aged mother and her teenage daughter—is the product not only of hard-working Soviet society; she is conditioned also by the heroines of widely read nineteenth-century Russian literature. These figures help to shape her being and her dreams. And the moral standards of that literature, whose hallmark is emotional sincerity, both reflect and shape the national character. Because in the Soviet Union the Hollywood type of mass entertainment is rigidly curbed by the state, because there are no slick and pulp magazines devoted to love, crime, adventure stories, cosmetics, and "true confessions," the national literature continues to play a role that is probably without counterpart in the West. Only recently has general hunger for Western culture, shoddy as well as substantial, begun seriously to challenge the formative monopoly of the Russian past and the Soviet present. Now, for the first time on a large scale, highly individualized and therefore —by traditional Russian and Soviet standards— "nihilistic," "bourgeois," and "decadent" values are competing with collective and national ideals. Most great Russian writers and critics of the nineteenth century, no less than Soviet ideologists today, regarded individual happiness, individual search, and individual fulfillment as subordinate to some national, social, or religious end. Genuine liberalism, which held individual freedom to be the basic prerequisite of the good life, remained a relatively weak force. Not only the harsh realities of Russian life but the values of Russia's great writers and thinkers led the strong woman to subordinate individual happiness to some greater good—or evil.

Of course, both in big cities and in provincial centers, there always were—and are again—the wives and daughters of the *nouveau riche,* greedy and half-educated, who are, as their sisters everywhere, interested mainly in social climbing and petty intrigue. Moreover, at the top of Soviet society, as in the pre-Soviet past, all the vices of indolent wealth can be found. And at the bottom, village poverty and urban slums remain breeding grounds for prostitution, incest, rape, and murder, as in any society where ignorance, squalor, and violent appetite meet. But the organization man's spouse, protected and coddled by her split-level house, retirement plan, and country club membership, spending a good share of the national income on cosmetics, clothes, and work-saving devices, has just begun to capture the attention of Soviet women. The vast majority remain, often reluctantly, in a world of great social goals, imbued by tradition and experience and spurred by a sense of destiny. Now the middle-class social revolution is beginning to invade this world of austerity, passion, and ideals that subordinates individual happiness to a collective goal. What this new revolution will do to the Russian woman remains to be seen.

For the present, as Admiral Stevens suggested in his perceptive book *Russian Assignment,* the contemporary Soviet Russian woman still seems close to the following picture found in Tolstoi's *Cossacks*:

> The Cossack looks on woman as an instrument of his well-being; he permits young girls to gad about, but he compels his peasant woman to work for him from youth even to advanced old age, and he regards a woman with an Eastern demand for submission and labor. As the result of such a view, the woman who develops intensively both physically and morally even though she is externally submissive, obtains, as generally in the East, an influence and weight in domestic life that is beyond comparison greater than in the West.
>
> . . . [The man] feels confusedly that everything he uses and calls his own is the product of this [woman's] work, and that it is in the power of the woman, mother or wife, whom he counts his serf, to deprive him of everything that is of any use to him. Moreover, the continual masculine, heavy work and the worries that are entrusted to her hands have given a particularly independent, masculine character to the . . . woman and to a surprising degree have developed in her physical strength, decisiveness and firmness of character.

Admiral Stevens remarks that "although in most countries it is probably true that women pursue men more than is commonly admitted, there seems to be something in the Russian man that demands this reversal of the usual relationship. The spirit of Tatiana's letter confessing her love to Eugen Onegin is repeated over

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and over again throughout Russian literature, sometimes subtly, as in Turgenev's women, sometimes baldly and directly as over and over again in [the Soviet novel] *Grim River*."

When Stevens asked whether Russian women swear at their husbands when they get drunk, the reply was: "That depends on who holds the power in the family. If a man does not seize the power when he first marries, he is apt to have a rough time of it."

Man

The Soviet male is—as is man in every society—a paradoxical figure. The "successful" Soviet male pays just as heavy a price to get ahead, in his way, as does his American brother. In prerevolutionary Russia, the idea of dedicating one's life to hard work was not held in high regard. The aristocracy despised toil, the intelligentsia found greater gratification in the interplay of ideas; the men of the villages spent as much time wallowing in sloth, drinking, gambling, love-making, and exploding into violence, arson, and insurrection as in tilling the fields. Nor did the pre-Soviet proletariat concentrate on a life goal of individual economic security through hard work. Instead, workers flocked to political parties that promised the end of "the exploitation of man by man," the classless society that would ultimately liberate man from unpleasant toil. The diligent peasant, who expanded his fields and his possessions and hired others to work for him, was often the object of envy and scorn. The relatively small class of industrialists and merchants, who worked hard and exploited others to amass fortunes, was held in rather low esteem by aristocrats, workers, and peasants alike.

In Russian eyes, conscientious and efficient work was the mark of the Englishman and the German; when combined with shrewdness, it was the sign of the Armenian or Jew. A "true" Russian had "better" things to do with his life than to waste it in the countinghouse, the business office, the factory, or the corner store. The battlefield, the hunt, the gambling den, the legalized house of prostitution (medically inspected and patronized by all classes), the pogrom, the peasant revolt, the political strike and mass demonstration, the religious orgy in which prayer, song, and vodka often went together, and, finally, the terror and ecstasy of revolution—these were some of the things that filled the life of the Russian male with so much violence, excitement, tragedy, and chaos.

In the Soviet era, this easy male turbulence, with its cycles of animal vigor and lassitude, has been attacked by a Communist puritanism which measures a man by his services to society —as defined and rewarded by those in power— rather than by the fulfillment of his own unique capacity for self-expression, creation, and individual happiness.

The Soviet system has tried to put work on a pedestal. In its efforts to tame the Russian male, it created the title of "Hero of Socialist Labor" and rewarded pace-setters in factories and mines with bonuses, creating a privileged caste of workers whose marks of achievement were the tonnages of coal they mined per day. It published the names of inefficient workers on billboards; sent chronically absentee workers to forced labor camps; invaded lunch hours and evenings with tiresome lectures on the virtues of still more work; installed loudspeakers in public parks to hammer the state's production goals into the minds of workers even on their holidays and picnics. "He who does not toil shall not eat" became the supreme law of the land. All these devices, combined with long hours of work, low real wages, endless queues, and a multitude of supplementary collective work chores, called voluntary but in fact compulsory, left a minimum of energy and time for the joy of living.

Because work was pushed so far beyond its possible contribution to individual welfare and happiness, no Soviet penal sanction could prevent loafing on an even more grandiose scale than had existed under the most inefficient Czarist bureaucracy. Thus, even as production increased and cities rose under the whiplash of Stalinist discipline and premium payments to the diligent, as modern tools replaced hand labor and the wooden plow, millions of Russian men continued to prefer vodka, woman, and song to the bonuses, privileges, and medals of the state.

Since World War II, and especially since Stalin's death, the Soviet regime has been forced to recognize that in a modern industrial

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society, further economic growth, as well as military-technological might, depends on greater efficiency and less slave-driving. It has shortened work hours, increased real wages, and produced more consumer goods. But Soviet man is still far from liberated from the driving hand of the state. His basically emotional, impatient, moody, effusive, generous, and violent nature still finds relatively few spontaneous outlets compatible with material or career success. He can, of course, become an outlaw, and the admittedly high crime rate, including large-scale juvenile delinquency, is proof enough that many choose this path. But he cannot freely chart an individual life unless he has demonstrated exceptional scientific or artistic talents that the state needs for its power and prestige. The ordinary Russian cannot raise money to start a pioneering enterprise of his own, except in defiance of the law. He cannot quit the laboratory or assembly line to open a gas station or a bar and grill. He cannot mount a soapbox to express his personal views. He cannot pick up his savings and emigrate to France, or join the Foreign Legion, or campaign for public office on a program of "throw the rascals out," or start a stockholders' action to force a company in which he owns shares to distribute profits more equitably, or form a cooperative to force consumer prices down, or organize a youth club to fight the local Young Communist League, or print a school paper advocating the teaching of St. Thomas or the Talmud. He cannot freely sell the produce of his brain and hand or start a crusading newspaper. Nor can any but a tiny minority board a plane or tramp steamer for a vacation in Rome, or save up for a month of private fishing and reflection on some Siberian river. In other words, his life is surrounded with external inhibitions and restraints that would make the most pliant American organization man and status-seeker wince. The free battlefields for creative male activity, as democratic society knows them, with all their perils and opportunities, scarcely exist for the Soviet male. He remains an instrument of the needs, appetites, and aspirations of the society in which he lives, rather than the master of his fate and pilot of his individual capacity for either creative effort or pleasure.

If all civilization is, to some extent, a repressive force, curbing man's innate appetite (Boris Pasternak says every man has the capacity to be a Faust and experience all things), and if modern technological society further constricts the opportunities for male self-expression, then in the Soviet Union the taming and curbing features of modern civilization conspire with authoritarian state power against the Russian male's exercise of his birthright to be himself.

By the Renaissance definition of Man—if to be a man means to live by one's full individual capacity to love and to fight for one's convictions and ideals—every man in Soviet society is somewhat of a failure. But because every man in the Soviet Union is in approximately the same boat, there is perhaps less conscious feeling of individual failure and inadequacy. In this respect, the civilian life of man in the Soviet system bears some resemblance to that of a draftee in the army of a democratic society. To men born and educated in a relatively free society, the army appears as an institution in which every absurdity, senseless command, and demeaning chore, from latrine duty to the repetition of commands by rote, is to be expected. The private, whether a prizefighter, scientific genius, or grocery clerk, is necessarily reduced to a tamed common denominator of automatic obedience. Yet, for the "adjusted soldier," obedience involves no profound loss of self-respect, because all that is demeaning is accepted as partly sham, part of the army game. A good part of the surface servility of the Soviet male, of his dutiful response to the orders of those in command, has something of the same hollowness and detached irony as the American GI's response to command, while a large part of his inner life, and of his individuality as a male animal, remains aloof, resentful but substantially untrampled. This double existence, marked by lip-service obedience and repetition of the official line, is not inconsistent with a subterranean freedom of the spirit and, as in the army, with a robust capacity for life and love.

The revolt against authoritarian restraint found its most violent mass expression in the wholesale rape committed by the soldiers of the Soviet Army in their march across Central Europe during the closing phase of World War II. In the cities and villages of Austria, Hun-

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gary, and Germany, females of all ages, including women in their seventies, were raped on a scale unprecedented in modern history. Revenge for the monstrous slaughter and devastation inflicted by Hitler's armies on the Russian motherland was certainly one of the driving forces in this great orgy. Another factor was the release of emotion at the end of the bloody carnival of death on the battlefields, on which millions of Soviet soldiers saw their comrades die before their eyes. So was the pent-up desire for love, even in a degraded form, after four years of mass murder. The same Russian soldier who in his native town used to court his best girl with love poetry of Pushkin, took every female in his path by force. In the immediate postwar period, the backwash of this saturnalia hit the cities of the Soviet Union itself. Girls were attacked in the streets of Moscow by returning veterans, and special military patrols had to be called in to restore domestic tranquillity.

The Family

On the eve of the 1917 revolution, the stability of the family had been severely shaken by nearly three years of war, which had killed several million soldiers and separated millions of Russian wives and sweethearts from their men. International war was followed by a savage civil war that took another heavy toll of able-bodied men and by the emigration of the better part of the surviving Russian intelligentsia and middle class. The early years of Communist rule thus saw the disappearance or destruction of cultured Russian society. In those early days of Soviet rule, the end of "bourgeois morality" was an avowed objective of the state. The Leninist charge that "bourgeois morality" was nothing more than a hypocritical code to justify human exploitation resulted in the frank disavowal of all morality that did not serve the interests of the state.

During the first years of Soviet rule, for example, not only bigamy and adultery, but even incest was dropped from the statutory list of crimes. Religious marriages were no longer recognized by law, and the civil registration of marriage was reduced to a speedy formality. Divorce could be obtained quickly and cheaply, at the wish of either party. During this period, which anti-Soviet propaganda abroad called the era of "the nationalization of women"—a vast exaggeration during even the bloodiest days of the Russian civil war—a poll at Moscow University (1922) showed that 41.5 per cent of the students began their sex life before 16 and 7.5 per cent before they were 13 years old.

Abortion was legalized but was rigidly controlled because the state wanted a high birth rate to compensate for the losses of war and civil war. In the case of a first pregnancy, abortion was authorized only if supported by urgent medical considerations. Moscow statistics for 1927 showed that 40.8 per cent of abortions were for medical reasons, 57.1 per cent were permitted on economic grounds, and only 2.1 per cent for other reasons. Neither the unmarried status of the girl nor the desire of the couple to plan the size of their family was accepted as valid grounds for abortion.

By 1936, however, the restratification of Russian society and the re-emergence of a privileged élite resulted in a sharp swing back to "bourgeois" moral standards. In that year the law legalizing abortions was abrogated. Divorce laws were tightened. Each divorce was registered on the individual's internal passport; then substantial fees were introduced. Finally, under a 1944 law, no absolute ground for divorce was recognized, except the political disloyalty of the spouse. A couple seeking a divorce first had to face a tribunal that attempted reconciliation. If that failed, a superior court weighed the petition and decided on a discretionary basis.

The aim of the 1944 law was clear from its title: "Decree on increase of state aid to pregnant women, mothers with many children, and unmarried mothers; on strengthening measures for the protection of motherhood and childhood; on the establishment of the title 'Mother Heroine' and on the institution of the order of 'Motherhood Glory' and the 'Motherhood Medal.'"

Under this law, the distinction between legitimacy and illegitimacy was restored; unmarried persons and parents of only one or two children were subjected to special taxes, while mothers with a large brood received progres-

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sively larger subsidies. A woman who had borne and raised ten or more children was entitled to the "Mother Heroine" award, carrying a lump payment of 5,000 rubles, plus 300 rubles monthly for four years.

The primary reason for the 1944 law was the huge population losses of collectivization and World War II. According to Winston Churchill, Stalin's own estimate of the losses caused by collectivization was 10 million lives. Reports at the 20th Communist Party Congress in 1956 showed a war population loss, including the birth deficit, of 30 to 40 million. Hence, the total population depletion through collectivization and World War II totaled about 35 to 50 million—or roughly equivalent to the population of France.

Despite the 1944 breeding incentives, urbanization, universal education, and the general awakening of middle-class tastes and appetites continue to reduce the urban birth rate. The realities of Soviet urban life again forced the legalization of abortion in 1954. Advocates of birth control, however, are still denounced as "fascist man-hating cannibals." To encourage child-bearing, pregnant women are entitled to wages while on maternity leave (extended, by decree of April 1, 1956, from 77 to 112 calendar days). Divorce remains expensive and difficult to obtain.

Soviet Youth Today

Russian youth as a whole does not talk much about the psychopathology of sex; knows little about Kinsey, the neo-Freudians of the West, or the latest birth-control rituals; regards homosexuality as the preserve of the ballet, the prison, and the Moslem territories of Soviet Central Asia; does not make love in public (as some Western visitors have noted with satisfaction); and indulges in little hypocrisy about love. Here is how a pert young blonde at the Black Sea resort of Sochi described her attitude to an inquisitive American:

> "What do we need night clubs for? There's the moon, there's the beach and there's boys."
>
> As an afterthought, she added:
>
> "The only trouble is, sometimes there aren't enough boys."

Another foreigner who talked with a group of boys and girls on a Moscow park bench quoted them as saying there was very little "going steady" among the youngsters they knew, although sometimes affairs did last for a while. The usual date started with several hours of strolling, even in winter, generally in groups of two or three couples. If one of them had a room with a radio, the evening often turned into a party with several couples making love in the same room. When asked whether this was not unusual, they said: "Look, it happens all the time. You've got to understand—this is our life."

Among the young people in the cities, interest in cosmetics, beauty parlors, and Western clothes increases steadily. During the war, the movie *One Hundred Men and a Girl* made Deanna Durbin a model for thousands of Soviet girls. Later, the showing of old Tarzan films started an epidemic of Tarzan and Jane haircuts for boys and girls. In 1957, a Western-style jazz band at Leningrad University was the rage until it was put out of business. But short-wave jazz broadcasts from America continue to enjoy great popularity. "Come up and listen to my tape-recording of the latest American hits" is one of the favorite ways to attract girls.

A visiting American professor describes the following evening scene in Leningrad: "Two thousand or so youngsters dancing to fox trots, waltzes and a Soviet form of jazz. Mostly the couples just swayed back and forth, but there was also some fancy jitterbugging, obviously modeled on American dancing, even whistling when the music seemed to call for it."

The Young Communist League wages an endless battle against Soviet youth's intense interest in Western music, clothes, films, art, and literature, on the ground that such influences are decadent and corrupting. But these sermons are self-defeating because often lectures against rock'n'roll and juvenile delinquency are combined with tirades against French impressionism, atonal modern music, Camus, James Joyce, the revival of religious weddings and baptismal services, and interest in the political heresies of Polish and Hungarian youth.

To compete with the esthetic and emotional appeal of the Orthodox wedding ceremony, the

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Young Communist League has been forced to campaign for more colorful and solemn civil weddings and has bowed to youth's desire for smarter clothes and better housing—even to the extent of promising special housing projects for young honeymooners.

Moreover, even Soviet films have begun to reflect the new climate. In the Stalin era, when squalid living conditions went hand in hand with official prudery, the passionate love scene was taboo. In the past few years, love for love's own sake has returned to the Soviet screen. The film that broke the ice was Chekhov's *The Anna Cross,* starring a ravishing young blonde and featuring a betrayed old fool of a husband, a flock of lecherous suitors, gypsy songs, imperial balls, and predawn sleigh rides, all in brilliant color. Many recent love films have been more in keeping with Soviet official morality, but even in these, love rather than politics dominates. Thus, the international prize-winning film *The Cranes Are Flying* is the story of a girl driven by loneliness to betray her lover, who fights and dies at the front. And in the recent *The House I Live In* the wife of a dedicated Soviet scientist, who is too busy for love, is also unfaithful. Both women are, nonetheless, portrayed sympathetically. But in the Russian tradition, they are basically moral and passionately devoted to a single man. As in *Anna Karenina,* infidelity is the core of the tragedy.

As in the United States, youthful criminality is a serious postwar problem. A study on drink and delinquency in the Soviet Union concludes:

> Young adults of today are part of the "war generation" brought up without parental supervision under conditions of severe deprivation and often forced to fend for themselves. . . . These young men and women may have found it difficult to adapt themselves to a more orderly life. They may prefer to keep on dodging work and living on the fringes of Soviet society.

In 1956, two sons of Soviet Minister of Foreign Trade Kabanov and another young man were arrested for robbing apartments to finance what the Soviet press called "sex orgies." Their accomplices were the daughters of an army general, an air force colonel, and a secret police colonel. In August, 1957, a Moscow paper reported that three postgraduate students of the Academy of Sciences tried to rape a 17-year-old girl, who broke her vertebrae and both legs in a four-story leap to escape. The victim of the attack had been picked up as she was strolling with a girl friend through the streets of the Soviet capital during the World Youth Festival. When the students introduced themselves as members of a foreign delegation, the girls accepted the invitation to the Academy hostel. Here one of them managed to flee when she discovered her mistake. The case attracted wide attention because one of the assailants, Shamo Ragimov, was the son of the chairman of the Writers Union of the Azerbaijan Soviet Republic. In July, 1958, a noted Soviet soccer star was sentenced to twelve years in prison for raping a girl during a drunken country-house party.

A foreign student recently at Leningrad University quoted a girl as saying that the frequency of sex crimes in that city, the most European in Russia, made all but the main thoroughfares unsafe after dark. How often such things occur in the Soviet Union remains an official secret because press accounts appear only sporadically, when they serve some specific campaign of the regime. That they constitute a major problem is evident, however, from the post-Stalin reintroduction of the death penalty for murder and other crimes of violence. (The death penalty for nonpolitical crimes had been abolished in Russia in the eighteenth century, during the reign of Empress Elizabeth.)

The government has long claimed that prostitution disappeared from the Soviet Union together with other evils of the prerevolutionary social order. In reality, it thrived illegally through all the years of widespread poverty, when Russian girls, not very different from Sonya in Dostoevski's *Crime and Punishment* could be had for a pound of black bread or a pair of stockings. And even in the relatively prosperous Moscow of the Khrushchev era, a foreign journalist reports:

> Tonight on Gorky Street I watched a good deal of bartering for sex going on with young girls quite openly, but in the darker sections of the street. I was told there were no actual brothels, but all kinds of arrangements were made on the street to keep this flourishing business going.

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At the top of the social ladder today are Russia's new generation of "gilded youth," the sons and daughters of the "upper crust" who travel in their parents' chauffeur-driven limousines, dine far into the night at expensive restaurants, fill the best seats at the opera and theater, throw lavish parties at the family country villa, and rarely marry outside their class. Yet, with their craze for fast living, they are as much an individualistic affront to authoritarian Soviet Victorianism as the Soviet "shook-up" generation, whose vocabulary is peppered with Americanisms, who call the main thoroughfare of Moscow "Broadway," and who write such heresy as this letter from a young Muscovite to his friend in Siberia (quoted with appropriate horror by the *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, official organ of the Young Communist League, in July, 1958): "We believe in freedom of morals and our slogan is 'live fast.' We have no political aims, only moral ones [*sic*]. Anyone who wishes may roll in wine or rave in rock 'n' roll or fall into love's delight."

A young American student of Soviet affairs, who shared a sleeping-car compartment with a Russian girl (the practice is commonplace and carries no necessary implication of sexual intimacy) leaves us with this:

> It was almost 2 A.M. and both of us were fighting sleep.
>
> "Would you mind leaving the compartment for a moment? I would like to change." As I waited outside, I thought back how different this girl was from the "girl back home"—and in so many ways. She was a peculiar combination of the bitter and the sweet, the tough and the soft, a confirmed opportunist who "was crazy" about love poetry, a hard product of the Soviet system who had to ask me to leave the compartment so she could undress and get into bed.

In the phrase "hard product of the Soviet system," there is perhaps the haunting aroma of the sour grape. For despite wars and revolutions, purges and rock 'n' roll, the Russian girl—who does not tease the man she desires—can still spend the night with an attractive American and leave him with only the memory of fascinating conversation and the strength of Russian women.

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BORIS SHUB AND
HELENE ZWERDLING

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Standards of Sexual Behavior

Available Evidence

SCIENTIFIC research into the sexual standards of different countries is extremely new. It has been in the last thirty years only that good researches into this area have been carried out. Indeed, even today the evidence is uneven and sparse. The majority of extensive research into sexual standards and behavior has been carried out in America. To be sure, there is evidence on other countries; for example, Anna-Lisa Kalveston has reported on sexual research in Sweden, and in England, Eustace Chesser has conducted some elaborate research. Mention should also be made here of the extensive anthropological evidence on nonliterate cultures (cultures that have not as yet achieved a written language, such as aboriginal African and South Pacific cultures).

Perhaps the greatest drawback of present-day research is the accent on sexual behavior rather than on the sexual standards that underlie that sexual behavior. The author has recently published a comprehensive study that tries to summarize all the evidence on sexual standards that can be deduced from the major American studies on sexual behavior by Kinsey (1948, 1953), Burgess and Wallin (1953), Terman (1938), Ehrmann (1955), Locke (1951), and others. Elaboration of many of the points in this article can be found there. Another drawback of much of the available research is the fact that, especially in America, it applies mostly to the upper segments of the white-urban population and not to all classes.

Despite these weaknesses, the evidence today is sufficient to make some key observations about sexual standards and their trends in America and in some other parts of the world. Science is a continuing process and one cannot give up the search because it does not give full information immediately. We must be content that what we have is surely better than any blind hunches.

Premarital Sexual Standards

The area of behavior involving kissing, petting, and coitus before marriage is the one about which most is known. In most cases, the standards that underlie these behaviors must be inferred from the behavior itself. For example, Kinsey found that 90 per cent of the females in his sample who had had premarital intercourse had no serious regrets about it. This is taken as evidence that many of these women did not have a belief in abstinence that they were violating but that, in part at least, they must have accepted another standard that was more permissive and did not make them feel guilty about their behavior.

In this area of premarital sexual behavior, there are, in America, four major standards that young people accept and that find support in the research evidence.

Standard of Abstinence

First, there is the formal standard of abstinence, which forbids coitus before marriage for both men and women. This standard has several subtypes, some of which allow petting, others of which allow only kissing. Petting is used here to refer to sexual stimulation short of full coitus, involving those parts of the body that are ordinarily clothed, such as the breast or genital area.

Double Standard

The second major premarital standard in America is the ancient double standard, which

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basically states that premarital intercourse is forbidden to women but not to men. Females who indulge are therefore considered immoral, but males who indulge are not. Under this standard, petting and kissing are not so severely restricted as coitus but here, too, the male is given much freer rights than the female.

Permissiveness without Affection

The third major standard in America, less widespread than preceding ones, may be called permissiveness without affection, which holds that if two people are attracted physically to each other and both desire to have coitus, they may do so. Petting and kissing are, of course, also allowed on the same basis under this standard.

Permissiveness with Affection

The fourth and final premarital sexual standard is called permissiveness with affection. This standard is also less prevalent than the first two. It allows coitus for both men and women, but it requires that a strong, stable, and affectionate relationship be present.

Although these four standards have been best demonstrated to exist in America, I believe they are common to Western society and are applicable to most all the South American and European countries. However, there is a difference in the popularity of each standard; for example, the permissive standards are probably not as widespread in South America, where abstinence and the double standard seem to be overwhelmingly present. The opposite type of situation seems to prevail in the Scandinavian countries, in particular in Sweden, where permissiveness with affection seems to be more prevalent than the other standards; in fact, many of the young people are taught that if they are in love it is permissible to engage in coitus. England appears to be the country whose sexual standards most closely approximate our own in terms of the relative strength of each of the four standards.

There is only scanty evidence on the Oriental countries, but it is known that the double standard is quite widespread there. This is particularly true of China. Of course, industrialization in China and also in India is probably having a slow but sharp effect on the Oriental way of life and we may soon see a noticeable weakening of the double standard because of this.

The Polynesian cultures of the South Pacific are distinguished by their strong emphasis on the two permissive standards. This is also true for many African societies. In several of these areas the virginal and sexually apathetic woman is scorned and thought to be abnormal. This situation is also true for several of our Indian tribes in the American Southwest. The studies of Murdock (1949) and Ford (1951) indicate that the majority of these nonliterate cultures take a permissive attitude toward premarital petting and coitus. These researchers have made use of the Yale University Human Relations Area Files, which contain information on almost 300 nonliterate cultures—probably the best source for such information today.

Thus, there is a good deal of individuality among different cultures as to their sexual standards, even though there may be some general similarities; and each culture must be carefully studied in order to fully understand the relative power of each subtype of sexual standard. Nevertheless, it seems safe to say that most of the Western world *formally* favors a standard of abstinence and *informally* favors a double standard, although there are strong trends working in a more permissive direction.

Standards on Adultery, Homosexuality, and Masturbation

In addition to standards concerning premarital sexual relations, there are standards concerning adultery, homosexuality, masturbation, and other forms of sexual behavior. The formal norms in America forbid adultery, homosexuality, and masturbation. However, there is a sort of informal double standard for adultery and to a lesser extent for masturbation that frowns upon these behaviors in women much more so than in men. Homosexuality is largely rejected by all major sexual codes in America.

It should be noted that since much of the past sociological research focused on premarital sexual relations, we do not know as much about other standards, such as those regarding adultery, homosexuality, and masturbation. However, we do have evidence from Kinsey that all three of these types of behavior are quite com-

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mon in American society; for example, Kinsey reports that in his sample of married people of 40 years or over, about one-fourth of the wives and one-half of the husbands had committed adultery. In most cases some sort of disturbance in the marital relationship was involved and adultery was the outcome, but in other cases adultery as such was accepted. Many double-standard husbands took such liberties without feeling they were harming their marriages and without being willing to grant equal rights to their wives.

Homosexual behavior was also found to be quite common by Kinsey. He found that 37 per cent of the males and 13 per cent of the females had engaged in such behavior to orgasm at least once. But here too we know too little about how these people felt about their behavior. One could assume that, since all major American standards reject such behavior, most of these people suffered guilt reactions.

Attitudes toward masturbation, although still negative, seem to have become liberalized in America. Thus, many more people who masturbate today probably do so without as strong a guilt reaction. However, here too we lack sufficient information. We do know that in Kinsey's sample of several thousand men and women, by age 20 about one-third of the females and about nine of every ten men had masturbated.

Standards in other Western cultures regarding these three areas should be somewhat similar but one cannot be sure of the full picture until more research is carried out. For information on nonliterate cultures, we turn again to the work of Ford and Beach and of Murdock. Their findings indicate that casual adultery is commonly forbidden, as it too often leads to complications that disrupt the social organization. When it is allowed, it is usually strictly regulated so that it can occur only between certain people such as a husband and his sister-in-law. However, these restrictions are not required in several societies, such as the Eskimo, where during the winter months young married couples play a game called "putting out the lamps." In this game the oil lamps are extinguished and all the individuals scramble for a partner other than their mate, spending the night with the one they find.

Ford and Beach give evidence on masturbation and homosexuality in nonliterate societies. Masturbation seems to be very common but is most frequent among nonadults; homosexuality is much less common but many societies permit it under certain conditions for both men and women. As can be seen, our own attitudes on almost all sexual practices in the Western world are much more restrictive than those of nonliterate cultures.

Trends in Premarital Sexual Standards

Since exact sociological evidence on sexual behavior goes back less than thirty years, there is much in the area of trends that must be qualified and investigated more thoroughly. However, the evidence we have on America is consistent and points strongly in one direction. Starting in the 1920's, the Victorian "sexual dams" were breached and increases occurred in almost all forms of sexual behavior.

It should be clear that much of the permissive behavior that began in the 1920's occurred more on impulse or for excitement than for purposes of abiding by any standard, whether old or new. In time, standards did develop and in premarital relations the two older standards were liberalized and the two newer permissive standards were greatly enlarged.

Abstinence formerly placed a strong emphasis on the "untouched" quality of virginity. This has been sharply altered and today we find many women who believe in abstinence yet feel it is quite proper to pet to orgasm or masturbate their date. Thus, the standard of abstinence has been liberalized, adapting itself to the more sexually permissive changes that have been going on.

During this same time period the double standard also seems to have been severely weakened. There are probably fewer people today who can fully accept an unequal standard of behavior for men and women. Many people who formerly believed in the double standard have begun to feel that if they accept coitus for men they must also accept it for women. Frequently, however, these people cannot bring themselves to give full equality to the female so they have merely liberalized the double

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standard and have said that men can have coitus whenever they want but women can have coitus only when they are in love and/or engaged. Here, as in the case of abstinence, we find a liberalization occurring in order to make the standard adjust to a more permissive society.

Those who have found the liberalization of the standard of abstinence and of the double standard to be too conservative have joined the ranks of those who accept the standards of permissiveness without affection and of permissiveness with affection. Social changes occur gradually, so most of the shift seems to have gone to the less radical of these two standards, namely, permissiveness with affection, which requires a stable, affectionate relationship as a prerequisite for sexual intercourse.

Research Evidence on Changing Trends

Some of the research evidence on trends in standards will be seen in the following tables. Table 1 shows the increase in incidence of petting to orgasm in females of various generations, starting with the generation born between 1900 and 1910, which reached maturity in the 1920's. One can also see how such behavior increases as they became older.

TABLE 1. ACCUMULATIVE INCIDENCE OF PETTING TO ORGASM AMONG FEMALES

AGE	BORN BEFORE 1900	BORN 1900–1909	BORN 1910–1919	BORN 1920–1929
	PERCENTAGE[a]			
14	1	1	1	1
16	3	5	6	6
18	6	10	13	18
20	10	17	22	28
25	15	30	34	43
30	24	39	45	
35	26	44	53	

Source: Kinsey, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, p. 275. Present-day rates for males are quite similar but the increase over previous generations is much smaller and such petting makes up a smaller percentage of the total male sex outlet.

[a] Accumulative incidence is a rate figured by taking all those eligible for an experience and seeing what percentage actually have the experience. For a full explanation, see Kinsey (1948), pp. 114–119.

The decrease in the number of women who were virginal before marriage is clearly indicated in Tables 2 and 3, which are from the studies of Kinsey and Terman, respectively. The weakening of the orthodox double standard is also supported by the data in Table 4, where the number of men who engage in coitus *only* with others besides their fiancées has been drastically reduced. This indicates that many more such men are now having coitus with their fiancées because they now accept such behavior as moral for engaged women. Finally, the increases in the "Spouse only" and the "Spouse and others" categories in Tables 2, 3, and 4 are also evidence that many more people accept permissiveness with affection, i.e., premarital coitus when love or engagement is present. Some of this increase may also be a further indication of the growth of a new subtype of the double standard, which allows coitus for women if they are in love and/or engaged. Thus Tables 1 through 4 tend to support my contentions regarding changes in premarital sexual standards. The majority of the men and women in the Kinsey study and the Burgess-Wallin study said they had no serious qualms about their behavior, thus further indicating acceptance of more liberal standards.

TABLE 2. PREMARITAL COITUS OF WOMEN BY DECADE OF BIRTH

AGE	BORN BEFORE 1900	BORN 1900–1909	BORN 1910–1919	BORN 1920–1929
None	73.4	48.7	43.9	48.8
Spouse only	10.4	24.4	23.3	27.3
Others only	5.5	5.4	7.0	6.5
Spouse and others	10.4	21.0	25.6	17.4

Source: These data are based on Kinsey (1953), but were especially prepared for this paper through the kindness of Drs. Gebhard and Martin, of the Institute for Sex Research. These were based on 2,479 women who either were or had been married by the time of interview.

TABLE 3. PREMARITAL COITUS OF WOMEN BY DECADE OF BIRTH

	BORN BEFORE 1890	BORN 1890–1899	BORN 1900–1909
	PERCENTAGE		
None	86.5	74.0	51.2
Spouse only	8.7	17.7	32.7
Others only	1.9	2.5	2.1
Spouse and others	2.9	5.8	14.0

Source: Terman, p. 321. Rates for the 1910–1920 generation are not included here as they were based on few cases. Such rates can be found in the Kinsey studies.

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TABLE 4. PREMARITAL COITUS OF MEN BY DECADE OF BIRTH

	BORN BEFORE 1890	BORN 1890–1899	BORN 1900–1909
	PERCENTAGE		
None	50.6	41.9	32.6
Spouse only	4.6	7.6	17.2
Others only	35.6	27.5	16.5
Spouse and others	9.2	23.0	33.7

Source: Terman, p. 321. The high rates of male virginity evidenced above are due to the high proportion of college men in this group. Kinsey found much lower percentages of virginity among those of lower education (by age 25, 90 per cent of males whose education stopped in the eighth grade had premarital intercourse). The college-educated males exceed in petting to orgasm, where about 60 per cent of them are involved by age 30, as compared to only about 15 per cent of the low-education groups (Kinsey, 1948, pp. 536, 550).

England is one of the few other countries for which we have comparable premarital trend data based on extensive studies. A glance at Table 5 indicates that, for the sample Chesser used, premarital coitus has also greatly increased in England among people born after 1900 who came to their maturity in the 1920's and later.

TABLE 5. PREMARITAL COITUS FOR ENGLISH WOMEN BY DECADE OF BIRTH

	BORN BEFORE 1904	BORN 1904–1913	BORN 1914–1923	BORN 1924–1933
	PERCENTAGE			
Coitus	19	36	39	43
Petting	7	22	29	25

Source: Chesser, p. 311.

Reports regarding trends from other European countries are more difficult to obtain but basically they indicate that a more permissive sex code is in the making. Trend reports on nonliterate cultures are almost completely lacking since these cultures are usually studied only at one point in time.

Trends in Adultery, Homosexuality, and Masturbation Standards

Again, for data on America, the Kinsey studies can be taken as adequate, especially for the better-educated urban, white classes of our culture.

Table 6 indicates that there has been an increase in extramarital coitus. However, here it is more difficult to determine standards since these data are not broken down into different types. The preponderance of men who commit adultery (by age 40, one-half of the men had committed adultery while only one-fourth of the women had done so) indicates that here too our culture is probably more liberal regarding men and that a sort of double standard exists in this area. However, it is unlikely that the increase in adultery is due to an increase in such double standard beliefs since there is strong evidence that the double standard is weakening. It is more likely that this increase is related to our present 1-in-4 divorce rate. Adultery may accompany the breakup of a marriage and with more divorces there may thus be more adultery. Of course, other reasons apply also; these are only a few possibly important factors.

TABLE 6. ACCUMULATIVE INCIDENCE OF EXTRAMARITAL COITUS FOR FEMALES

AGE	BORN BEFORE 1900	BORN 1900–1909	BORN 1910–1919	BORN 1920–1929
	PERCENTAGE			
18			10	9
19		4	7	10
20	2	3	5	9
25	4	8	10	12
30	10	16	19	
35	18	26	25	
40	22	30		
45	21	40		

Source: Kinsey, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, p. 442. Men also increased in this area, except for the college-educated group. Data on men were not broken down as accurately by birth decades so these charts are for women only, with only summary statements for males given in the text.

TABLE 7. ACCUMULATIVE INCIDENCE OF MASTURBATION TO ORGASM FOR FEMALES

AGE	BORN BEFORE 1900	BORN 1900–1909	BORN 1910–1919	BORN 1920–1929
	PERCENTAGE			
5	3	3	2	1
10	12	12	10	6
15	25	25	24	17
20	33	34	36	30
25	38	43	46	47
30	44	51	53	
35	49	57	63	
40	52	63		

Source: Kinsey, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, p. 180. For males there is only a slight increase in lower-education levels.

Although Kinsey's figures for masturbation among males are only slightly higher in recent generations, the figures for women show a somewhat higher rate of increase. Table 7 indi-

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cates about 11 percent increase at age 40 for women born after 1900. Our standards seem to be more tolerant of masturbation today and this seems to be the trend despite the lack of any great increase in behavior. Most of the change in masturbation rates refers to women since the percentage of men who masturbate has been over 90 for several generations.

Homosexuality is even more evenly distributed over the various birth decades and there is practically no increase. Females, as seen in Table 8, by age 45 average about 13 per cent homosexual experience to orgasm. The comparable rate for males is 37 per cent. Again, I caution the reader that Kinsey qualified his findings and fully realized that they are not representative of all segments of American society. There is little evidence of an exact nature on trends in standards concerning homosexual behavior, but I believe that just as the rates have remained stable so have the attitudes toward such behavior. By and large, there is a strong feeling against homosexual contact, despite its apparent frequency. As our premarital sex codes become more liberalized, perhaps this attitude too will change, but as of today there is no firm evidence of such a change.

TABLE 8. ACCUMULATIVE INCIDENCE OF HOMOSEXUAL CONTACTS TO ORGASM FOR FEMALES

AGE	BORN BEFORE 1900	BORN 1900–1910	BORN 1910–1920	BORN 1920–1930
	PERCENTAGE			
12				1
15	2	2	2	3
20	5	6	4	3
25	8	9	7	6
30	9	10	10	
35	11	11	13	
40	11	12		
45	12	17		

Source: Kinsey, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, p. 495. The rate for men was 37 per cent and also showed no increase.

There is little evidence on trends in the above three areas (adultery, masturbation, and homosexuality) from other Western societies. As far as non-Western cultures are concerned, our evidence concerning trends is even more scanty. We do have some good information concerning standards at the time researchers visited the culture, but very few cultures have been investigated as to their past behavior, and thus trend information is sorely lacking on most cultures of the world. There is little question, however, that many countries such as India and China are undergoing changes in their sexual standards due to the effects of industrialization. But until more complete sociological researches are carried out in those areas, we can only put forth the speculation that as they industrialize their sexual codes will become more like those of other industrialized cultures.

Reasons for Recent Trends

What happened before 1920, particularly in America, to cause the sexual "explosion" of that decade?

The American and Western sexual standards of today have deep roots. They can be traced to the Hebrew, Greek, Roman, and early Christian cultures. Deuteronomy in the Old Testament gives us ample evidence of the source of our own male-dominant type of double standard. The Greeks had the hetaerae, an organization of highly cultured prostitutes, and they also had homosexuality; but both of these were for men only. The Romans followed the Greek example with their own, somewhat cruder, versions of male favoritism in the area of sexual permissiveness. Thus, the double standard had strong supports in Western society, so strong that the full force of Christianity and its demand for a single standard of abstinence failed to conquer it. The double standard is, of course, not "just natural"; witness the many cultures today that do not hold to the double standard. The double standard probably originally began due to man's physical superiority over woman, and it is difficult to change, for men are often unwilling to give up an "advantage" they have enjoyed for many centuries.

The nineteenth century dealt the double standard its mortal blow. The urban industrial revolution had occurred by that time and the face of America, together with that of most of the Western world, was changing. For the first time, women were able to earn a living without entering prostitution. This new economic power meant that women could act, in general, more independently of men.

Particularly in America, young people began to choose their own mates on the basis of love,

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and the feminist movement continued in its drive to grant women the vote and general equality before the law. This trend toward permissiveness and equality was strongly reinforced by the improved economic position of women and the general urban-industrial type of society that was developing. Within a century women had carved an empire of wealth and status surpassing all previous achievements. Choice of mate by the young people themselves and consequent dating became widespread; contraceptive measures were developed that removed some of the fear of venereal disease and pregnancy; young people were allowed to go out alone; and Henry Ford gave them a "moving parlor" with his "invention."

Given this over-all picture, it is no wonder that by the 1920's there were great numbers of American men and women who no longer accepted the highly restrictive sexual codes of the nineteenth century. These people could afford to be independent, for all the new social forces were in their favor. Americans have come to accept a more permissive sexual attitude in a way that would shock our Victorian ancestors and with a nonchalance that would surprise even the iconoclasts of the 1920's. Since the 1920's, instead of increasing the frequency of sexual behaviors, the changes made have been consolidated. This, naturally, does not mean that Americans have fully thrown over the past. The older standards (abstinence and the double standard) are still very much present. But Americans have moved further away from orthodox forms of both these standards than ever before. Many similar forces have effected changes in European countries, England most likely being the closest in this respect to America. It is possible that as India, China, and other countries industrialize, such changes in their sex codes will also occur.

The Future of Premarital Sexual Standards

The area of premarital sexual standards in America is the one most studied, and although full evidence is lacking, much of what is said about America applies to many other Western cultures.

The evidence points clearly to increased permissiveness. This permissiveness will probably take three directions. First, there will be an increase in abstinent-believers who accept heavy petting. This seems to be the case in past generations (see Table 1) and should become increasingly true. The evidence indicates that very often petting standards are only temporary standards that girls drop when they fall in love and/or become engaged. At such times these people come to accept permissiveness with affection. The freedom granted young people, the intimacy they have in their "steady" and "pinned" relationships, makes this permissive trend quite likely. People do not like to feel guilty about their behavior, so it is likely that when they violate old standards they will come to accept more permissive ones in their place.

The second major direction our sexual standards will take will be toward continued modification of the double standard so as to permit coitus for women when in love but still allowing men coitus at any time. Equalitarian pressures strongly push in this direction. However, this trend is also probably only a transitory solution for it still contains too much inequality and female restrictiveness for our type of society.

The third direction in which our sexual standards will likely head is also in line with past trends: toward permissiveness with affection. The more conservative interpretation of this standard, which only allows coitus when love and/or engagement is involved, will become increasingly accepted. This standard is much more in accord with the strong equalitarian and permissive pressures that have developed with our urban-industrial type of society and, as Tables 2, 3, and 4 indicate, its acceptance has already greatly increased. Of course, there are elements that conflict with this standard, such as our religious institutions, but by and large it seems to have become integrated into our society. This does not mean that it is the most moral standard; many immoral customs fit very nicely into a society.

The standard of abstinence and the double standard will probably continue for many centuries more, but possibly within a hundred years or so they will no longer be the dominant standards in America, permissiveness with af-

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fection taking precedence. The college-educated group has most clearly demonstrated its tendencies in this direction and will probably lead the move in this direction.

As far as the fourth standard is concerned, permissiveness without affection is too radical to obtain a large following at the present time. If such a standard ever takes root in America it will probably be many centuries from today. Our extended permissiveness has been largely in the direction of affectionate, "person-centered coitus" rather than "body-centered coitus" and it is likely to remain that way for some time to come due to our strong association of deep affection with sexual behavior.

The Future of Other Sexual Standards

The evidence previously cited shows that, in America at least, there has been an increase in adultery. Unlike the trend toward increased premarital relations, however, this trend will probably slow down. Although our urban-industrial society is conducive to increased permissiveness, most of this permissiveness in the future will probably grow in the area of premarital relations. My own research in this area indicates that the same young people who strongly favor being allowed to engage in premarital coitus will argue quite firmly against extramarital coitus. For example, permissiveness with affection is a standard that has increased in importance in recent decades and this standard is one that stresses a monagamous type of love affair. Even on this premarital basis it emphasizes that one must be faithful to one's premarital partner. Thus, although there has been an increase in adultery, the association of love and sexual monogamy has shown no sign of weakening.

In regard to masturbation and homosexuality in America attitudes toward masturbation seem to have been liberalized, and this should continue since it agrees with the over-all courtship permissiveness. It is difficult to speak of changes in behavior in this area for, with increased liberalism in petting and coitus, masturbation, although more accepted, may actually decrease. Homosexual attitudes seem the least likely to alter and a strong general opposition appears to remain toward such behavior.

Conclusions

There is one important distinctive characteristic of the premarital trends discussed above. For the first time in Western society's written history our young people are devising a sexual code of their own making. Abstinence and double standard codes were parentally devised codes, codes that were integrated into a male-dominant, parentally run, extended-family type of system. In this sort of society parents chose the mates and women were valued for their economic assets and their ability to bear children. With the advent of a new kind of society, an urban-industrial society, the pressures for this older sort of courtship system have sharply decreased.

A new sexual code was needed to fit into this new type of society. It has been in process of development since the nineteenth century and its significance is that this time the young people themselves, in their new social relationships, are unconsciously evolving it. It is this newer sexual code that has modified and in some cases replaced the older, parentally devised sexual codes. The clash between the old and new codes is felt internally by many people in Western society, who are partly attached to both.

American society, together with most of the Western world, has had a severely restrictive sexual code. As time moves on this is becoming much less the case but there still is a strong general sexual taboo that is quite rare in non-Western societies. American and other Western cultures seem to be involved at present in a change in that over-all sexual taboo, and there will likely be much conflict involved. We are in a state of transition and those who cling to the past get hurt by the customs of the present and those who rush to the future are damaged by the traditions of the past.

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IRA L. REISS

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Sterilization

STERILIZATION is the act of making a male or female infertile, or incapable of producing its kind. In the female, this is usually done by removing the ovaries (oophorectomy) or by preventing the passage of the ovum to the uterus so that it cannot be fertilized (salpingectomy). These are surgical procedures. However, sterilization can be carried out by irradiation of either the ovaries or the testes, although this method is not commonly used.

Salpingectomy involves the tying of the tubes and the resection of a portion so that the two ends cannot meet. When further pregnancies are not advisable and sterilization of the female is indicated in the opinion of obstetrical consultants, it is usually carried out at the time of Caesarean section, if such is the method of delivery. If natural delivery occurs, it is generally carried out as a separate procedure at a later date. Since it is a major surgical procedure, it is less preferable, at least in this country, to male sterilization, which can be done as an office procedure. Therefore, when prevention of further impregnation is necessary it is more commonplace to sterilize the husband than the wife.

Vasectomy

Indications

Vasectomy is a minor surgical procedure designed to prevent the male from impregnating the female, without interfering with his ability adequately to perform sexual intercourse. It may be indicated for three major reasons.

The first is the *eugenic sterilization* of the habitual (convicted) criminal, moral pervert, or an individual with an inheritable mental disease (twenty-eight states in the United States have specific statutes sanctioning the procedure for these eugenic purposes).

The second is the *therapeutic sterilization* that is indicated when the wife's life may be endangered by repeated pregnancies. These medical indications are tuberculosis, cancer, cardio-renal-vascular diseases complicated by high blood pressure or hypertension, kidney disorders, and Rh blood incompatibilities. These disease processes are frequently exacerbated by pregnancy and may prove fatal to the wife. The presence of similar illnesses in the husband, which might prevent him from being a responsible wage-earner, is also an indication for therapeutic sterilization.

The majority of sterilizations are performed for socioeconomic reasons. It is in this third category that the physician finds himself on extremely shaky legal grounds, owing to inadequate or conflicting legislation regarding indications for sterilization. This category is frequently called *nontherapeutic sterilization*, since there is no medical necessity for it—aside from the emotional anguish caused by repeated pregnancies.

Operative Procedure

Vasectomy is an operation that severs the tubes through which sperm flows from its origin in the testicles to the ejaculating mechanism deep in the penis. This interruption prevents sperm from flowing into the seminal fluid.

The tubes that are severed are called the vasa deferentia. They are approximately twenty inches long and about an eighth of an inch wide. Since they are so superficially located in the scrotum, it is extremely easy to expose and

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cut them. At least one half to one inch of each tube is excised and the cut ends then ligated. A vasoligation is a ligation of the vasa without resection. There are variations in the techniques of such surgery, but basically the severance and ligation should be sufficient to prevent any sperm flow. The procedure takes about twenty to thirty minutes and a physician competent in this operation can generally accomplish it under a local anesthetic in his office. It is attended by few complications.

Occasionally an infection of the epididymis (an organ adjacent to the testicle) occurs, which may incapacitate the patient for several weeks. However, in this era of effective prophylactic antibiotics, such as penicillin and the mycin drugs, the incidence of infection is negligible, and generally the patient is in perfect health about twenty-four to forty-eight hours following operation. It is customary to prescribe a longer period of postoperative convalescence for the man who is engaged in heavy physical labor than for one whose job is sedentary.

Frequently the operative area blows up into a little sac, or granuloma, of sperm. This creates a lumpiness in the scrotum, but generally does not cause any trouble. It may be a good-sized sac at the beginning, but as time goes on scarring will enable it to diminish in size. After the surgery has been performed, it is important to examine the seminal fluid in order to ascertain whether any sperm are present. It is a good practice to examine at least two specimens, the first three weeks following surgery and the second six weeks postoperatively. If no mobile sperm are found, the patient is permitted to indulge in sexual intercourse without contraceptives.

Effectiveness

One wonders whether this procedure produces an absolute sterility with no chance of recurrence. When a large enough segment is excised, it is theoretically unlikely that the two ends of the ducts would be able to reunite and permit recanalization. Perhaps, therefore, the earlier reports of this phenomenon occurring were based on the fact that more vasoligations rather than partial resection vasectomies were performed. Also, it is conceivable that a physician unfamiliar with this procedure might sever other structures that look like the vasa deferentia without actually achieving sterilization.

However, there are specific reports in the medical literature of recanalization with the restoration of fertility and consequent pregnancies. O'Connor in 1948 sent a questionnaire to 750 physicians engaged in this field, and 55 proven cases of recanalization were reported. In 1959 Reiser reported that a questionnaire to 971 urological surgeons revealed 41 proved cases of recanalization. In extremely rare cases there may be an accessory or abnormal third vas deferens that was not discovered upon routine examination and was therefore not severed. In many operations performed, however, I did not find a proved instance of a third vas deferens. In my estimation, the persistence of sperm after vasectomy is due either to inadequate resection or to simple vasoligation.

Psychosexual Complications

What of psychosexual complications? Does vasectomy result in increased sexual vigor or can it produce sexual difficulties in the male? Where fear of multiple pregnancies has existed in the family, the sexual act may be frequently accompanied by difficulties. Anxiety may lead to premature ejaculation or, conversely, to total impotence. The female may become frigid and develop vaginismus and an inability to achieve orgasm—where previously she had been quite satiated with proper orgasm. There are, of course, various gradations of these sexual problems. It is not uncommon to find husbands who so dislike submitting to the constant use of artificial contraceptives that they do not enjoy the sexual act. A certain percentage of males therefore use coitus interruptus, which, in turn, creates an unhappy state of affairs.

Vasectomy, by eliminating the need for these artificialities, may lead to an improvement in the sexual appetite and vigor of males. Popenoe, Garrison, and Gamble (1959) found that, of 151 men who had undergone vasectomy, sexual appetite increased in 17.9 per cent, in 74.2 per cent it remained approximately the same as it had been before vasectomy, and in only 7.9 per cent was it slightly diminished. In addition, the removal of the fear of pregnancy on the part of the female, as well as the freedom from contraceptives, often results in allaying any sexual anxiety she may have felt prior to her husband's

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surgery, and may lead to better sexual performance on her part.

Many patients ask whether the procedure has any effect on bodily functions—such as a feminizing effect. The answer is emphatically no. Follow-up studies reveal no effect on any physiological mechanism, either genital or hormonal. The average individual confuses this procedure with castration, which does have a feminizing effect. Castration is rarely performed, except in specific conditions, such as cancer of the prostate.

Is vasectomy permanent? Is it possible for a man who has been previously sterilized to have another operation to restore his fertility? These are questions that are posed to the doctor from time to time by patients who think in terms of future alterations of family planning. In cases such as a couple who desire, after five or seven years of sterility, to increase the size of their families, or when a man suffers a total loss of his family by accident or divorce, a restoration of fertility may be desired.

The answer is that a "revamping" operation known as a vaso-vasotomy can be performed that has a variable degree of success. In my routine interviews with patients, prior to an agreement to perform vasectomy, I indicate that the technique is considered to be permanently effective. However, in the event of a catastrophe, as noted, there is a plastic operation that will restore the continuity of the vas. Although technically not difficult, it cannot be guaranteed to re-establish sperm flow. O'Connor states that of 420 such restorative operations, 229 failed and 191 succeeded. "Success" simply indicated that sperm were once again found in the ejaculate fluid. Pregnancy cannot always be assured, however, because the number of sperm may not be adequate or they may not be sufficiently healthy. In more recent years, Dorsey (1953) achieved 90 per cent success in a small series of cases. Under average circumstances a success rate of approximately 50 per cent is generally considered a laudable one.

This operation requires a general anesthesia and hospitalization. The two ends of the tube that had been previously resected are rejoined and held together with fine sutures, with or without internal splinting. Sperm may appear within weeks or months following this procedure, and it is customary to follow the patient for at least a year before deciding whether or not it was successful.

Medicolegal Aspects

What is the attitude of doctors toward performing vasectomies? Where eugenic sterilization is sanctioned, the doctor finds himself in a rather secure position. Generally, eugenic sterilizations are done in state institutions and the indications are clearly warranted. However, as previously indicated, most therapeutic and nontherapeutic sterilizations are performed outside state institutions by private practitioners who have no state laws to protect them in the event of a suit. In California, for instance, insurance companies that provide malpractice insurance for physicians and surgeons do not cover or protect the physician in the event he performs a vasectomy and is sued. Almost all accredited hospitals do not permit this operation unless it has been agreed upon as a medical necessity by several other competent consultants. It is also permitted as an adjunct procedure in the treatment of prostate disease by prostatectomy—provided adequate consent forms have been signed.

Reiser recently submitted a questionnaire to members of the American Urological Association regarding the number of vasectomies they performed. Of 971, 52 per cent performed vasectomies, 47 per cent did not, and 1 per cent did not reply. A large segment of the medical profession refuses to do either therapeutic or nontherapeutic vasectomy because of religious or moral objections as well as because of the legal confusion concerning it. Holman (1954) says that the absence of specific statutes and court decisions places a tremendous burden upon the physician, even when the patient gives valid written consent to this operation. He states, ". . . while consent is doubtless valid if the operation is necessary to relieve or cure some existing disease, or safeguard the life of the patient, the validity of consent to an operation not required for any therapeutic reason, nor performed in accord with statutes relating to eugenic sterilization would, at least, be open to question." He further states, "aside from the statutes in the few states (Connecticut, Kansas, Utah, and Montana) that have prohibited it, we find no judicial or legislative announcement of

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public policy against the practice of sterilization."

The law in Kansas states that anyone who performs a sterilization operation, whether vasectomy or salpingectomy, for the purpose of destroying the powers of procreation, unless it is a medical necessity, is guilty of a misdemeanor. In Utah, it is a felony. Indiana, Mississippi, and Virginia have prohibitory provisions regarding nontherapeutic vasectomies. Regan (1956) says that according to the California code it might be construed as being an act of mayhem, which, following the old English code, is interpreted as the unlawful and malicious removal of a "member" of a human being. Sterilization, however, does not maim in the same sense as does, for example, the loss of an eye, a hand, or a leg, and is not therefore considered as constituting mayhem. This decision was handed down by the Supreme Court of Minnesota in the case of Christiansen *vs.* Thornby in 1934. When universal legislation is spelled out loudly and clearly, physicians will not fear performing these operations.

The fear of increasing malpractice action, especially in the State of California, has become a concern to all physicians. Doctors are beginning to think in terms of the malpractice potentialities of treating a patient as soon as he steps into their office. They can at least take some comfort when they carry a large malpractice insurance coverage. But when they do not, helping a patient can often boomerang in their faces. Reiser, from the same questionnaire mentioned above, found that 87 per cent of the physicians who performed vasectomies have never been faced with legal action, whereas 8 per cent have and 5 per cent did not reply. These figures may afford solace to some doctors who perform vasectomies, but one never knows when one may find oneself included in the 8 per cent. Yet, in spite of the absence of legal protection, there are still many physicians who carry out this procedure when they feel it is advisable and therapeutic.

Socioeconomic Aspects

I basically disagree with Reiser when he states that "further pregnancies which might endanger the life of a wife do not constitute a medical authorization to perform vasectomy on the husband." Many physicians realize the importance, sexually and mentally, of a well-balanced family that is free of emotional tensions and anxieties. In this inflationary period of our history, with ever-mounting costs of living, the average wage-earner finds it very difficult to provide adequately for a large family. Many families are finding that caring for more than three children involves a severe economic burden. As each year goes by, with the dollar buying less and less, parents become more and more apprehensive about their ability to provide properly for the future of their already existing children. This, added to the apprehension of further pregnancies because of failure of contraceptives or because of inability to use them intelligently—or because of simple laziness in not using them at all and depending upon luck—can considerably worsen relations between husband and wife. Their constant worry can, indeed, color their emotional attitudes toward their duties as parents. There is little doubt that these are causative factors in a large percentage of present-day divorces.

Many of the couples who seek sterilization are not well educated or well informed on sexual matters. They are frequently from the lower income group and have the usual economic problems of this group. These families, as they grow larger in size, often find themselves in a situation that requires financial support by charitable organizations, both public and private. In addition, these large-sized families, especially those in the slum areas of our cities, provide a spawning ground for delinquents of all types.

The problem of world-wide birth control is a vast and profound one. Many countries with large populations, such as Japan, China, and India, have in recent years begun to take specific action to limit population by control measures. Mrs. Ruth Smith has reported, in a paper in the *Human Betterment Association of America News* (1959), on the program that is being accepted throughout many of the Asian countries, where birth control measures, such as contraception, are endorsed and abortion and sterilization are accepted.

Although there was an initial reluctance upon the part of the average Oriental to have his genital organs surgically altered, recently

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there has been an increasing demand for vasectomies, according to Dr. Abraham Stone (1959). He states, "In Lucknow, India, for instance I found that of 750 patients that applied to the Planned Parenthood Center for advice, 240 women and 20 men, or nearly 35 per cent were sterilized at their own request." He also says that "groups of men are brought down from neighboring areas for vasectomies once a week." They are brought to a center in one of the larger cities where surgical facilities for this purpose are available. Men choose the operation because of its simplicity.

Summary

In summary, sterilization is a method of preventing either a female or a male from reproducing offspring. When the conducting mechanisms are severed by salpingectomy or by vasectomy, none of the normal body functions are interfered with, as may occur with the removal of the specific organs of egg-formation (ovaries) or sperm-formation (testes). The removal of either ovaries or testes is not a commonplace method of sterilization. Since sterilization is much easier to accomplish in the male, the operation known as vasectomy is the more commonly used technique.

Vasectomy is indicated when undesirable hereditary traits are present, such as epilepsy, chorea, and hemophilia. It may be called for in individuals who are criminally insane or morally perverted, and when pregnancy would be dangerous to the wife suffering from a serious disease such as cancer, tuberculosis, diabetes, or Rh blood incompatibilities. Lastly, it may be advisable as a permanent measure of contraception and birth control when, for psychological and socioeconomic reasons, a moderately sized family is of prime importance for the total welfare of the family.

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MURRAY RUSSELL

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Stress and Sex

Definition

THE simplest definition of stress is "the rate of wear and tear in the body." Like an inanimate machine, the living mechanism of the human body shows signs of wear and tear as a consequence of usage. The accumulated results of such wear and tear are what we call aging, but the rate at which the wear and tear progresses, at any one time, is stress. Such biological stress manifests itself by a set of symptoms and signs that are known as the General Adaptation Syndrome (G.A.S.). Unlike most inanimate machines, the living body has a built-in defense mechanism that tends to repair the damage caused by stress. This is accomplished largely through nervous and hormonal reactions. Among the latter, the increased production during stress of hormones such as ACTH and corticoids (cortisonelike substances) is especially important.

Causes of Stress

Anything that forces the body to perform work is a cause of stress, or a *stressor;* hence, as long as we are alive we are always under some degree of physiological stress. However, in common parlance the word stress usually denotes an excessive degree of biological wear and tear. Among the most common stressors of man are psychic and nervous stimuli, infections, trauma, hypersensitivity reactions, muscular work, hemorrhage, intoxication with various drugs, and nutritional deficiencies.

Stress as a Cause of Sexual Derangements

The adaptive reactions with which the body combats stress may entail severe derangement in sexual life. It is well known that physical or mental fatigue, as well as any other type of stressful experience (diseases, loss of blood, etc.), diminishes sexual desire and may induce temporary impotence or frigidity. The nervous mechanisms involved in this type of reaction are not yet well known, but it has been demonstrated that the production of sex hormones is definitely diminished at times when the body must produce an excessive amount of those pituitary and adrenal hormones (ACTH, corticoids) that are more immediately necessary for the maintenance of health and even of life. This change in the type of hormone produced during emergencies has been called the "stress-shift in hormone production." It is well known, for example, that a sudden stressful experience (e.g., fright) may diminish or suppress egg-laying in fowl; the so-called "stress amenorrhea," the cessation of menstrual cycles during periods of stress in women, is due to an essentially similar mechanism.

Milk secretion is governed by the pituitary hormone, prolactin, whose secretion is likewise diminished during stress; this explains the diminution of milk secretion that often occurs in farm animals and in nursing mothers as a consequence of stress.

In the male, both sex hormone and sperm production can be severely impeded as a result of stressful experiences.

Stress as a Consequence of Sexual Derangements

Conversely, various types of sexual anomalies may, as a result of their frustrating effect, induce stress. It is particularly important to be aware of this mechanism because the emotional disturbances resulting from sexual derangements often cause diseases that are rarely

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recognized as having any relationship to sexual life.

Diseases produced by any type of maladjustment to stress are known as the "diseases of adaptation." Most common among these are nervous and mental diseases, high blood pressure, cardiac diseases, various types of arthritis, and duodenal ulcers. In most of these maladies, hereditary predisposition and previous personal experiences are principally responsible for determining which organ system will break down first as a result of stress.

The unprecedented attention that has been given by physicians to the subject of stress and to diseases of adaptation during the last two decades has clarified many of the biochemical mechanisms that may become deranged as a consequence of stressful experiences. As a result, several of these maladies have now become amenable to prevention and treatment.

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HANS SELYE

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Transvestism and Sex-Role Inversion

TRANSVESTISM and sex-role inversion are often misunderstood by the general public, and are sometimes confused even by professional workers in the behavioral sciences. Though there are superficial resemblances, these phenomena are fundamentally different and, in the interest of a clearer understanding of them, it is important to distinguish one from the other. The essential difference is that transvestism is limited to and refers only to the desire for and act of wearing the clothing of the other sex. Sex-role inversion is a much broader and more pervasive phenomenon, involving identification with, preference for, and adoption of the entire role of the other sex, of which dress is only one aspect. This distinction is a basic one and will be elaborated in the discussion of sex-role inversion. In view of popular notions to the contrary, it should be added that neither transvestism nor inversion involves a condition of depravity or moral degeneration.

Transvestism

The word *transvestism*, sometimes spelled transvestitism, was introduced into the literature by the German medical scientist, Magnus Hirschfeld, in 1910. The literal meaning of the term is an apt description of the condition to which it refers, *trans* meaning "across" or "opposite" and *vestis* meaning "dress" or "clothing." Another and less frequently used term, *eonism*, was first used by Havelock Ellis in 1928 to refer to this same condition, and was derived from Chevalier d'Eon de Beaumont, an eighteenth-century French nobleman and diplomat who dressed and lived as a woman for many years.

Historical and Cultural Survey

The occurrence of transvestism may be traced back to almost the beginning of recorded history. More than thirty centuries ago it was reported in the religious practices in the Orient. The early Hebrews were also familiar with transvestism, as seen in Deut. 22:5: "A woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto a man, neither shall a man put on a woman's garment; for all that do are abomination unto the Lord thy God." It is evident from this passage that transvestism was looked upon as morally reprehensible behavior and, hence, subject to punishment and divine wrath. The ancient Germans considered transvestites liabilities from a military point of view and reportedly drowned them as burdens. While accepted at certain periods and by certain groups during the Middle Ages, at other times and by other groups transvestites were looked upon with scorn, condemned, and, in some cases, burned as followers of heathenism. Among some modern-day "moralists" and much of the general public, transvestites are considered degenerative perverts and affronts both to Providence and to nature.

Despite centuries of censure and condemnation, some rather eminent individuals of both sexes have been transvestites. Well-known examples include Elagabalus, Roman Emperor (A.D. 205-222); Prince Philippe, Duke of Or-

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leans and brother of Louis XIV; François de Choisy, French lord, clergyman, and diplomat; King Henry III of France; and Lord Cornbury, who was Governor of New York before the Revolutionary War. Among female transvestites are the names of James Barry, Mary Walker, and Nicholas de Raylan.

James Barry, who became Senior Inspector General of the English Army Medical Department, passed through life as a man and was described as having a certain "effeminacy" in "his" manner which "he" always tried to overcome. Mary Walker was the first American woman to be commissioned an Army surgeon (during the Civil War) and the only woman expressly granted Congressional permission to wear men's clothing. Nicholas de Raylan, who described "himself" as the "son" of a Russian admiral, was a secretary of Baron von Schlippenbach of the Russian Consulate in Chicago at the beginning of the present century and enlisted as a soldier in the Spanish-American War. Living as a man all "his" life, "he" was discovered to be a woman after "his" death in 1906.

In recent and contemporary times transvestism has been reported from many different societies, literate and nonliterate, throughout the world. It may be considered universal in occurrence and, within a given society, appears to occur in all groups and classes. Among some of the "less civilized" peoples, transvestism is tolerated and, in some cases, fully accepted and integrated into cultural and religious practices. Examples include a number of North American Indian groups (e.g., Plains, Zuni, Mohave, and Dakotas), the Eskimos, the Melanesians of the Malay Archipelago, the Polynesians of Tahiti and other South Sea islands, and the Tanala and Hovas of Madagascar. Some of these groups hold ceremonies in which the male transvestite is introduced into the "world and ways of women" and the female transvestite into the "world of men." Such a person is thereafter considered exclusively a member of his or her adopted sex and is granted appropriate recognition as such. As will be pointed out in the section on sex-role inversion, cases such as these and others discussed above probably include a number of *inverted personalities* rather than simple transvestites.

Nature and Description

It is evident that one criterion for the existence of transvestism is dependent upon the prevailing pattern of a particular culture with regard to masculine and feminine dress. For example, in China and other parts of the Orient, as well as in certain other parts of the world, women often wear trousers while men wear robes.

Another criterion is the *desire* on the part of the transvestite to look like the other sex by wearing the clothing of that sex. American women, coeds, and bobby-soxers, who wear jeans or slacks as a matter of convenience or because of the particular social environment rather than out of desire to emulate the male, obviously are not manifesting transvestism. Neither, of course, is the Scotchman who wears a kilt. In short, the crux of transvestism is the desire for, act of, and emotional accompaniments of appearing in the apparel of the other sex.

Estimates of the incidence of transvestism in the general population vary from 3 per cent to less than 1 per cent. It is difficult to determine the precise frequency since undoubtedly the vast majority of transvestites live their entire lives without coming to the attention of the psychiatric-psychological professions or being apprehended by enforcement officials. It has been estimated that probably more than 90 per cent of male transvestites carry on their activities only in private, although some of them wear feminine items most of the time under their outer masculine clothes. Since a future volume in the Kinsey series on sexual behavior is scheduled to deal specifically with transvestism, perhaps it will provide an index of the prevalence of transvestism.

The majority of authorities agree that transvestism is much more common among males than among females, the estimates of the ratio running from 2:1 to 50:1. This is particularly interesting in view of the fact that, in our own culture at least, it is permissible for girls and women but not for boys and men to wear cross-sex clothes. Thus, although females are given much more opportunity and freedom than males to wear cross-sex clothing, the number of female transvestites presumably is far less

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than the number of male transvestites. The explanation of such a sex difference would present a major theoretical as well as practical challenge. In any event, most of the discussion to follow will necessarily be limited to male transvestism since little is known about female transvestism. In addition, most of what is known about male transvestism has come from cases reported by psychopathologists and hence cannot be assumed to be typical of transvestites as a group, many of whom no doubt are never seen by members of the medical and psychological professions.

The typical male transvestite has a rather complete wardrobe of feminine apparel and accessories, including all kinds of underwear, dresses, skirts, negligees, high-heeled shoes, nylons, etc., along with cosmetics, wigs, jewelry, and other items that accentuate femininity. The desire to wear these things varies in intensity and duration from a continual, compelling, insatiable urge to periodic desires and indulgences. Characteristic of most transvestites is a feeling of relaxation, pleasure, and naturalness when wearing the clothes of the other sex. The sensory experiences of wearing and feeling the clothes and of seeing oneself in them in a mirror are fundamental factors. It is interesting to note that many male transvestites complain about the "drab" and "oppressive" qualities of masculine apparel, while describing feminine clothes as "attractive" and "comfortable"; female transvestites apparently do just the opposite.

Determinants

What factors or conditions are responsible for the development of transvestism? Attempts to provide an answer to this question may be grouped under two broad headings: biogenetic, and psychosocial.

The view that transvestism is biologically determined has long been held by a number of authorities. It rests on the assumption that genetic-chromosomal anomalies, congenital maldevelopment, or acquired postnatal imbalances provide the underlying basis for its occurrence. In other words, the transvestite is driven to wear the clothes and appear like the opposite sex by a hereditary predisposition or developmental state that gives rise to some kind of incomplete sexual differentiation. Transvestites, then, "instinctively" wear cross-sex apparel and are assumed to be "intersexed," even though just what it is about them that is "intersexed" has not been demonstrated.

One major reason for the biogenetic interpretation of transvestism has been the fact that transvestites almost invariably report that the desire to possess and wear the clothes of the opposite sex was present "from the very beginning," or "as far back as I can remember," or "from my earliest childhood." The appearance of transvestite behavior as early as the first two or three years of life has been interpreted as demonstrating its innate or congenital basis. This interpretation fails to consider that early emerging behavior patterns may actually stem from early conditioning experiences. The statements of transvestites that they feel "normal" and "natural" in the clothing of the other sex have been taken as indications of the constitutional nature of transvestism, but here again, such feelings are probably the result of learning rather than of constitutional endowment.

Little, if any, evidence has been established to support the biogenetic hypothesis. In fact, recent research studies on a large number of various types of human hermaphrodites point conclusively to the primary importance of assigned sex at birth, sex of rearing, and *learned* sex-role identity, rather than of biological predispositions. Thus, among individuals with overt sexual components of both sexes (such as ambiguous external genitalia or a contradiction between external genitalia and chromosomal, gonadal, hormonal, or internal sexual characteristics), the crucial determinants of their sex-role concept and identity as male and masculine or as female and feminine have been found to be their early conditioning experiences, social learnings, and psychological developments, rather than the natures of their biological-anatomical anomalies. A person may be very confused in terms of chromosomal-genital-anatomical-physiological sexuality but be quite normal in his psychosexual development and, for example, show no inclination whatsoever toward transvestism, inversion, homosexuality, or other sexual disturbances.

The biogenetic concept of transvestism, then,

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appears to have little validity and, at least in the present state of knowledge, must be regarded as lacking substantiation. Furthermore, cultural diversity in dress makes it improbable that we will find a biogenetic mechanism to explain the fact that a male transvestite, reared in certain parts of the Orient, desires and prefers trousers, while a male transvestite reared in the Western world desires and prefers skirts and dresses.

The psychosocial explanation of transvestism is in terms of learning, i.e., transvestism is regarded as an *acquired* motivational and behavioral pattern, directly traceable to conditioning experiences, usually occurring in childhood. As such, a person's preference for or compelling desire to wear the clothes of the other sex is no more the result of inborn constitutional factors than is a vegetarian's strict preference for meatless food or a Mohammedan's preference for worshiping Allah. It is true, of course, that just as in other aspects of human behavior, the ease with which conditioning will develop a strong preference can vary from person to person. Wide differences in sensory threshold have been clearly demonstrated and are quite evident. Nevertheless, practically all individuals are conditionable, i.e., have the potentiality for acquiring particular motives, preferences, and emotional states of varying degrees of intensity.

Whatever may be the unique combination of childhood experiences and circumstances in a given case of transvestism, one factor almost invariably found to be of prime importance is that in the first two or three years of life the child was accidentally or intentionally exposed to the experience of wearing and fondling the clothes of the other sex, allowing an imprinting process to occur, in which, for example, the male child's formative sensory experiences may be conditioned to feminine articles of clothing. A frequent related finding in the histories is that the child's hair was kept long and/or curled like that of a girl. In addition, the boy is often given extra attention and praise by the parent for wearing feminine clothes and appearing feminine. Interestingly enough, in some instances a young boy may be punished by being forced to wear feminine clothes, such "discipline" being referred to as "pinafore punishment"; nevertheless, such a boy may come to be conditioned to feminine items just as surely as one who is rewarded for wearing them. It is reasonable to wonder about the motivations of parents who choose such a form of "punishment" for male children. Some parents may be more or less unconsciously saying to the child, "I wanted you to be a girl in the first place and since you disappointed me, I'll make you look like one." Other parents might be expressing a very different attitude, one of "I'll force you into an inferior role, I'll deny your privileged, masculine status and make you into a girl."

What kind of parent-child relations allow a male child to wear feminine clothes and have hair like a girl? In the typical pattern the parents, most often the mother, especially wanted a girl rather than a boy child, or for some other reason were particularly disappointed in their male offspring. A feminization process is carried out by the mother, who provides the boy with feminine clothes and proceeds to rear him as though he were a girl insofar as dress and appearance are concerned. Little Lord Fauntleroy is a well-known example of how some boys acquire predominantly feminine characteristics under the deliberate influence of the mother. Parental approval and praise are often directly connected with cross-sex dress: "Oh, you look like a little angel," "You're so pretty," "You'd make such a darling girl," "You're mother's favorite when you are all dressed up in a pretty dress," etc.

It is important to note here that this process involves both conditioning and instrumental or operant forms of learning; that a considerable amount of it is an involuntary learning experience; and that it often occurs in the *earliest* period of life before the child can even verbalize his feelings and preferences. This probably explains the fact that many transvestites report not only that the clothes of the other sex feel "natural," but also that they "can't help" feeling the way they do about wearing such clothes. In this connection, it is possible that the much greater incidence of transvestism reported in males compared to females may be based in part on the more frequent occurrence of boys dressed as girls in the *first two or three years of life*. A 2-year-old girl with a "butch" hair style, dressed in a shirt and trousers, is

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certainly rarer than a 2-year-old boy with long or curled hair and still in a dress. Of course, *after* the first few years this pattern is reversed, and girls but not boys are allowed to wear clothes of the opposite sex.

In any event, evidence suggests that in many instances the basis for the development of transvestism occurs in the early years of childhood. Furthermore, the influence of the wider cultural pattern would appear to be quite secondary compared to the formative learning experiences of the child. The fact that transvestism is often rooted in the earlier life of an individual would in part account for its very strong resistance to extinction.

It seems quite clear that the mother exerts a decisive influence in the development of transvestism. In case after case of male transvestism, the mother is described as "delighting in dressing the boy as a girl," "encouraging girlishness in her son," "pretending the son was a daughter," or "forcing her boy to wear feminine attire." In many cases the mother feminizes her son without apology or concealment; in other instances, she is intent on feminizing her son but goes about it with some degree of pretense or disguise. One male transvestite, for example, was almost full-grown before his mother finally remarked, "I rather like you in feminine clothes." As a group, mothers of transvestites tend to fit the description of "mom," as defined by Philip Wylie, Edward Strecker, and other authorities: an immature, narcissistic, selfish, chronically unhappy woman whose maladjustment seriously affects and impedes the psychological development and emotional maturity of her children.

The father pattern is usually one or the other of two types: (1) father-absence pattern, in which for one reason or another the father has little or no contact with the son (and there is no father-substitute such as a big brother or grandfather); or (2) father-son disturbed pattern, in which the father-son relationship is negative and unsatisfactory because of rejection and intense dislike of the son by the father, or because of marked domination of the father by the mother, together with overprotection of the son, which prevents a close, emotional bond to develop between father and son. A less frequently reported pattern is that in which the male child identifies with the mother and at the same time competes with her in an effort to win the attention and acceptance of the father.

Presumably a converse pattern is found in the childhood of female transvestites, i. e., the little girl is provided with boys' clothing which she is allowed, encouraged, or forced to wear. It seems likely, however, that female transvestism per se (transvestism without inversion) is an extremely rare phenomenon. Most cases of females who dress in masculine clothing are probably female inverts and not merely transvestites.

The *psychoanalytical interpretation* of transvestism is in terms of the nature of the early mother-child relationship. Although Freud himself had little to say about transvestism, other psychoanalytical writers have emphasized the central role of castration anxiety and identification with a threatening "phallic type" mother in the development of male transvestism. The little boy deals with his own castration anxiety allegedly by convincing himself that the mother has a penis, and thereby identifies with her. The centering of attention on the mother's clothes rather than on her body is said to be adopted by the little boy as a means whereby he can avoid acknowledging the anatomical difference between males and females, and, hence, deny the threat of castration. "Being like mother" occurs primarily with reference to wearing clothes like those of mother.

Some writers have viewed transvestites as individuals whose longing for the genitals of the other sex is displaced to a desire for their clothing and, as such, is indicative of an urge to be identified with the other sex. Incest fixation also has been mentioned as a contributing factor in that the desire for clothes is a symbolic representation of desire for sexual gratification with a family member of the other sex. Female transvestism is viewed as involving a more "pretending" condition (i. e., the girl pretends she has a penis) than male transvestism, and is considered as a displacement of envy of the penis to an envy of masculine dress, appearance, and status.

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Transvestism and Other Sexual Disturbances

Although transvestism may occur along with or in addition to other forms of sexual disturbance, such as homosexuality, fetishism, or exhibitionism, it is important not to confuse or equate it with any of these other phenomena.

It is unfortunate that transvestism is often considered nothing more than a form of *homosexuality*. As a matter of fact, these two phenomena are separate and independent. Research and clinical studies indicate that the majority of male transvestites are predominantly or exclusively heterosexual throughout their lives. Despite this, some authorities automatically suspect or assume homosexuality in all cases of transvestism and attempt to "explain" the heterosexual majority as "latent," "masked," or "repressed" homosexuals. This is akin to saying that all persons are really murderers or arsonists, but that they are "unconscious" killers or "latent" firebugs. Perhaps the simplest way of summarizing this discussion is to state that among a large number of predominantly or exclusively homosexual males, a minority will be found to be transvestites, and among a large number of male transvestites, a minority will be found to be predominantly or exclusively homosexual. The relative incidence of homosexuality among female transvestites is not known. It was hypothesized previously that most women who, through choice, wear masculine clothes are probably *inverted* personalities and not merely transvestites, and there is some evidence that among these inverted females the majority are homosexual.

Another phenomenon often linked with transvestism is *fetishism*, which refers to sexual arousal and gratification mainly or exclusively associated with some specific item of clothing, "nongenital" part of the body, or inanimate object. Some cases of transvestism may involve sexual excitement leading to orgasm in connection with a certain item of cross-sex clothing. If masturbation is instigated by *wearing*, rather than by fondling or caressing, an article of dress belonging to the other sex, and if this is the most prominent feature of the case, it might best be considered fetishism associated with transvestism, rather than pure transvestism. It should be added, however, that perhaps the majority of transvestites desire cross-sex clothes in their own right, rather than for purposes of masturbation, and that such desire is not necessarily associated with sexual gratification per se. It is necessary to stress, as in the case of homosexuality, that many transvestites are not fetishists and many fetishists are not transvestites.

Exhibitionism is another disturbance sometimes confused with transvestism. The fact that the typical transvestite obtains satisfaction by having other people look at him while dressed in cross-sex clothing as well as by looking at himself in a mirror does not necessarily indicate exhibitionism in a strict sense. Exhibitionism is a sexual disturbance in which exposure of the genitals brings erotic excitement and gratification, and, as such, occurs independently of transvestism and vice versa.

Hermaphroditism (androgyny or gynandry) is an anatomical-physiological condition in which there is ambiguity in the external genitals and/or contradictions among the chromosomal, gonodal, or hormonal factors, the external genital structures, and the internal accessory sexual structures. As a biological anomaly, hermaphroditism stands in sharp contrast to transvestism, in which the person's biological structures and functions are normal but his psychological development involved intense conditioning to the clothes of the other sex. Hermaphroditism is the result of organic constitutional factors, whereas transvestism is the result of psychosocial factors. As pointed out previously, careful study of many hermaphrodites shows that the crucial variable that determines their sex-role identity is *not* the nature or extent of their hermaphroditism but rather the consistency of their being reared as a boy or a girl and the degree to which they have desired and accepted a masculine or feminine role. On the other hand, a person may be partially or predominantly inverted in his or her sex role but completely normal in sexual anatomy and physiology. In short, hermaphroditism and transvestism are entirely different and completely independent conditions.

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Treatment and Prevention

Because the condition often becomes fixated during childhood, transvestism is highly resistant to modification or extinction. Psychotherapy has been largely unsuccessful in providing a means of eliminating transvestic behavior. Some therapists, however, hold out hope, believing that most failures are caused by the patient's lack of desire for cure and that if his motivational state could be altered, effective results would follow.

There is little disagreement that an ounce of prevention is worth more than a ton of cure as far as transvestism is concerned. A psychosocial immunization against transvestism exists and consists of two components: (1) making certain the infant-child is exposed to and wears *only* clothes that are culturally appropriate and in accordance with his biological sex; and (2) creating an accepting, close, affectionate relationship with the parent of the same sex. The very real danger of dressing a child in cross-sex clothes, either by encouragement or by force, especially during the first few years of life, should be realized by all prospective parents and, in particular, by mothers. It is unfortunate that there are not ways whereby young children can be protected from parents who distort and warp their psychological development just as they are protected from physical brutality, neglect, and cruelty. A widespread educational program stressing the permanent damage a parent can do to a child in the psychosexual area might at least make some mothers ponder the consequences of conditioning a child to patterns of the other sex.

Sex-Role Inversion

Superficially, a person is either male *or* female, masculine *or* feminine. Sexual and sex-role differentiation show, however, gradations similar to those found in other life classifications (e.g., animal-plant or mammal-bird) and human dimensions (intelligence, height, etc.). Thus, the degree to which a person is male and masculine or female and feminine is relative.

The phenomenon in which a person of one biological sex *thinks, feels,* and *acts* like the opposite sex is called inversion or, more accurately, sex-role inversion. Identification with, preference for, and adoption of the sex role of the other sex is the essential meaning of inversion. A man, for example, whose interests, motivational states, and behavioral patterns are typical of women, is a male invert. Inversion, then, involves a psychosomatic disharmony, in that the psychological characteristics of an individual are typical of one sex but the anatomical composition is that of the other sex. This condition has been reported from ancient times and observed in almost every social group.

The desire of the invert for the role and identity of the other sex is often compelling, insatiable, and life-long. Male inverts, for example, describe themselves in terms such as the following: "I'm really a female but I have a male body," "I'm physically a male but emotionally a female," "Nature made a mistake and gave me a male body," "I'm male in name only." A demonstration of how complete the adoption of the role of the other sex may be is provided by cultures that are tolerant or accepting of such individuals. Thus, among the Mohave Indians, the male invert typically has a feminine name, looks and dresses like a woman, calls his penis a "clitoris," imitates menstruation by scratching his thighs to produce blood, feigns pregnancy and childbirth, and in every way possible follows the role of a woman. The completeness with which inversion may be established even in our own society is shown by the case of a male invert who throughout childhood lived with his mother as a "daughter," attended a modeling school, became a "saleswoman" in an exclusive ladies' shop on the West Coast, and was "maid of honor" at the wedding of a close friend.

Inversion and Other Sexual Disturbances

It is important to emphasize that the criterion of inversion is *psychological* and *behavioral,* rather than anatomical and physical, similarity to the other sex. Traits that are primarily the result of environmental conditions and learning should not be confused with features that are the result of heredity and maturation. The

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terms *masculinity* and *femininity* should be used to refer to the former, and *male* and *female* to the latter.

Such components of personality and traits of a person as preferences, social motives, and feelings; gait, gestures, and other bodily movements; general demeanor; communicative qualities such as enunciation, word associations, and word choices; and various everyday habits and mannerisms—these are for the most part *acquired* patterns through which culturally defined masculine or feminine modes of behavior are expressed. On the other hand, such features as bodily dimensions and shape; pubic hair distribution and presence or absence of beard; muscle potential; voice depth; internal and external genital structures; and related characteristics are part of the unlearned, constitutional make-up of a person. Thus, when an individual's thinking, feeling, and acting are more characteristic of the other sex than his or her own biological sex, the result is *inversion*; on the other hand, when the individual's structural features and physiological functions are both male and female, the result is some degree of hermaphroditism. It can be seen that inversion bears a relationship to masculinity and femininity similar to that which hermaphroditism bears to maleness and femaleness. Failure to make this basic distinction leads to conceptual confusion and such contradictory terms as "constitutional masculinity," "biological femininity," "psychic hermaphroditism," "instinctive female impersonators," and "innately feminine." It leads also to erroneous interpretations of acquired behavior patterns (masculine and feminine traits) as hereditary and maturational. The terms "virility" and "effeminacy" are commonly used to imply *both* male and masculine or female and feminine characteristics, i.e., to unlearned and physiological as well as to learned and psychological features and traits.

It is not difficult to understand why inversion has often been confused with transvestism and homosexuality. Whereas transvestism will almost always be found in cases of inversion (since desiring to wear the clothes of the other sex is one of the many aspects of adopting the role of that sex), the converse is not true; inversion is not necessarily found in cases of transvestism. In fact, evidence suggests that the majority of transvestites are neither inverts nor homosexuals. Apart from their life-long fixation on feminine clothes, many male transvestites are masculine in sex-role behavior, are married, have families, live normal lives, and in some cases distinguish themselves in masculine undertakings such as the armed forces and athletics.

Passive, feminine male homosexuality and *active, masculine* female homosexuality will often be found among male and female inverts respectively. The male invert, for example, perceives himself as a female and will be inclined to seek sexual gratification from the "other" sex, that is, from males. Not all homosexuals, however, are inverts, since there are a number of other determinants of homosexuality. Inversion is only *one* condition that may be related to *one* form of homosexuality.

If many inverts are homosexual why not *all* of them? Since, for example, the typical female invert thinks, feels, and acts like a man, and since the typical man is sexually oriented toward women, then why are not all female inverts homosexual—that is, sexually oriented toward women? The answer to this question would appear to be along the following lines: Just as some women, who are normal in the sense of having adopted the feminine role, may be incapable of heterosexual adjustment because of unfavorable developmental conditioning or experiences in psychosocial relations with the *other* sex, so some female inverts may not be capable of homosexual adjustment because of adverse experiences in psychosexual relations with the *same* sex. However, if a woman, otherwise normal in sex role, finds sensory gratification and affective satisfaction with other women while experiencing disgust with members of the other sex, the result is likely to be a feminine female homosexual. In the same way, the male invert may have no inclination toward sexual relations with other men even though he is feminine through and through.

There are actually three different, independently varying components in the psychosexual development of an individual: (1) the consti-

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tutional composition as male or female, which is determined by genetic and maturational processes; (2) the process whereby a child *learns* how to be masculine or feminine, i.e., acquires a sex role; and (3) the process whereby a child *learns* how to channelize the raw energy of sexual drive toward one type of outlet or another, i.e., make the choice of sex object. A child is *born* a male or female but *learns* to be masculine or feminine and *learns* to seek and experience sexual satisfaction with members of the other sex or of the same sex. In the normal individual, these processes are consistent and integrated; the boy, as a male, learns to be masculine *and* to perceive females as potential love objects. Among noninverted homosexuals, the sex-role is normal except for the sex-object choice, whereas among inverted homosexuals neither sex role nor sex-object choice is normal. Among those individuals who are inverts but not homosexual, some may be heterosexual and some autosexual-narcissistic in object choice, while others may be more or less asexual or relatively hyposexed.

A term related to inversion but with a more specific meaning is *transsexualism*. The male invert who undergoes surgery to remove his male genital organs is a transsexualist ("going over to the other sex"), i.e., one who desires and receives sexual transformation by means of medical and surgical procedures. The widely known case of George (Christine) Jorgensen is an example. Some indication that inversion involving transsexualism is not necessarily an isolated occurrence or desire is suggested by the fact that, following the revelation of the Jorgensen case in the newspapers, the Danish endocrinologist, Hamburger, who supervised the "change of sex" procedures, received hundreds of letters from all parts of the world from individuals expressing the desire to have their sex changed.

Transsexualism is evident in the male invert who abhors everything male and masculine about himself, who has an overwhelming desire to be a woman not only in the full psychological and social sense but also in an anatomical sense, and who seeks surgery that will remove his maleness. Such inverts look upon their genitals as "dreadful deformities" and have an overwhelming desire to be a "complete woman." The medical procedures involved in cases of male transsexualism exemplified by Jorgensen include: (1) hormonal castration by means of estrogenics which inhibit testicular functions; (2) electrolysis for the removal of facial hair; (3) surgical removal of the testes; (4) amputation of the penis; and (5) transformation of the scrotum into labialike structures and the creation of an artificial vagina by plastic surgery.

The fact that the transsexualist-invert belongs biologically to one sex but psychologically to the other sex commonly creates a deep-rooted, underlying pattern of maladjustment among such individuals. A healthy integration of the personality is hardly possible in such cases. Some authorities are of the opinion, however, that these individuals do improve in their adjustment to life after they have undergone the "change-over" operative procedures.

There have been a few instances of male transsexualists who, prior to their "transformation," have fathered one or more children. It is not difficult to imagine how confusing such a state of affairs must be to children whose "father" becomes a "woman."

Determinants of Sex-Role Inversion

Some authorities hold that the underlying basis of inversion is a genetically intersexed condition involving an inborn "irrepressible pattern" that is independent of early learning. Such individuals are often referred to as the "intermediate sex." The evidence, however, is lacking for this interpretation. In fact, as mentioned in the section on transvestism, recent investigations of individuals who are physically intersexed (hermaphrodites) point *away from* rather than toward a constitutional explanation of both inversion and transvestism.

The basis of inversion appears rather to be in the earliest parent-child relationships and is probably established during the second or third year of life. The child who becomes an adult invert has usually established a primary and continuing identification with the parent (or parent-substitute) of the other sex, and has adopted the sex-role of this parent. For one reason or another the family pattern is such that the child forms an excessively close and strong attachment to the parent of the opposite sex,

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while experiencing little or no emotionally satisfying relationship with the parent of the same sex.

The background of male inverts, for example, is typically one in which the *mother* encourages and reinforces the development of femininity while discouraging masculinity in the boy. Not uncommonly the mother makes no secret of her wish that the son had been a daughter and, in the first few years, "pretends" he is a girl. During this time there is a prolonged feminization process going on in which the mother and other women in the life of the young boy (grandmother, sisters, or other female relatives) surround him with patterns of femininity, dress him in girls' clothes, encourage him to play with girls and learn their ways, and treat him as though he actually were a girl. Usually, such a boy idolizes the mother and remains attached to her not only during childhood but throughout his life. During childhood such a boy typically becomes girlish in his behavior, learns to prefer dolls and other feminine playthings, develops a liking for domestic tasks to the exclusion of activities more common to boys, and desires to dress, look, and talk as much like a girl as possible. Usually he does not try to conceal his compelling drive toward becoming more and more feminine and, as adolescence and adulthood are approached, his desire to be accepted by society as a "complete woman" becomes even stronger. In brief, this constitutes the development of inversion.

There are, of course, individual variations in cases of inversion as in any other behavioral phenomenon. Thus, while male inverts as a group will characteristically show a childhood pattern of preference for playing with girls rather than boys, with a liking for girls' rather than boys' activities, there are exceptions to this pattern. In a given case of male inversion, for example, there may be a seemingly incongruent combination of dislike for playing with girls, an interest in domestic activities such as cooking and housekeeping, and a liking for mechanical toys, electrical apparatus, building materials, etc.

In cases where the boy has a relatively positive attachment to the father, or at least a relationship that is not one of basic rejection or hostility, and at the same time has a mother who allows, encourages, or forces him to wear feminine dress and develop other feminine patterns, the result is likely to be some degree of confusion in sex role. He may either show uncertainty as to his sex role or may actually develop two relatively distinct selves, one masculine and one feminine. One such individual described himself as "ruggedly masculine and aggressive" when dressed in masculine clothes, but "passive, gentle, and submissive" when in feminine clothes. It is evident that in such a case two sex roles, masculine and feminine, exist in the same personality. A variation of this pattern is exemplified by another subject, who reported feeling "opposite at times," "like two people in one, male and female," and "never completely male and never completely female." The patient had, during childhood, shown a mixture of feminine and masculine interests. As an adult, he alternated between an interest in muscle-building exercises and efforts to be "more of a man," and an urge to wear feminine clothing, use cosmetics, and appear more like a woman. Still another individual reported that when he was in his feminine role he tried to approximate the feminine image that he admired when he was in his masculine role.

It is interesting to note that cases such as those just described bear some resemblance to the phenomenon of dual personality. Part of the time the person is masculine in appearance and behavior; at other times the same person is feminine in appearance and behavior. Instead of a Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde or an Eve White and Eve Black, there is a "Mr." Doe and a "Miss" Doe. There is, however, an important difference between individuals with dual sex roles and those with dual personalities. In contrast to cases of dual personality, in which one of the two selves is amnesic to the other, individuals who develop two sex roles are aware of the existence of both roles.

Treatment and Prevention

So far as is known, there is not a single case of clearly established adult inversion that has been cured by psychotheraphy or any other form of treatment. Although this does not necessarily mean that a restructuring of personality is impossible, especially if the patient desires strongly to effect such a change, it does mean

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that an inverted individual is likely to remain so throughout his life. The extreme resistance of inversion to change is based at least in part on the fact that it is typically conditioned in the earliest years of life, before the child is able to verbalize his emotional and motivational states. Moreover, almost invariably the invert is so satisfied with his adoption of the role of the other sex that he will never want to change his sex-role inversion, and therefore either will not attempt or will consciously resist any basic therapeutic change.

The *prevention* of inversion is clearly indicated and consists of educating parents to accept, respect, and rear a child in accordance with his biological sex. It would, for example, appear to be almost impossible for a boy to grow into a male invert if in early life he had: (1) a father (or father-substitute) who accepts, respects, and loves him *as a male*, to whom the boy can and will want to look as a model upon whom to pattern his own personality; and (2) a mother (or mother-substitute) who accepts, respects, and loves him *as a male* and who encourages him to develop manliness, to be masculine, to become a man. The corresponding pattern in the case of girls will prevent the development of female inversion: parents who accept, respect, and love the little girl *as a girl*—a mother the little girl both wants, and learns, to imitate, and a father who gives the little girl love and admiration for her femaleness and her efforts to develop along feminine lines.

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DANIEL G. BROWN

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Venereal Diseases, The

GLOBAL in incidence, the venereal diseases (Latin *venus, vener* = the goddess of love) are among the major afflictions of mankind. Although many years of application of present knowledge are still required, the use of penicillin and other antibiotic drugs has made the control of these diseases a practical possibility. Their complete elimination is no longer a fantastic goal.

They represent those infections usually acquired as a result of heterosexual and homosexual intercourse and allied activities. Because the causative organisms usually dwell only in human beings and cannot thrive outside of the body, the venereal diseases are almost always contracted by the direct transfer from one person to another. The organisms multiply best in moist areas, hence the prevalence of initial signs of the infection on and around the genitals, anus, and mouth. This, too, explains the usual mode of transmission, since sexual activities tend to bring these sites into apposition.

In this article an attempt is made to present the main features of the modern diagnosis and treatment of five venereal diseases: syphilis, gonorrhea, chancroid, granuloma inguinale, and lymphogranuloma venereum. Brief mention will also be made of a related group of widespread conditions—nonvenereal syphilis or endemic syphilis.

Syphilis

The word "syphilis" was first used by the physician Fracastoro in a poem published in 1530. In the thirty-five years immediately preceding this, the disease, or other diseases mistaken for it, had spread wildly over Europe; a concurrence that later led to the theory that Columbus and his men had imported syphilis from America during the historic voyage of 1492. The etymology of the term is uncertain, but it is probably derived from the Greek words meaning "swine" and "love." The hero of Fracastoro's poem was a swineherd or shepherd boy, whose name was Syphilis and who was affected with the disease.

The modern study of syphilis started rather late in the bacterial era, mainly because the organism eluded detection long after those causing other diseases had been discovered and means of combating them had been devised. In 1903, Metchnikoff and Roux demonstrated the transmissibility of syphilis to apes, and in 1905, Schaudinn and Hoffmann discovered the causative organism. During this time, indirect methods for diagnosis were being perfected and in 1906 to 1907, Wassermann, Neisser, and Brück applied the complement-fixation reaction of Bordet and Gengou to syphilis. This reaction has since been known simply as the Wassermann test (blood test—B. T.—or serological test for syphilis—S. T. S.).

Blood Tests

Since the introduction of the Wassermann test, many methods of testing the blood serum of patients suspected of having syphilis have been devised. The Eagle, Hinton, Kahn, Kline, VDRL, Mazzini, and Rein-Bossak tests are but a few of the American tests in use, and practically every country has its own modification.

All serological tests depend on the detection of an antibody produced in the blood serum by the syphilitic infection. It is now known that

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the above-listed classic tests are far from specific and have given erroneous results in a wide variety of unrelated diseases, such as respiratory infections, malaria, small-pox vaccination, leprosy, and others. This has often led to an unwarranted diagnosis of syphilis in a great many patients and to much unnecessary treatment. Fortunately, this confusion is now resolving with the introduction of the newer specific tests such as the Treponema Pallidum Immobilization (TPI) (Nelson and Mayer), Treponema Pallidum Complement-Fixation (TPCF), Reiter Protein Complement-Fixation (RPCF), and others. These newer tests reach such a degree of specificity that a negative result almost certainly will rule out a diagnosis of syphilis.

The combined use of a specific serological test and a specific curative drug, penicillin, has made for a more relaxed management and follow-up of the disease. Although it still is necessary to search out sources of infection, one can now avoid throwing patients into a constant state of apprehension with repeated blood tests, often for a lifetime, and a surveillance that has often compromised occupation, marriage, pregnancy, and social life. Now that standards of blood testing and treatment have been clarified, it is hoped that included in the benefits of disease eradication will be the erasure of stigma, shame, and syphilophobia which previously were fostered by uncertain diagnosis and treatment.

Etiology and Epidemiology

The etiological agent of syphilis is a corkscrew-shaped organism known as the *Treponema* (Greek, spiral thread) *pallidum* (Latin, pale). *T. pallidum* has a cylindrical body with eight to fourteen rigid spirals and is best seen with the aid of a dark-field microscope. The organism is difficult to stain and culture.

Far from being the great scourge, it has recently become apparent that syphilis can be a benign disease in 50 per cent of all infected persons. From the Boeck-Bruusgaard studies, begun in the 1890's and now nearing completion, several facts emerge. Among patients who acquire early syphilis and who receive no treatment, some 50 per cent will not experience any disability or inconvenience, some 25 per cent will be left with residual evidence of the disease but no disability or shortening of their life span, and some 25 per cent will experience serious disability from late manifestations or be killed by it.

This study, therefore, would tend to further discredit the theory that Columbus introduced syphilis into Europe as a raging, killing epidemic. For, although it may distress and mutilate and finally progress to deterioration after many years, it does not destroy in an acute episode.

After *T. pallida* have entered the body, they multiply and disseminate through the blood stream to all organs. In an untreated patient, the subsequent events have been divided by tradition into the following stages: early infectious syphilis, latent syphilis, and late syphilis.

Early Syphilis

Syphilis may be regarded as early at any time within two years after infection. During this period, all or almost all of the contagious skin and mucous membrane lesions will have occurred. This stage is subdivided into primary and secondary syphilis.

Primary Syphilis

The primary lesion of acquired syphilis, the chancre, develops at the point of inoculation, usually within two to six weeks and most commonly on the anogenital organs. These lesions, however, have also been described on the lip, mouth, fingers, and breast. The chancre usually begins as a small red papule that becomes eroded and moist. Frequently, there is nothing characteristic about it and it may or may not be hard. There may be multiple chancres. The only other sign at this stage is a firm, painless, movable, swollen lymph gland at the site of regional lymph drainage; when the chancre is on the penis, the gland would appear in the groin.

The duration of the primary lesion varies considerably. In all cases, however, chancres are self-limited and heal without treatment. The secondary lesions of syphilis generally develop before the chancre disappears, but occasionally the primary lesion heals before other manifestations are noted. The primary and secondary

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stages may overlap or may be separated by variable periods of time.

During the early part of the primary stage or before it, the microorganisms leave the blood stream and invade the other tissues of the body. This generalized invasion of the body by treponemes usually results in the development of lesions that characterize the secondary stage of the disease.

Secondary Syphilis

The lesions of secondary syphilis develop anywhere from two to six months after infection and represent the initial reactions of various tissues, especially skin and mucous membrane, to the organisms carried to them by the blood and lymphatics. These lesions, as well as the chancre, contain treponemes in large numbers and their demonstration in the skin and mucous-membrane lesions by dark-field microscopic examination is diagnostic.

Cutaneous manifestations of syphilis show great variability in appearance. The more commonly seen are oval, scaly, and red areas; reddish-brown papular lesions; scaly, flat, discoid patches; moist, macerated, wartlike lesions in the body folds; flat, gray erosions on the mucous membranes of the mouth, anus, or vulva; and papules and nodules on the palms and soles. The lesions occur in such a wide variety that they may be confused with many nonsyphilitic skin conditions.

Constitutional reactions, ordinarily mild, are very common in early syphilis. These consist principally of headache, malaise, low-grade fever, sore throat, and occasional faint pains.

As a rule, the secondary lesions are not destructive and heal without scar formation in varying periods of time, even without treatment. Usually, they disappear within a few weeks or months but occasionally they persist for as long as a year. They are ordinarily painless and do not itch. The serological blood tests are always positive at this stage.

Latent Syphilis

In following the course of an untreated syphilis, we now enter the latent period. This is the phase of the disease, seen at least two years after the initial infection, in which there are no clinical signs and symptoms referable to syphilis. It is diagnosed solely by positive tests for syphilis in the blood serum and by a past history of the infection.

The diagnosis of latent syphilis is arrived at by exclusion and should be made with great care and only after thorough physical examination. It is in this group that unwarranted diagnoses were often made, since the old serological tests were nonspecific and not sensitive enough. Such "biologically false positive" reactors are much less frequently seen with the newer, more specific tests. In any case, the accurate diagnosis of latent syphilis has become in some respects an academic matter; the patient will probably receive antisyphilitic treatment eventually.

Late Benign Syphilis

As a general rule, overt manifestations of late syphilis do not appear until some ten years after infection. Many exceptions to this rule occur, but in the majority of patients, late syphilitic lesions are diagnosed between the tenth and thirteenth year after infection. They include an almost overwhelming multiplicity.

The skin lesions of late syphilis consist of gummas and grouped nodules. A gumma begins as a small tumor that breaks down to form an ulcer that may be single or multiple and can occur anywhere on the cutaneous surface. Gummas cause marked destruction and heal with scarring. The grouped nodules, reddish in color, can often be recognized by their arcuate and ringed configuration. The lesions of late syphilis are noninfectious and are devoid of treponemes.

Late lesions may occur in the mouth, tongue, and throat with the production of thickenings or ulcerative destruction. Bones, joints, eyes, and most other organs may be similarly involved in the chronic inflammatory process.

The term "cardiovascular syphilis" is used to describe syphilis of the aorta and heart, a most serious form of the disease. The inflammation of the aorta leads to a weakness of its wall and an outpocketing, known as a saccular aneurysm. The sac may progress to large dimensions and eventually rupture, with fatal results.

The term "neurosyphilis" is used to describe late syphilis of the brain and spinal cord. Be-

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cause the syphilitic changes in the central nervous system may be diffuse or focal, there is no limit to the variety of clinical manifestations that can appear. General paresis and tabes dorsalis are the main forms of neurosyphilis, but the disease may take the form of meningitis, cerebral hemorrhage, brain tumor, deafness, blindness, mental disturbance, and epilepsy.

Syphilis in Pregnancy and Congenital Syphilis

Penicillin therapy is so effective in this regard that even if treatment is given late in pregnancy when the fetus is already infected, active congenital syphilis after birth may be completely prevented.

If infection with syphilis has taken place in the newborn, the earliest manifestations resemble those of the secondary stage and the lesions are heavily seeded with organisms. In addition, cartilage, bones, and brain may be involved. Later in childhood and in early adult life, congenital syphilis may cause involvement of any organ or system and produce clinical pictures similar to the acquired disease.

Treatment of Syphilis

The therapeutic agent of choice for all types of syphilis is penicillin. It is so far superior to any previous method of treatment as to supplant it completely. It is capable of producing biological cure of the disease in a proportion of cases that approaches 100 per cent. Since Mahoney introduced this therapy in 1942, no treponemes have been found to be resistant to the drug. Courses of treatment vary from one injection to a dozen, depending upon the stage of the disease and the form of the drug used.

When penicillin is contraindicated in the penicillin-sensitive patient, some of the other antibiotics, such as Aureomycin and Terramycin, may be given by mouth with equally felicitous results.

Nonvenereal Syphilis (Endemic Syphilis)

It has recently become clear that there exists a closely related group of infections, all caused by treponemal organisms, that under different environmental conditions can develop similar clinical syndromes. Hudson (1958) and others even think in terms of a single worldwide disease, "treponematoses," that had its ancient origin in Africa, gradually spread, and, in so doing, may have altered its character from nonvenereal to venereal.

It seems reasonable, therefore, to consider the treponemal diseases or treponematoses from the epidemiological point of view as (1) nonvenereal juvenile infections occurring in endemic form and contracted in childhood, and (2) venereal infections occurring in sporadic form, contracted during sexual activities and numerically far less frequent than the endemic form. Venereal syphilis as described in this article belongs to this group.

Nonvenereal or endemic syphilis affects masses of population in many countries and comprises similar or identical conditions with different local names:

Yaws	the	endemic	treponematosis	of the tropics
Pinta	"	"	"	" Central America
Bejel	"	"	"	" Iraq and Syria
Njovera	"	"	"	" Southern Rhodesia
Dechuchwa	"	"	"	" Bechuanaland
Siti	"	"	"	" British West Africa

All these are basically endemic syphilitic infections that are acquired in infancy. They are at present being widely attacked with penicillin therapy in widespread eradication campaigns under the sponsorship of the World Health Organization. Besides sharing a close cross immunity, indistinguishable causative organisms, and similar host response with venereal syphilis, all of the above-listed treponemal diseases also show a uniformly excellent curative response to penicillin.

Gonorrhea (The Clap)

Gonorrhea (Greek, a flow of seed), the most prevalent of the venereal diseases, usually presents as an infective discharge of pus from the genitals. The causative organism is the gonococcus (*Neisseria gonorrhoeae*), and in the adult, nearly all cases are contracted during sexual intercourse with an infected person.

Unmistakable references to gonorrhea are contained in very early Chinese writings and in the Bible. Some medical historians consider that the Hebrew rite of circumcision may have been introduced as a preventive of balanitis, a

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frequent complication of gonorrhea. Galen, A.D. 130, first employed the term gonorrhea, translated as "flow of seed." During the late Middle Ages, gonorrhea was thought to be a manifestation of syphilis. This concept gained support from the classic error of John Hunter who, in 1767, misinterpreted the syphilis infection that resulted from self-inoculation with pus from the urethra of a patient supposedly infected only with gonorrhea. In 1830, Ricord properly delineated the two diseases. In 1879, Neisser identified the causative organism, which he called "gonococcus," and, several years later, it was cultivated on artificial media by Bumm. Interest in the disease attained special prominence in 1943, when the very striking susceptibility of the *N. gonorrhoeae* to penicillin was demonstrated.

The sites usually attacked are the urethra in the male and the urethra and cervix of the female. Spread then takes place to the surrounding regions, but the disease is usually restricted to the genitourinary locale. The rectum of both sexes may be infected either by direct extension from the genitals or by anal intercourse. Rarely, the organisms involve the skin and joints and, more rarely, the brain and blood. Accidental infection, although uncommon, may be acquired by children and from close contact with infected adults. The eyes of the newborn may be infected during delivery.

Gonorrhea in the Male

By far the most usual manifestation of gonorrhea in the male is an acute urethritis acquired during sexual intercourse with an infected woman. A rectal infection may be acquired by homosexuals, while other patients may be rare victims of an accidental gonococcal conjunctivitis. Dirty toilet seats, dirty towels, exercise, and strains have no part in causing the disease.

Signs and Symptoms

The most striking feature is a creamy, greenish-yellow discharge from the penis. This occurs after an incubation period of from two to seven days following sexual intercourse. At the onset, the discharge is thin and watery but becomes full-blown in 24 to 48 hours. The discharge is sometimes asymptomatic, but usually it is accompanied by burning on urination, most often felt at the tip of the penis, which is somewhat red and swollen. As the infection passes backward along the urethra, pain and burning on urination become more severe, and this is often combined with a distressing desire to pass urine continually. With much inflammation, painful erections may become quite a problem.

Complications of Gonorrhea in the Male

If untreated, the infection may gradually spread and extend itself to produce local and general complications. Local involvement is restricted to the genitourinary tract and includes lymphangitis, periurethral abscess, prostatitis, vesiculitis, epididymitis, cystitis, and urethral stricture. Of the acute complications, epididymitis is the most agonizing, with its attendant pain and marked swelling of the structures leading to the testis, the swellings often reaching the size of an orange. Occasionally, the organism breaks the bounds of the genitourinary area and becomes blood-borne to produce complications of a more generalized nature. The most important of these are arthritis, iritis, conjunctivitis, skin infections, and more rarely endocarditis or meningitis. Associated with fever, malaise, and marked debility, these complications, prior to the introduction of modern antibiotics, occasionally resulted in death.

Diagnosis

The diagnosis of gonorrhea is made in the laboratory. The identification of the organism is made by microscopic and culture examination of a drop of urethral pus.

Gonorrhea in the Female

In acute gonorrhea, the patient will usually complain of a vaginal discharge. The vulva may be red, raw, and irritated and give a sensation of pain and burning. A certain amount of burning and frequency of urination may also be present.

Complications

Two distinct and specific complications arise in females: infection of the vulvovaginal glands (bartholinitis) and infection of the uterine tubes (salpingitis).

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In bartholinitis, a large, tender, painful swelling appears on one or both sides of the vulva. This abscess may rupture spontaneously, discharging thick pus, or progress onward to a fixed, nontender, firm cyst that must be removed surgically.

Salpingitis is associated in its acute stage with severe lower abdominal pain on one or both sides, and with tenderness, malaise, and fever. Sometimes the acute attack does not entirely resolve, leading to tubal abscess on one or both sides. Such lesions cause a great deal of colicky abdominal pain, menstrual irregularity, sterility, and chronic invalidism. They frequently require surgical treatment.

Gonorrhea in Children

Gonorrhea in the child is usually the result of accidental nonvenereal infection, although sexual assault, mutual masturbation, or sexual exploration and experimentation may be involved in the etiology. It is very uncommon in male children and runs a course similar to that in the adult. Most frequently, it attacks female children, wherein it produces an inflammation of the vulva and vagina with little or no spread to other organs. The child complains of soreness of the vulva, and burning on urination may be present. The vulva is red and swollen and a purulent vaginal discharge swarming with organisms may be obvious. Then again, as in the adult female, the discharge may be watery and contain but few organisms. The anorectal region is frequently involved.

Gonococcal Ophthalmia

Gonococcal ophthalmia was at one time responsible for one-third of all cases of blindness in children. This incidence was drastically decreased upon the adoption of the Credé procedure of instilling a drop of a 1 per cent solution of silver nitrate into the eyes of the newborn immediately after birth. This procedure has since been replaced by the use of penicillin locally.

The conjunctiva of infants is very vulnerable to the gonococcus and infection is conveyed to the child during parturition, usually during passage through the infected cervix. When such invasion has occurred, symptoms are apparent within 48 hours. Clinical signs include edema of one or both eyelids, frequently bilateral, and a free discharge of pus. The conjunctivae will be red. In severe cases, clouding of the cornea, then ulceration and perforation that involves the complete eye takes place.

Prophylaxis just after birth with either silver nitrate or penicillin has largely eliminated gonorrheal ophthalmia in children. If it does occur, the prognosis is excellent with the early instillation of penicillin into the eye at frequent intervals. This may be combined with injections of penicillin. The prognosis is good in cases uncomplicated by ulceration and gross destruction. If the latter irreversible damage has occurred, scarring and blindness may result.

Treatment of Gonorrhea

The disease can now be cured easily with the newer antibiotics. Penicillin is the most commonly used, although the sulfonamides, the tetracyclines, streptomycin, chloramphenicol, and others are also effective. Complications such as urethral stricture, chronic salpingitis, and chronic arthritis may require special surgical or physical therapies.

Chancroid
(Ulcus Molle, Soft Chancre)

Chancroid is an acute auto-inoculable, genito-infectious disease caused by the streptobacillus of Ducrey (*Hemophilus ducreyi*), characterized by ulcerations at the sites of inoculation and frequently accompanied by swelling and suppuration of the local lymph glands.

Chancroid was differentiated from syphilis by Bassereau (1852) and Ducrey (1889), who described the causative organism. Nicolle (1899) reproduced the infection in monkeys and Greenblatt and Sanderson (1937) established the human disease. Ito (1913) prepared the first vaccine from cultures of *H. ducreyi* and Reenstierna (1920) used it for skin-testing. The test has since become known as the "Ito-Reenstierna test."

Clinical Characteristics

About 12 to 36 hours after sexual intercourse, the disease begins as an inflamed papule or pustule, which soon breaks down to form a ragged ulceration. The edges of the ulceration

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are irregular and the crater is partially filled with a dirty-gray slough. Chancroidal ulcers are always painful and usually bleed easily on manipulation. They vary in size from a few millimeters to two centimeters. On occasion, they can extend to gigantic proportions and destroy large areas of skin.

The ulcer may remain single but usually becomes multiple following auto-inoculation. These secondary lesions appear on areas in direct apposition or as small satellite ulcers.

The organism has a preference for the skin; rarely are the mucous membranes affected. In the male, the lesion is often on the prepuce, especially at its internal surface, and on the frenum and penile shaft. In women, it is located usually on the labia majora, vestibule, or clitoris. There may be extension to the perineum, thighs, abdomen, and anus.

In about one-third of the cases, the regional lymph glands of the groin may be involved. This inguinal adenitis or bubo (Greek, *boubon* —the groin, a swelling in the groin) is usually on one side but may be bilateral. A painful and tender swelling arises approximately two weeks postinoculation. The swelling increases, the overlying skin reddens, thins, and finally ruptures, leaving a ragged, purulent ulceration that may slowly extend up and down the groin area. If not treated, the ulcerations can last and drain for months.

Diagnosis

The demonstration of *Hemophilus ducreyi* in material from the ulcer or from the affected lymph gland is definite proof of the chancroidal nature of the lesion. However, the culture of Ducrey bacillus is difficult and requires special media, and, although diagnostically reliable, is seldom done in practice. A Ducrey vaccine skin test (Ito-Reenstierna test) is often of value in establishing a diagnosis: a positive reaction indicates that the patient has or has had a Ducrey infection.

Chancroid may be contracted simultaneously with other venereal diseases. Combinations with syphilis, lymphogranuloma venereum, granuloma inguinale, and gonorrhea present bizarre clinical pictures that require expert interpretation of clinical, laboratory, and serological findings.

Treatment

With proper treatment, an absolute cure of chancroid can be obtained in every instance. The most effective drugs are the sulfonamides, with sulfadiazine as the drug of choice. Certain of the other antibiotics have also been found effective: streptomycin, chlortetracycline, oxytetracycline, and tetracycline. Duration of treatment varies from three to eight days. Within 24 hours pain decreases, the lesions become drier, pus is no longer formed, and the ulcer commences to heal.

Lymphogranuloma Venereum (Lymphopathia Venerea, Climatic Bubo, Maladie de Nicolas et Favre)

Lymphogranuloma venereum is a systemic disease manifested by both constitutional symptoms and acute and chronic tissue changes in the inguinal and anorectal regions. It is caused by a virus similar to the virus that causes psittacosis.

In 1913, Durand, Nicolas, and Favre recognized lymphogranuloma venereum as an independent disease and reported the first clinical and pathological descriptions. Definite proof of its specificity was made by Frei with the skin test that bears his name. Hellerstrom and Wassen in 1930 transmitted the disease to monkeys, and Rake, McKee, and Shaffer cultured the virus on the yolk sac of a chick embryo.

Symptoms

The disease process usually includes the following stages: (1) invasion by the viral agent, usually unnoticed, (2) primary stage: genital or anorectal lesion, (3) invasion of lymph nodes, (4) late sequelae due to fibrotic changes in or around lymph nodes (Coutts, 1950).

Only a few days may elapse between sexual contact and the appearance of the primary lesion. This appears as a small blister that soon bursts, leaving a shallow, grayish ulcer with clear-cut edges, not hard, and surrounded by reddened skin. It is usually painless and heals rapidly without leaving a scar. These fleeting lesions appear on the glans and prepuce of the penis, the vulva, the vaginal walls, or the cervix. Initial lesions may also be found within the

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urethra or in the anal region. If picked up during cunnilinctus, the virus can produce blistering and swelling of the tongue, followed by enlarged glands in the neck. Conjunctivitis due to lymphogranulomatous infection has also been reported.

The secondary stage—enlargement of the local lymph glands—usually takes place seven to fourteen days later. Pain in the groin, followed by palpable and visible enlargement of the lymph nodes, may be the only symptoms. These buboes become adherent to the underlying tissues and soon form a large, single, tender inflammatory mass which, in the majority of patients, breaks down and suppurates. This inguinal adenitis may be unilateral but frequently it is bilateral. When the initial lesion is intra-urethral or anorectal, the infection spreads to the pelvic nodes, whereas an initial infection of the vagina spreads to the perianal and deep pelvic nodes.

The tertiary stage presents itself in well-defined syndromes or in isolated or associated manifestations in different organs or systems. The more easily recognized are elephantiasis of the penis, scrotum, or vulva; urethrogenito-perineal syndromes; rectal stenosis; and plastic induration of the penis. Left untreated, the disease may lead to broken-down infected communications between the rectum and vagina or between the rectum and bladder that can result in exhaustion and death from sepsis. The adenitis is accompanied by constitutional symptoms consisting of chills, sweats, fever, prostration, loss of weight, nausea, vomiting, headache, stiffness of the neck, and bronchitis. Acute systemic invasion by the virus may bring about enlargement of all lymphatic nodes, the spleen, and the liver. A fatal termination is very rare but may occur in patients with rectal strictures and other complications.

Diagnosis

The diagnosis of lymphogranuloma venereum is not readily made in the laboratory. The cultivation and identification of the virus in material taken from an infected patient is not a procedure easily available to the physician. Apart from the clinical picture, the Frei skin test has a high specificity and should be done in every suspected patient. This test consists of the intradermal injection of antigenic material prepared from ten-day chick embryos that have been injected with the virus. The test is positive if, after 72 hours, a papule of at least 7 mm. in diameter appears at the site of injection. A positive Frei test indicates that the patient has been at some time infected with the virus of lymphogranuloma venereum. A complement-fixation serum test should also be done since it gives results parallel with those of the skin test.

Treatment

The results obtained in the treatment of lymphogranuloma venereum are less satisfactory than are those in syphilis, gonorrhea, chancroid, and granuloma inguinale. The introduction of the sulfonamides, the tetracyclines, and chloramphenicol has improved the prognosis of the disease, but it cannot be said that the available medications are effective in every instance. In cases of inguinal adenitis, the outlook is good. Advanced rectal strictures and large masses may require extensive surgical and plastic repair. In many instances, in spite of available treatment, it is impossible to eradicate the disease.

Granuloma Inguinale (Granuloma Venereum, Donovanosis)

Granuloma inguinale is a chronic infectious disease that is characterized by extensive ulceration and scarring of the skin and subcutaneous tissues, particularly of the genitals but also involving extragenital sites. The condition is auto-inoculable and only slightly transmissible, as evidenced by the fact that the marital partner seldom becomes infected. The term "venereal" may not be appropriate because in many cases infection is probably not conveyed by sexual intercourse.

An early reference to the disease was made by MacLeod (1882). Donovan (1905) found organisms in the cells of infected tissue. Anderson (1943) was able successfully to cultivate these organisms on yolk sacs of chick embryos and thereupon named them *Donovania granulomatis* (*Klebsiella granulomatis*).

The disease is widely distributed in tropical and subtropical regions. It is also found in temperate zones and in the United States, mostly in the southern states.

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Symptoms

The disease commences as a small red papule or nodule, most frequently on the penis or labia. Initial sites may also be the groins, anus, rectum, face, and neck. The lesions increase in size, break down, and, as ulcerations coalesce, spread. The spread is along the creases of the groins and down to the perineum and perianal regions. Usually the attack is limited to the skin and adjacent mucous membrane. A striking feature and a diagnostic one is the absence of lymph-node involvement. Extension is slow and relentless with no tendency to spontaneous healing. As the tissues are destroyed they are replaced by red, moist, fetid, and oozing granulation tissue that is friable and bleeding. The total process is capable of marked destruction of the genitalia, all being replaced by thick scar tissue. Systemic manifestations are usually minimal, rectal strictures being the most difficult to treat.

Diagnosis

This is by microscopic examination for the organism in stained smears. The material should be collected by scraping the edges of very active lesions, and the search for the organism should be prolonged and careful, for at times it is difficult to find. The organism is exceptionally difficult to cultivate, as it does not readily grow on any of the common laboratory media.

Treatment

It has definitely been proven that streptomycin, aureomycin, terramycin, erythromycin, chloramphenicol, and oleandomycin are of value. Within 48 hours after the start of treatment the lesions become drier and cleaner. Pain disappears, healthy granulation tissue develops, and in one to two weeks complete healing with scar formation takes place. Complete cure may be obtained in practically every case with judicious use of the available medications.

Prophylaxis of Venereal Diseases

Prophylactic kits containing ointments, tubes, gauze bags, and other paraphernalia have now been largely abandoned. Their use required such time and effort, often not available, that they were found to be impractical.

The simplest and best prophylactic, and one that should be routine for all males, is the use of a condom during intercourse and of soap-and-water washing after intercourse. For women, an antiseptic vaginal douche and a similar soap-and-water washing of the genitals are recommended.

During the war large groups of military personnel were given, on an experimental basis, oral antibiotics prior to sexual exposure. This was found to be an adequate venereal disease preventive. The adaptation of this method to civilian life, however, presents problems that so far have not been solved.

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